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A

TOPOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION

OF THE

WESTERN TERRITORY

OF

NORTH AMERICA,

&c. &c. &c.

Appalachian Room
Appalachian State University Library
Boone, North Carolina

A Map of The Western Part of the TERRITORIES belonging to the UNITED STATES of AMERICA.

Drawn from the best Authorities.

Engraved for Imlay's Topographical Description of that Country.

95 90 85 80 75

50 45 40 35

LAKE SUPERIOR
LAKE MICHIGAN
LAKE HURON
LAKE ERIE
LAKE ONTARIO
Lake of the Woods
White Bear Lake
Lake Miſſagan
Red R.
Marshy L. & R.
Cold R.
Goose Lake R.
Miſsiſsippi R.
R. St Francis
Rum R.
Falls of St Anthony 30 feet
R. St Croix
R. St Pierre
Carreere R.
Lake Pepin
Chippeway R.
Buffalo R.
Ouiseonsing R.
Gr. Macoketch R.
R. Wiespincan
Mine R.
Rocky R.
R. Iowa
Moingona R.
Missouri R.
Illinois Lake
Illinois R.
Osages R.
Missouri R.
St Louis
Mississippi R.
Wintering Ground
Post St Vincent
Wabash R.
Kaskaskias R.
Kaskaskias Village
Marmeg R.
Ohio R.
Iron Banks
New Madrid
Arkansaw R.
R. St Francis
White R.
Ouachitta R.
Red R.
Black R.
Natchez
Natchitoches
Lake Merchigamias
Chickago R.
Theakiki R.
Miami of the Lake
Fort Detroit
Lake St Clair
St Mary's Falls
Str. of Michilimakinac
Plains Bay
Fort Miami
Lake Erie
Niagara Fall 136 feet
Niagara
Genesee R.
Seneca R.
Onondago
L. Oneyda
Oswego
Mohawk R.
German Flats
Albany
Cherry Valley
Schoharie R.
Hudson's R.
Oneyda R.
Susquehanna R.
Allegany R.
Allegany Mountains
Pennsylvania
New York
New Jersey
New York
Philadelphia
Amboy
Delaware R.
Delaware Bay
Delaware State
Maryland
Baltimore
Annapolis
Chesapeak Bay
Federal City
Alexandria
Potomack R.
Winchester
Fort Pitt
W. Branch
L. Branch
Blue Mountains
Lancaster
Susquehanna R.
Old Town
Cumberland
Wheeling
Ohio R.
Monongahela R.
Youghiogeny R.
Great Kenhawa R.
Kenhawa Mountains
Shenando R.
Blue Ridge
Rappahannock R.
Virginia
Richmond
James R.
York R.
C. Charles
C. Henry
Petersbury
New London
Staunton R.
Green brier R.
Kentucky
Bluestone
Dan R.
Roanoke R.
Edinton
Albemarle Sound
North Carolina
C. Hatteras
New Bern
Neus R.
Tar R.
Pamptico R.
Waterce R.
C. Fear
South Carolina
Santee R.
Charles Town
Georgia
Savannah
Atlantic Ocean
Cherokee Country
Creeks Country
Chickasaw Hills
Tombigbee R.
Mobile R.
Apalachicola R.
West Florida
East Florida
St Marys R.
Tennessee R.
Cumberland Mountain
Cumberland R.
Kentucky
Big Barren R.
Clarksville
Nashville
Duck R.
Great Bend
Elk R.
Bear Cr.
Muscle Shoals
Big Buck
Dennis Cr.
Knoxville
Little R.
French Broad R.
Holston R.
Nola Chucky
Clinch R.
Powel's Valley
Holston Mountain
Tuckaseege Ford
Kickapoo
Salamine R.
Fort Jefferson
Great Miami R.
Lower Shawanee Town
Kathtippecanunck
Fort Hamilton
Little Miami R.
Scioto R.
Wilkinson & Scott's Indian Treaty 1792
Fort Washington Columbia
Big Bone Cr.
Licking R.
Limestone
Maysey's Town
Lime Stone Washington
Gallipolis
Little Sandy R.
Big Sandy R.
Louisville
Falls
Rapids
Clarksville
Lexington
Bourbon
Harrodsburgh
Danville
Logan's Station
Kentucky R.
Red R.
Big Bone Lick
Bards T.
Harrods Town
Lincoln
Madison
Vienna
Cypress Cr.
Green R.
Little R.
Kentucky
Settlements
Settlements
Kentucky
Iroquois
Wyandots
Delawares
Shawanese
Mingoes
Cherokees
Chickasaws
Creeks
Choctaws
Illinois
Miamis
Kickapoos
Piankashaws
Weas
Kaskaskias
Shawanese
Delawares
Mingoes
Wyandots
Senecas
Cayugas
Onondagos
Oneydas
Mohawks
Tuscaroras
Nanticokes
Conoys
Mohicans
Munsies
Shawanese
Delawares
Mingoes
Wyandots
Senecas
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Shawanese
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Mingoes
Wyandots
Senecas
Cayugas
Onondagos
Oneydas
Mohawks
Tuscaroras
Nanticokes
Conoys
Mohicans
Munsies

× Where the Action was fought between the Forces under Gen.l St Clair, & the united Tribes of Indians, Nov.r 1791.

British Statute Miles.
20 40 60 100 140 180 220

Longitude West from London.

Published June 1.st 1795, by J. Debrett, Piccadilly, London.

T. Conder Scalp

A

TOPOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION

OF THE

WESTERN TERRITORY

OF

NORTH AMERICA:

CONTAINING

A ſuccinct Account of its Soil, Climate, Natural History, Population, Agriculture, Manners, and Customs. With an ample Deſcription of the ſeveral Diviſions into which that Country is partitioned.

TO WHICH ARE ADDED,

I. The Diſcovery, Settlement, and preſent State of Kentucky; with an Eſſay towards the Topography and Natural Hiſtory of that important Country, by J. Filſon. Alſo the Minutes of the Piankaſhaw Council, 1784.

II. An Account of the Indian Nations inhabiting within the Limits of the XIII States; their Manners and Cuſtoms; and Reflections on their Origin.

III. The Culture of Indian Corn, Hemp, Flax, Hops, Tobacco, Indigo, Cotton, Senega Root, Eſquine, Madder, Jalap, Potatoes, Silkworms, Perſimmon, various Kinds of Grapes, Berries, and Nuts, the Candleberry Myrtle, Sumach, Coffee, and other Particulars in the vegetable Kingdom.

IV. Obſervations on the ancient Works, the native Inhabitants of the Weſtern Country, &c. by Major Jonathan Heart.

V. Hiſtorical Narrative and Topographical Deſcription of Louiſiana and Weſt-Florida, containing a great Variety of intereſting Particulars, by Mr. Thomas Hutchins.

VI. Account of the Soil, growing Timber, and other Productions of ſeveral Lands, particularly the Geneſee Tract, lately located, and now in the Progreſs of being ſettled.

VII. Remarks for the Information of thoſe who wiſh to become Settlers in America, by Dr. Franklin.

VIII Topographical Deſcription of Virginia, Pennſylvania, Maryland, and North-Carolina, by Mr. Tho. Hutchins.

IX. Mr. Patrick Kennedy's Journal up the Illinois River, &c.

X. Deſcription of the State of Tenaſee, and of the South-weſtern Territory, with the Conſtitution of Tenaſee eſtabliſhed 1796.

XI. An Act for eſtabliſhing Knoxville.

XII. Treaty concluded between the United States of America and the Crown of Spain, for the free Navigation of the Miſſiſſippi.

XIII Plan of Aſſociation of the North American Land Company, &c.

By GILBERT IMLAY,

A Captain in the American Army during the War, and Commiſſioner for laying out Lands in the Back Settlements.

Illuſtrated with correct Maps of the Weſtern Territory of North America; of the State of Kentucky, as divided into Counties, from actual Surveys by Elihu Barker; a Map of the Tenaſee Government; and a Plan of the Rapids of the Ohio.

THE THIRD EDITION,

WITH GREAT ADDITIONS.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR J. DEBRETT,

OPPOSITE BURLINGTON HOUSE, PICCADILLY.

1797.

INTRODUCTION.

THE author of the following letters having been an early witneſs to the ſettlement of Kentucky, had frequently ſuggeſted to me the importance of that riſing country. But I confeſs that, with every deference to his judgment, I was not aware how deſervedly it had been eſtimated as of the utmoſt conſequence. A momentous æra, during ſeveral years of which the eyes of the whole world were attentively fixed upon Europe, had ſo entirely occupied my mind, that, regardleſs of occurrences in the remote parts of America, I felt no inconſiderable aſtoniſhment at finding that Kentucky was to be admitted as a ſeparate ſtate into the federal government.

It ſtruck me as a natural object of inquiry to what a future increaſe and elevation of magnitude and grandeur the ſpreading empire of America might attain, when a country had thus ſuddenly riſen from an uninhabited wild, to the quantum of population neceſſary to govern and regulate its own adminiſtration.

It was under this idea that I requeſted my friend to ſend me, at his leiſure, a complete deſcription of the weſtern country of America; an enumeration of the laws and government of Kentucky; and an account of that diſtrict of country which appeared the moſt likely to become a new ſtate.

All this he has done in ſo ample a manner, that when the news of the defeat of general St Clair was received, I thought that the letters which had imparted to me and a ſmall circle of friends ſo much information and entertainment, would prove acceptable to the public, as imparting to them a more particular knowledge of that country, ſo apparently the bone of contention between the Indians and the Americans.

It is very certain that no work of the kind has hitherto been publiſhed in this country; and when original matter is brought before the public, ſurely it cannot fail to prove acceptable to the philoſopher, and entertaining to the curious.

The occaſional remarks, which he has interſperſed, reſpecting the laws, religion, and cuſtoms of Europe, are entitled to indulgence, as I believe them to be made with candour.

A man who had lived until he was more than five-and-twenty years old, in the back parts of America (which was the caſe with our author, except during the period he ſerved in the army), accuſtomed to that ſimplicity of manners natural to a people in a ſtate of innocence, ſuddenly arriving in Europe, muſt have been powerfully ſtricken with the very great difference between the ſimplicity of the one, and what is called *etiquette* and good breeding in the other.

Perhaps ſuch a perſon is better calculated than ourſelves to judge of our manners; and doubtleſs habit very materially acts upon the human mind; and ſince it has been too much the practice in Europe to confer favours in proportion to the ſervility of courtiers, I am apprehenſive that we have imperceptibly loſt much of our energy and manlineſs.

The calculated riſe of the american empire, which theſe letters contain, will not, I think, appear extravagant, when we recollect the rapid ſtrides which have advanced it to its preſent flouriſhing ſtate of wealth and population.

In the life of Edward Drinker, which was publiſhed in Philadelphia, April 1783, are contained theſe remarkable particulars:

"Edward Drinker was born in a cottage in 1688, on the ſpot where the city of Philadelphia now ſtands, which was inhabited, at the time of his birth, by Indians, and a few Swedes and Hollanders.

"He often talked of picking blackberries, and catching wild rabbits, where this populous city is now ſeated. He remembered the arrival of William Penn, and uſed to point out the ſpot where the cabin ſtood in which that adventurer and his friends were accommodated on their arrival.

"He ſaw the ſame ſpot of earth, in the courſe of his own life, covered with woods and buſhes, the receptacles of wild beaſts and birds of prey, afterwards become the ſeat of a great and flouriſhing city; not only the firſt in wealth and arts in America, but equalled only by few in Europe.

"He ſaw ſplendid churches riſe upon moraſſes, where he uſed to

to hear nothing but the croaking of frogs; great wharfs and warehouſes, where he had often ſeen ſavages draw their fiſh from the river; he ſaw that river afterwards receiving ſhips and merchandiſe from every part of the globe, which, in his youth, had nothing bigger than an indian canoe.

"He had been the ſubject of many crowned heads; but when he heard of the oppreſſive and unconſtitutional acts paſſed in Britain, he bought them all, and gave them to his grandſons to make kites of; and embracing the liberty and independence of his country, after ſeeing the beginning and end of the britiſh empire in Pennſylvania, and after triumphing in the eſtabliſhment of freedom, he died in November 1782."

I repeat, that when we recollect the wonderful changes which have taken place during the life of one man in Pennſylvania, under all the diſadvantages with which the population of that country was attended, as well as the reſt of America, poſterity will not deem it extraordinary, ſhould they find the country ſettled quite acroſs to the Pacific ocean in leſs than another century *.

I will ſuppoſe that the inhabitants of America amount at preſent to five millions of ſouls at leaſt, and that their population doubles once in 20 or 25 years; at the end of a hundred years their number will be 64 millions.

This is a very ſimple but very obvious truth. To be ſenſible of this, we have only to mark the ſtages of its growth. For, whether the ſecret of its amazing fecundity be owing to the great proportion of room which the extent of its territory affords, ſignifies very

* It would be very extraordinary, indeed, if ſuch were to be the caſe; for as far back as the Ohio country, when compared with the breadth of the continent in thoſe latitudes, the ſettled country appears but a narrow ſlip or margin upon the eaſtern coaſt: it is, however, extremely probable, that in the courſe of another century the wilderneſs, and other intermediate lands, which are capable of improvement, and which lie between the Atlantic ſettlements and thoſe of the Ohio, may be occupied, as well as the greater part of the north-weſt territory between the Ohio river and Canada. What progreſs the canadian ſettlements may, in that period of time, make northwardly, it is impoſſible to ſay; though, from the want of ſo good a climate, it is fair to infer, that the ſettlement and improvement of that country will never keep pace with the more inviting and populating diſtricts further to the ſouth.—EDIT.

little,

little, as it does not appear likely that any material alteration, in that reſpect, will take place in the courſe of ſo ſhort a time as a century; as the expanſion of its dominion will ſecure the ſame advantages to population.

Under all the diſadvantages which have attended manufactures, and the uſeful arts, it muſt afford the moſt comfortable reflection to every patriotic mind, to obſerve their progreſs in the United States, and particularly in Pennſylvania. For a long time after our forefathers ſought an eſtabliſhment in this place, then a dreary wilderneſs, every thing neceſſary for their ſimple wants was the work of european hands. How great—how happy is the change! The liſt of articles we now make ourſelves, if particularly enumerated, would fatigue the ear, and waſte your valuable time. Permit me, however, to mention them under their general heads:—Meal of all kinds, ſhips and boats, malt liquors, diſtilled ſpirits, pot-aſh, gunpowder, cordage, loaf-ſugar, paſteboard, cards and paper of every kind, books in various languages; ſnuff, tobacco, ſtarch, cannon, muſquets, anchors, nails, and very many other articles of iron; bricks, tiles, potter's ware, mill-ſtones, and other ſtone work; cabinet work, trunks, and windſor chairs; carriages and harneſs of all kinds; corn-fans, ploughs, and many other implements of huſbandry; ſadlery and whips; ſhoes and boots; leather of various kinds; hoſiery, hats and gloves, wearing apparel, coarſe linens and woollens, and ſome cotton goods; lin-ſeed, and fiſh-oil; wares of gold, ſilver, tin, pewter, lead, braſs, and copper; clocks and watches; wool and cotton cards, printing types, glaſs and ſtone ware, candles, ſoap, and ſeveral other valuable articles, with which the memory cannot furniſh us at once.

If the nations of Europe poſſeſs ſome great advantages over us in manufacturing for the reſt of the world, it is, however, clear, that there are ſome capital circumſtances in our favour when they meet us in our own markets. The expences of importing raw materials, which, in ſome inſtances, they labour under, while we do not; the ſame charges in bringing their commodities hither; the duties we muſt lay on their goods for the purpoſes of revenue; the additional duties which we may venture to impoſe, without riſking the corruption of morals, or the loſs of the revenue, by ſmuggling; the prompt payment our workmen receive; the long credits they give

give on their goods; the ſale of our articles by the piece to the conſumer, while they ſell theirs by great invoices to intermediate purchaſers; the durable nature of ſome american manufactures, eſpecially of linens; the injuries theirs often ſuſtain from their mode of bleaching: theſe things, taken together, will give us an advantage of 25 to 50 per cent. on many articles, and muſt work the total excluſion of many others.——Extract from a ſpeech delivered in the univerſity of Pennſylvania, on Thurſday, Auguſt 9, 1787.

The immenſe extent of the american empire abounds with all climates, with every kind of ſoil, and with rivers ſo various and extenſive, that it ſeems calculated to become a rival to half the globe in trade and riches.

Some obſtructions interfered with the navigation of the Miſſiſſippi, which were as repugnant to ſound policy on the part of Spain, as it was diſtreſſing to the people of the weſtern country; but the free navigation of it is now conceded by treaty with Spain, bearing date October 27, 1795, which treaty we have given at length in this edition, as the reader may ſee, by adverting to p. 562.

The firſt edition of this work having excited a general curioſity reſpecting the weſtern country of the United States of America, but more particularly that of the ſtate of Kentucky, the editor has thought it would not be unwelcome to the public to annex an appendix, containing a deſcription of Kentucky by Filſon, publiſhed in America 1784; from which Morſe, and all other writers (our author excepted), ſince that æra, have taken their information, concerning the developement of the firſt riſe and progreſs of a ſtate, the circumſtances of which are ſo truly aſtoniſhing.

The propriety of adopting theſe motives was enforced by the peculiar energy which a corroboration of accounts, ſo wonderful in the eſtimation of Europeans, produces, and which the two works poſſeſs, that it muſt be impreſſed upon the mind of every intelligent reader, who ſometimes fears the ardour of the author's imagination may exceed the juſt limits of truth and preciſion; and the juſtneſs of theſe accounts is farther ſtrengthened by a narrative comprehended within this appendix, written in a ſtyle of the utmoſt ſimplicity, by a man who was one of the hunters, who firſt penetrated into the boſom of that delectable region.

To

To the preſent edition, beſides a variety of uſeful notes and obſervations of the moſt undoubted authority, interſperſed throughout the work, are added — Ample accounts of the ſugar maple-tree, with the method of preparing the ſugar from it, the demand for it, and the capacity of ſupply. Mr. Cooper's anſwer to queſtions concerning the ſtate of ſociety in America, price of proviſions, &c. Obſervations on the ſtate of literature, of civil liberty, and religious rights, in the american ſtates, by Mr. Tench Coxe. The culture of indian corn, hemp, flax, hops, tobacco, indigo, cotton, ſenega root, eſquine, madder, jalap, potatoes, ſilkworms, perſimmon, various kinds of grapes, berries, and nuts, the candleberry myrtle, ſumach, coffee, and other particulars in the vegetable kingdom. Obſervations on the ancient works, the native inhabitants, &c. of the weſtern country, by major Jonathan Heart. Deſcription of a remarkable rock and caſcade, by Mr. Thomas Hutchins. An hiſtorical narrative and topographical deſcription of Louiſiana and Weſt Florida, containing a great variety of intereſting particulars, by the ſame gentleman. An account of the ſoil, growing timber, and other productions of ſeveral lands, particularly the Geneſee tract, lately located, and now in the progreſs of being ſettled. Remarks for the information of thoſe who wiſh to become ſettlers in America, by Dr. Franklin. A topographical deſcription of Virginia, Pennſylvania, Maryland, and North Carolina; comprehending the rivers Ohio, Kanhaway, Sioto, Cherokee, Wabaſh, Illinois, Miſſiſſippi, &c. by Mr. Thomas Hutchins. Mr. Patrick Kennedy's journal up the Illinois river, &c. A ſhort deſcription of the ſtate of Tenaſee, lately called the territory of the United States ſouth of the river Ohio. A ſhort deſcription of the ſouth-weſtern territory. Conſtitution of the ſtate of Tenaſee, eſtabliſhed at Knoxville, February 6, 1796. An act for eſtabliſhing Knoxville. Treaty concluded between the United States of America and his catholic majeſty. Plan of the aſſociation of the north american land company, &c.

It would lead us beyond the bounds of a preface to ſhew the many advantages that ariſe from the free navigation of the Miſſiſſippi, now obtained by the treaty with Spain. This famous river is navigable upwards of 2000 miles, to the falls of St. Anthony, in latitude 45°, the only fall we know in it, which is 16 degrees of latitude

latitude above its mouth; and even above that fall there is 30 fathom of water in the river, with a proportionable breadth. About 1000 miles from its mouth it receives the river Ohio, which is navigable 1000 miles farther, ſome ſay 1500, nigh to its ſource, not far from lake Ontario in New York; in all which ſpace there is but one fall or rapid in the Ohio, and that navigable both up and down, at leaſt in canoes. This fall is 300 miles from the Miſſiſſippi, and 1300 from the ſea, with five fathom of water up to it. The other large branches of the Ohio, the river of the Cherokees, and the Wabaſh, afford a like navigation, from lake Erie in the north to the Cherokees in the ſouth, and from thence to the bay of Mexico, by the Miſſiſſippi; not to mention the great river Miſſouri, which runs to the north-weſt parts of new Mexico, much farther than any good accounts we have of that continent extend. From this it appears, that the Miſſouri affords the moſt extenſive navigation of any river at preſent known; ſo that it may juſtly be compared to an inland ſea, ſpreading over nine tenths of the whole continent of North America.

Theſe things being conſidered, the importance of the navigation of the Miſſiſſippi, and of a port at the mouth of it, will abundantly appear. Whatever that navigation be, good or bad, it is the only one for all the interior parts of North America, which are as large as the greater part of Europe; no part whereof can be of any uſe to foreign commerce without the navigation of the Miſſiſſippi, and ſettlements upon it. Not without reaſon, then, has it been ſaid, that whoever are poſſeſſed of this river, and of the vaſt tracts of fertile lands upon it, muſt in time command that continent, and the trade of it, as well as all the natives in it, by the ſupplies which this navigation will enable them to furniſh thoſe people. The Miſſiſſippi indeed is rapid for 1200 miles, as far as to the Miſſouri, which makes it difficult to go up the river by water. But however difficult, it is frequently done; and its rapidity facilitates a deſcent upon it, and a ready conveyance for thoſe groſs commodities, which are the chief ſtaple of North America, from the moſt remote places of the continent: and as for lighter european goods, they are more eaſily carried by land, as the indian traders do, over great part of the continent, on their horſes, in which this country abounds. Even the mouth of the river is from 17 to 18 feet in depth, admitting

ting ſhips of 500 tons, the largeſt generally uſed in that trade. And as for the navigation from the Miſſiſſippi, the voyage may be performed in ſix weeks. We have not room to expatiate on all the advantages ariſing from the navigation of the Miſſiſſippi, and ſhall therefore conclude with obſerving, that ſome of the golden ſchemes that were formerly denominated from this river, may probably now be realized, if the commerce to which it is ſo favourable be purſued with induſtry and prudence. For, in the words of Dr. Harris, the power attained either by policy or arms is but of ſhort continuance in compariſon of what is acquired by trade. If we reflect on the reaſon of the thing, it will appear that commerce is founded on induſtry, and cheriſhed by freedom. Theſe are ſuch ſolid pillars, that whatever ſuperſtructure is erected upon them, cannot eaſily be overthrown by force, but muſt be ruined by ſap: this we find juſtified by hiſtory and experience. The ancient kingdom of Tyre owed its extenſive and laſting power to its commerce; and all the accounts we have of the progreſs of Alexander's army agree in this, though hardly in any thing elſe; that the deſtruction of Tyre coſt him more than the over-running the perſian empire, though the territories of the former ſcarce entered into compariſon with the prodigious dominions of the latter. Carthage, the moſt formidable enemy of Rome, ſtood likewiſe indebted to trade for that ſtrength which was ſo long reputed invincible, and which had always proved ſo, if the virtues neceſſary to a ſtate ſupported and even ſubſiſting by commerce, had not been greatly impaired by that luxury which her riches induced before ſhe was attacked by her formidable enemy. The hiſtory of the middle ages likewiſe ſhews the republics of Venice and Genoa riſing to an amazing height by the diligent proſecution of foreign trade and maritime power, and ſinking again into a low condition, and that not ſo much by a ſuperior force of foreign enemies, as by the neglect of thoſe arts, and diminution of thoſe virtues, by which their empire was attained.

According to the preſent ſyſtem, wealth is the ſource of power; and the attainment of wealth can only be brought about by a wiſe and happy attention to commerce.

TOPO-

TOPOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION,

&c. &c. &c.

LETTER I.

MY DEAR FRIEND, *Kentucky.*

THE taſk you have given me, however difficult, I undertake with the greateſt pleaſure, as it will afford me an opportunity of contraſting the ſimple manners and rational life of the Americans, in theſe back ſettlements, with the diſtorted and unnatural habits of the Europeans: which have flowed, no doubt, from the univerſally bad laws exiſting on your continent, and from that pernicious ſyſtem of blending religion with politics, which has been productive of univerſal depravity.

While ignorance continued to darken the horizon of Europe, prieſtcraft ſeems to have forged fetters for the human mind, and, in the ſecurity of its own omnipotence, to have given a ſtamp to the writings and opinions of men, that rivetted the tyranny of thoſe ingenious ſophiſts—The conſequence has been lamentable in the extreme.

There are æras favourable to the riſe of new governments; and though nature is governed by invariable laws, the fortunes of men and ſtates appear frequently under the dominion of chances: but happily for mankind, when the american empire was forming, philoſophy pervaded the genius of Europe, and the radiance of her features moulded the minds of men into a more rational order.

It was the zenith of your power, and the inflated grandeur of viſionary plans for dominion, which the remains of gothic tyranny produced, that gave occaſion to the riſe of our independence. We claim no merit or ſuperior wiſdom in avoiding the complication of laws which diſgraces the courts of Great Britain, as well as the reſt of Europe. We have only appropriated the advantages of new lights, as they have ſhone upon us; which you have an equal chance of doing; and your not doing it, muſt remain a monument of your folly, calculated to excite the aſtoniſhment and indignation of a more manly progeny. However, I ſhall leave this ſubject for the preſent, and proceed in order in the hiſtory, &c. which you requeſt; hoping that you will be content to receive my remarks by letter, from time to time, as I may find an opportunity of ſending them.

The veſtiges of civilization deſcribed by Carver and others, on this ſide of the Allegany mountains, are entirely imaginary. Every mark that is human has the feature of barbariſm, and every compariſon of the natives and animals, with thoſe of the old world, tends to confirm the opinion of thoſe ſenſible men (ſome of whom wrote more than a century ago) who thought that America was peopled from Scythia, by the ſtreights of Kamtſchatka: which opinion has been followed by your judicious natural hiſtorian Pennant, in his preface to his Arctic Zoology. They ſay, firſt, "America has always been better peopled on the ſide towards Aſia, than on that towards Europe: Secondly, The genius of the Americans has a greater conformity to that of the Tartars, who never applied themſelves to arts: Thirdly, The colour of both is pretty much alike; it is certain that the difference is not conſiderable, and is perhaps the effect of the climate, and of thoſe mixtures with which the Americans rub themſelves: Fourthly, The wild beaſts which are ſeen in America, and which cannot reaſonably be ſuppoſed to have been tranſported thither by ſea, could only have come

come by the way of Tartary." An addition to theſe arguments is, that the biſon of Scythia, and what is called the buffalo in America, are preciſely the ſame ſpecies of animal; beſides, the animals of both countries bear the ſtrongeſt reſemblance to each other.

Every thing tends to convince us, that the world is in an infant ſtate. If it is ſubject to change only from the gradual wear which the operations of the elements neceſſarily produce, and which is ſo inſenſible as to require us to contemplate the immenſity of time and ſpace to comprehend a cauſe for the alterations we diſcover, ſtill the various phænomena, which are everywhere to be found, both on the ſurface and in the bowels of the earth, afford ſufficient proof that there has been a recent alteration upon the face of the globe. Whether or not mankind came originally from the Eaſt, ſignifies little. It is however certain, that Europe was in its infancy three thouſand years ago; and that America was ſtill leſs advanced to maturity, I believe alſo will be acknowledged; though the barbariſm of the one, and the comparative civilization of the other, is no argument: for, let our hemiſphere have been peopled as it would, it had the diſadvantage of having no poliſhed country in the neighbourhood of its vaſt extent of dominion; and if it received emigrants from Tartary, they were equally ſavage with themſelves; or if from the wreck of a chineſe or japaneſe veſſel, they ſeem to have been too rare (if ever) to have been productive of much good to the Americans. The idea of the incas of Peru being of chineſe origin merits no conſideration.

That man poſſeſſes from nature the talents neceſſary to his own civilization, and that perfection of philoſophy and reaſon which dignifies his nature, admits, I ſhould conceive, of no diſpute.

In all countries which wear the marks of age, men ſeem always to have been advancing their improvements for the

comfort and order of ſociety. Adventitious circumſtances have rapidly increaſed them in modern times in the old world, while they have retarded them in the new, among the natives. The improvements in navigation led to the overthrow of two empires in America which had attained conſiderable improvements; and if the natives which ſtill remain are barbarous, we muſt, in juſtice to human nature, allow that the contempt with which the whites have always treated them, and the nefarious policy of encouraging their fury for intoxication, have proved the only cauſe of it. This produced ſuch an effect, that the population of the indian nations had decreaſed more than a twentieth nearly a century ago, according to the account of Charlevoix.

While Spain was practiſing the moſt odious tyranny and ſacrilegious inhumanity, under the cloak of a deteſtable religion, over millions of the miſerable Americans, gorging an inſatiable avarice in the glittering mines of the new world, England and France, with more humanity, opened ſettlements in North America. Other european powers had ſome part in theſe ſettlements; but, after ſeveral changes previous to the beginning of the preſent century, England ſeems to have been left in quiet poſſeſſion of the country lying upon the Atlantic coaſt from Eaſt Florida to the Bay of Fundy. The French, in the mean time, were rearing a colony in the unhoſpitable and frozen foreſts of Canada. The ambition of Lewis XIV. and the dazzling ſcenery which the grandeur of his projects diſplayed, alone could have prompted that people to have perſevered in ſo ruinous an undertaking. But in purſuing the great object of that voracious tyrant, the river St. Lawrence was aſcended, Lake Ontario was traverſed, the falls of Niagara were paſſed; and following the waters which lead to the Miſſiſſippi river, the delectable country of Louiſiana opened in all the ſplendour and variety of its charms.

After the treaty of Utrecht, both nations continued quietly the

the object of aggrandizement. The plan of France was inſidious. In poſſeſſion of the mouth of the river Miſſiſſippi, which empties into the Gulf of Mexico about lat. 29°, and the river St. Lawrence, which empties into the ſea between Cape North and the coaſt of Labrador, to the northward of lat. 48°, ſhe ſeems to have contemplated the conſolidation of this vaſt empire. Miſſionaries were every-where employed to convert the natives; and ſo ſucceſsful were they, that a perſon, even in times of hoſtility, ſpeaking french, will find ſecurity, from the attachment of the people to every thing which is French *.

The miſcarriage of the celebrated ſcheme of Law for ſettling Louiſiana, for a time retarded the progreſs of that coloſſal plan. But the communication between Canada and Louiſiana being fixed and ſecured by fortreſſes at Niagara and Detroit, and the Indians being univerſally friendly to the French, the features of the Titan were diſcovered in their erecting Fort du Queſne at the junction of the Monongehalia and Allegany rivers, which form the Ohio. This led to the war between England and France in the year 1755, as you may well recollect. But though that war terminated ſo gloriouſly for Great Britain, and ſecurely for the then colonies, ſtill we remained ignorant of the whole of the fine country lying between the high hills, which riſe from Great Sandy river, approximate the Allegany mountain, and extending down the Ohio to its confluence with the Miſſiſſippi, and back to thoſe ridges of mountains which traverſe America in a S. W. b. W. direction, at length are loſt in the flat lands of Weſt Florida. However, indian traders, and certain men, called Long Hunters, from Virginia and North Carolina, by penetrating theſe mountains (which ramify into a country 200 miles over from eaſt to weſt, called the Wilderneſs), were faſcinated with the beauty and luxuriance of the

* The treaty with Spain, made in 1795, concerning the navigation of the Miſſiſſippi, will be found among the addenda of this edition.

country on the weſtern ſide, which their enraptured imaginations could not find words ſufficient to depict *. A grant had been ſold by the ſix nations of Indians to ſome britiſh commiſſioners at Fort Stanwix in 1768, which comprehended this country, and which afforded the Americans a pretext for a right to ſettle it; but it was not yet ſufficiently known, and thoſe indian nations who were not concerned in the grant, became diſſatisfied with the proſpect of a ſettlement which might prove ſo dangerous a thorn in their ſide, and committed ſome maſſacres upon the firſt explorers of the country. However, after the expedition of lord Dunmore in 1774, and the battle at the mouth of the Great Kanhaway, between the army of col. Lewis and the confederated tribes of Indians (in which theſe intrepid people ſuffered ſeverely), they were in ſome meaſure quiet. The aſſembly of Virginia began now to encourage the peopling of that diſtrict of country, called Kentucky, from the name of a river which runs nearly through the middle of it †.

* The vales between the ridges of theſe mountains, have all one and the ſame general appearance, that of an amphitheatre, incloſing, as it were, an ocean of woods ſwelled and depreſſed with a waving ſurface, like that of the great ocean itſelf. Though the ridges of the mountains run in nearly parallel lines, yet at times, by the means of branchings and ſpurs of mountains, they every here and there ſeem to cloſe, and where they do ſo, the land of the vale alſo riſes in irregular hilly land, which is the circumſtance that gives this general appearance of an amphitheatre to theſe vales, when from any of the mountains above one looks down into them. If the ſpectator has his ſtand on ſome high mountain, ſo as to look acroſs any number of the ridges which may be leſs high than that he ſtands on, he then ſees a repeated ſucceſſion of blue and purple parallel waving lines behind each other, with now and then a breaking off or gap in them; here and there ſudden endings of them in perpendicular bluff points and knobs, as they are called by the people; and ſometimes high elevated peaks: all which, together with the general direction of the ridges, are points which mark the geography of the country to the Indians, and even in a very ſufficient practical way, the general bearings to the geographical ſurveyor.—EDIT.

† This river is about 250 yards wide at its mouth, and is navigable for upwards of 130 miles; its current is conſiderably rapid.

This

This encouragement conſiſted in offering 400 acres of land to every perſon who engaged to build a cabin, clear a piece of land, and produce a crop of indian corn. This was called a ſettlement right. Some hundreds of theſe ſettlements were made; but, in the mean time, Mr. Richard Henderſon, of North Carolina, a man of no inconſiderable abilities, and more enterpriſe, had obtained a grant from the Cherokee tribe of Indians for this ſame tract of country; and though it was contrary to the laws of the land for any private citizen to make purchaſes of the Indians, ſtill Mr. Henderſon perſevered in his intention of eſtabliſhing a colony of his own. To the inhabitants he intended to grant the power of making their own laws, while he retained the executive authority in his own hands. He actually took poſſeſſion of the country, with many of his followers, where he remained pretty quiet, making very little improvement, Virginia being at that time entirely occupied with the war which had commenced between Great Britain and the Confederated States. Moſt of the young men from the back ſettlements of Virginia and Pennſylvania, who would have emigrated to this country, having engaged in the war, formed that body of men called Rifle-men; which not only checked the growth of the ſettlement, but ſo dried up the ſources of emigration, that it was near being annihilated by the fury of the ſavages, who were hurried on by the emiſſaries of the government of Canada.

Though a conſiderable number of inhabitants had fled from the different ſtates to this country, in ſearch of an aſylum againſt the calamities of the war on the other ſide of the mountains in 1778, 1779, and 1780, yet ſo diſtreſſed was the ſettlement during this laſt year, after a rigorous winter (which had been more than uſually ſevere upon the continent), that the ſettlers judged right, when they determined to abandon the country for ever; but they were diverted from this ſtep by a ſeaſonable reinforcement of

emigrants, after having experienced every horror which a ſanguinary war can produce.

The legality of Mr. Henderſon's claim was inveſtigated by the ſtate of Virginia in 1781; and though there could be no ſort of equity in it, he having acted in contempt of the ſtate, the legiſlature, to avoid feuds or diſturbances (for Henderſon ſtill had influence), agreed, as an indemnification for the expence and trouble he had been at, that he ſhould be allowed a tract of country twelve miles ſquare, lying in the forks of the Ohio and Green rivers; a tract of his own chooſing.

Virginia gave farther rewards and encouragements at this time to the firſt ſettlers, for the perils they had undergone in the eſtabliſhment of their ſettlement, of a tract of 1000 acres, called a pre-emption right, to be laid off adjoining to the ſettlement of 400 acres, the grantee only paying office-fees for the ſame*. At this period (*i. e.* 1781), a land

* At this time, what was called continental currency, was reduced to as low a rate as 500 for one; nay, I believe 1000 was a more common exchange. This circumſtance, though it had its good effects, ſo far as it tended to accelerate the ſettlement of the country, ſtill was productive of no ſmall degree of evil and injuſtice. For, in conſequence of the great quantity of this money, which lay dead in the hands of individuals, it was no ſooner known in the different ſtates, that Virginia held out an opportunity to them of obtaining a conſideration for this depreciated currency, than it was ſent to the treaſury of that ſtate in ſuch quantities, and given for land warrants, that in a ſhort time more of them were iſſued than would have covered half the territory within its limits.

Previous to this æra, great part of the valuable land in the diſtrict of Kentucky, had been either taken up on old military grants, and pre-emption rights, or located by thoſe who had been firſt in obtaining their warrants; for it required ſome time for the buſineſs to extend itſelf, and become generally known and underſtood.

In conſequence, a large proportion of the holders of treaſury warrants were diſappointed, when they determined, if they could not obtain prime land, they would lay their warrants upon ſuch as was vacant, however ſteril; which doubtleſs was proper: for though the warrants had coſt them only a nominal value, nor was the ſtate of

land office was opened by the ſtate, granting warrants for any quantity of unlocated land, upon condition of certain ſums

of Virginia ſenſible of the dangerous avenue they were opening to fraudulent practices, yet it was poſſible, in an extenſive tract of mountainous country, there might be in the vallies, or between the hills, ſome bottom land which, in the progreſs of ſettlements, would be of value. But they did not ſtop here; for finding a general ſpirit of migration was taking place from every part of the Atlantic, to the weſtern country, and that the reputation of the fine lands upon the Ohio, particularly thoſe of Kentucky, was every day advancing in eſtimation, they determined to have their ſurveys made out in the moſt artful manner, by having for corner trees ſuch kinds as are never known to grow but in the moſt fertile ſoil (and which may always be found in the narrow ſtrips of bottom land), and the plots embellithed with the greateſt elegance, diſplaying fine water-courſes, mill-ſeats (where perhaps there will not be a grain of corn for half a century to come), plains, groves, and meadows.

Hence proceeded ſo generally the buſineſs of land-jobbing—hence it is that there are to be ſeen in the Mercuries throughout Europe, ſuch immenſe tracts of land in America offered for ſale—and hence it is that ſo many perſons have cauſe to complain of having been deceived in the accounts which have been given of land they have purchaſed.

I had given ſuch an account in this work, of the good and indifferent veins of land, which I believed would have directed every purchaſer of ſuch land againſt the danger of impoſition; but as I have been informed that land-jobbers have conſidered it as a work favourable to their views, I ſhall here make ſome remarks, which, if attended to, will infallibly prevent frauds.

The country that ſeparates the back countries of Virginia from Kentucky, is, the greater part of it, mountainous, and through which, to its champaign lands, is nearly 150 miles. The whole of that tract of wilderneſs extending from Holſton nearly north, croſſing Great Sandy river, the Great and Little Kanhaways, quite into the fine lands in the diſtrict belonging to Pennſylvania, excluſive of ſome ſmall tracts in the upper countries of Virginia upon the Ohio, all of which are occupied, is altogether broken into high, rugged, and barren hills, the bottoms excepted, and, in all probability, will not be inhabited for centuries to come, by reaſon of the immenſe tracts of good land lying weſt of the Ohio and Miſſiſſippi; and that tract of country lying ſoutherly from Holſton, and extending to Cumberland, Powel's Valley, Nolachucky, French-broad, and Clinch excepted, is little better.

Beſides, Kentucky itſelf extends a conſiderable diſtance into theſe broken tracts of country; and perhaps it is only poſſible for a ſtranger to guard againſt impoſition, by making one of the condi-

tions

ſums of the depreciated continental currency being paid into the treaſury, at ſo much for an hundred acres. The great plenty, and little value, of this money, ſoon cauſed the whole country to be located *, which was one of the material cauſes of its rapid population.

It was neceſſary, in the management of this buſineſs, that care ſhould be taken to prevent that perplexity and litigation, which the vague manner in which that buſineſs was executed in many inſtances, would neceſſarily produce. For this purpoſe, three principal ſurveyors were appointed, who were to lay, or cauſe to be laid off, by their deputies, the different locations within the limits of their diſtricts: this being done, and recorded in the office, the original ſurvey was ſent to the deputy regiſter's office, there to be recorded, where it muſt be ſix months; from which it was ſent to the principal regiſter's office at Richmond, the ſeat of government, there to remain three months, in order that any perſon having a claim, by virtue of a prior location, might have an opportunity to enter a caveat, and prevent a ſurreptitious grant from iſſuing. Commiſſioners were alſo ſent to adjuſt the claims of ſettlement and pre-emption rights; by which means order was preſerved, and the government of a

tions of his contract, that it ſhall be of ſuch a rate of land, *i. e.* the different ſoils have been claſſed by the general conſent of the people, and are well underſtood by the diſtinction of firſt, ſecond, third, and fourth rate land; the laſt is the loweſt rate, I am convinced, that any perſon would ſettle upon, and the difference of its value, in my opinion, is as two to one in the ratio of its rate.

Now, the greater part of the broken tracts of country would not come under either of theſe denominations; conſequently, if theſe hints ſhould be attended to, and ſufficient ſecurity given for a performance of the contracting parties upon ſuch principles, to which no honeſt perſon would object, impoſition would be effectually prevented.

* It may here be neceſſary to explain to the engliſh reader what is generally underſtood by this term in America. To locate, is there to particularize and correctly to deſcribe the place of beginning, with the courſes and diſtances of the natural and artificial metes and bounds of a given tract of land.

diſtrict

diſtrict of country, detached and ſeparated at that time more than 200 miles from any other ſettled country—a country which had grown up under the devaſtation of a moſt barbarous indian and civil war, and under the miſeries of famine and diſtreſs, ſettled by all orders of men in the United States, men of different intereſts and different politics—was preſerved; and the order and quiet, which prevailed in 1784, was ſufficient to have induced a ſtranger to have believed that he was living under an old ſettled government. Such is the ſcience of juriſprudence, when it works upon ſimple but ſubſtantial ſprings. Hence ariſe harmony without expence, and equity without litigation. Here are no muſty forms, to lead you into labyrinths of doubt and perplexity, no contradictory caſes and reports to diſtract your opinions:—our deciſions are governed by acts of the legiſlature, decreed upon the elementary principles of truth and juſtice.

After the peace between Great Britain and the United States in 1783, the ſettlement of Kentucky was conſidered as formed; but it was not yet determined, whether it was to be an appendage of Virginia, or not. The United States claimed the back country as the property of the whole union, which ſhould be appropriated to the uſe of the federal government; but Virginia urged the right of the charter granted by James I. which deſcribes its boundaries in this ſtrange way:—To commence at a point ſouthward of the capes of Cheſapeak Bay, in lat 36½°, running due weſt from thence, then ſetting off from the ſaid beginning, and running to lat. 37° 57′ upon the coaſt, which is a little to the northward of the ſaid capes, and then running a north-weſt courſe. This indefinite grant, having no actual boundaries, ſeems to have originated in the belief of the times of its birth, *i. e.* that the Atlantic and Pacific oceans were divided only by a narrow tract of country. This grant formed a kind of obtuſe angle, expanding as it advanced weſtward, and com-

comprehending the whole of the fine country on both ſides of the Ohio. But, in order to adjuſt all diſputes, the ſtate of Virginia offered to concede the country weſtward of the Ohio, provided that other individual ſtates, holding back lands, would give up theirs, and the whole of the country comprehended within the preſent limits of the ſtate, on the eaſtern ſide of the river Ohio, ſhould be guaranteed to them by Congreſs. This was done; and thus the federal government became poſſeſſed of all the back lands in America.

Thus ſtood matters reſpecting Kentucky about the latter end of 1783. As it is neceſſary for me to take a retroſpective glance of the progreſs of peopling ſeveral other parts of the weſtern country, I muſt beg your indulgence and time for another letter. In the mean time, believe me to be devoted to your wiſhes.

I am, moſt ſincerely,

Your's, &c.

LETTER II.

MY DEAR FRIEND, *Kentucky.*

THE memorable defeat of general Braddock retarded, for ſome little time, our opportunities of acquiring a further knowledge of the country on the ſources of the Ohio. But the taking Fort du Queſne by general Forbes, in 1760, opened to the view of the colonies of that day a new world. Lands were granted by government to the army, for ſervices done during the war, which, in a great meaſure, with the garriſoning Fort du Queſne (now called Fort Pitt), contributed to form the firſt engliſh ſettlement upon the weſtern waters.

After

After the treaty of Paris in 1763, by which Great Britain obtained a ceſſion of Eaſt and Weſt Florida, and all the country lying eaſt of the Miſſiſſippi, with a right to navigate that river, frequent excurſions had been made from that time down the Ohio and Miſſiſſippi to New Orleans. But in theſe excurſions, which were by water, very little knowledge of the Kentucky country had been obtained, except at the Rapids, and ſome few other places upon the banks of the river.

Louiſiana was well known, and many ſettlements were forming, previous to the late war, on the eaſtern ſide of the Miſſiſſippi, above and below the Natchez: ſome troops had been ſtationed in the Illinois, and at Poſt St. Vincent on the Wabaſh river, where the french inhabitants lived, and cultivated their little plantations, in the ſtyle of the patriarchs of old; enjoying the charms of nature, decked in all the ſoft ſimplicity which the genial current of the human ſoul, unſophiſticated by the alloy of european artifice, produces in ſuch elegant and faſcinating variety. They poſſeſſed all the ſocial talents in an eminent degree: and their hoſpitality was ever enlivened with the charms of wit, and the exhilarating juice of the vine*; which grew and flouriſhed to ſuch a degree as to produce wine for exportation†. Theſe ſettlements ſtill exiſt; but the ſettlements upon the Miſſiſſippi that were made previous to the war, were broken up by Indians, who inhabit the country between Georgia and Weſt Florida, called the Cherokee, Creeks, Chacktaw, and Chichaſaws nations. Beſides, by the treaty

* "The Illinois country is in general of a ſuperior ſoil to any part of North America that I have ſeen. It produces fine oak, hickory, cedar, mulberry-trees, &c.; ſome dying roots, and medicinal plants; hops, and excellent wild grapes; and, in the year 1769, one hundred and ten hogſheads of well-taſted and ſtrong wine were made by the french ſettlers from theſe grapes."—HUTCHINS.

† This may be true; but it is the firſt that I have learnt of their even making wine for domeſtic uſe.—EDIT.

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of 1783 between Great Britain and the United States, we acquired the country on the eaſtern ſide of the Miſſiſſippi river, only as low as the commencement of the 32d deg. or to the Natchez; ſo that thoſe ſettlements could not be renewed by the Americans, as both Eaſt and Weſt Florida fell into the hands of Spain by the ſame peace.

The ſouthern limits of Virginia, being lat. 36½ deg. are divided from North Carolina by a line of demarkation in a direct weſt line, until it ſtrikes the Miſſiſſippi a little below its junction with the Ohio. The ſame ridge of mountains which ſeparates Virginia from the weſtern country, ſeparates the Carolinas alſo; and on this ſide of the mountain, within the limits of North Carolina, the luxuriance of the ſoil, in ſome parts, is equally aſtoniſhing as that of Kentucky. When lord Cornwallis penetrated into the back parts of that ſtate, many of its inhabitants began to fly over the mountains for ſecurity; and thus commenced the ſettlement called Cumberland, from the name of its river *, which is a conſiderable branch of the Ohio, and joins it not a great way from its mouth. This ſettlement began to form in 1780, and was encouraged by the ſame means as the ſettlement of Kentucky, *i. e.* by ſettlements and pre-emption rights; and now promiſes to become ſecond in magnitude to Kentucky, of all the ſettlements upon the weſtern waters, and in a few years, from its quick growth, will doubtleſs become a diſtinct ſtate. Such is the rapidity with which this part of the world is peopling.

There are ſettlements ſtill to the ſouthward of this, in what is called the Great Bend of the Tenaſee, or the Muſcle Shoals, which have been made without the permiſſion of the federal government. This is a fine tract of country, and in time muſt become very valuable, from its particular ſituation, and the peculiar manner in which the navigation

* Cumberland river is 250 yards wide at its mouth; its current gentle, and it is navigable upwards of 200 miles from its mouth.

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of this country muſt be conducted, concerning which I ſhall expatiate in its proper place. Its proximity to the ſouthern Indians renders it rather dangerous at preſent; but the growing ſtrength of Frenchbroad and Nolachucky above, upon the waters of the ſame rivers, will ſoon afford ſecurity to every part of the Tenaſee country.

The country of Holſton is ſtill above theſe ſettlements upon the head waters of the ſame river, on the borders of Virginia and North Carolina; and that you may form ſome idea of the proweſs of thoſe people, I will relate a circumſtance, which, perhaps, is not generally known on your ſide of the water. When lord Cornwallis had advanced, in 1780, into the back parts of North Carolina, he detached colonel Ferguſon, with about 500 britiſh troops, to a place called King's Mountain, in order to give ſecurity to the *faithful* and *loyal* ſubjects of his Majeſty, who were conſiderably oppreſſed by their *unfaithful* countrymen the *rebels*. Col. Campbell, a Virginian, who lived in thoſe back ſettlements, hearing of the rendezvous of the loyaliſts, under the banner of col. Ferguſon's detachment, at King's Mountain, aſſembled what militia he could, and began his march on horſeback in the evening, without mentioning their deſtination; and by continuing their march, without intermiſſion, for upwards of one hundred miles, came up with them the ſecond morning, about the break of day, when their horſes were left at the foot of the mountain with a ſmall guard; his little army, divided into three detachments, were led to ſeparate attacks, and in leſs than half an hour the hill was carried, col. Ferguſon killed, and the greater part of his detachment made priſoners. Col. Campbell's army amounted to about 500: he took more priſoners. From ſuch ſpecimens, I think thoſe people can have nothing to fear from M'Gilvery.

I have not related this ſtory from vanity, or from the moſt diſtant idea that the Americans are in any reſpect ſuperior to Engliſhmen; ſo far from it, that no man can more

more warmly admire the true Engliſh than I do: but I have told it as a circumſtance tending to prove, that men, feeling the ſpirit of liberty, are always ſuperior to ſlaves; and that a well-regulated militia are equal to the defence of a country without the expence of ſupporting a ſtanding army, which is not the only inconvenience flowing from ſuch a ſyſtem. How much of the labour and ingenuity of a ſtate is ſacrificed by ſuch a policy! In how many inſtances have the laws and civil authority been trampled upon by the contumely and ignorance of men educated with none but military ideas and habits, and thereby the reſpect due to laws contaminated, and an indignant people awed by a martial phalanx! While a good citizen feels his own inſignificance, the patriotic heart mourns for the ſacrilege committed upon their privileges, with that impunity which the patronage of a ſtanding army affords to the executive power of a ſtate.

We will now return to Kentucky, which is the key-ſtone of the ſettlements upon the waters of the Miſſiſſippi. The years 1783 and 1784 brought out vaſt numbers of emigrants from all parts of America; particularly the latter year, when it was ſuppoſed that in Kentucky alone, not leſs than 12,000 ſouls became ſettlers: ſeveral Europeans from France, England, and Ireland, were among the number. The Indians gave us a reſpite, and there ſeemed to be nothing wanting to make us the happieſt people upon earth.

In 1782 the ſtate of Virginia had given us a general court, with judges and an attorney-general, to manage all legal affairs reſpecting the diſtrict, without the trouble and expence of travelling to Richmond, which is diſtant between five and ſix hundred miles, two hundred of which were through an uninhabited wilderneſs. In 1783, 1784, and 1785, great part of the country was ſurveyed and patented, and the people in the interior ſettlements purſued their buſineſs in as much quiet and ſafety as they could have done

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in any part of Europe. Court-houſes were built in the different counties, and roads were opened for carriages, which ſeven years before had not been ſeen in the country. The only roads hitherto were for ſingle horſes.

In 1785 the diſtrict had grown very conſiderable from the great number of emigrants which had arrived; and that reſpectability which it had acquired produced a diſpoſition in the inhabitants to become an independent ſtate, and to be admitted as another link in the great federal chain. A convention was immediately formed by ſending deputies from the different counties, who met at our then metropolis, Danville, for the purpoſe of taking the matter into conſideration; when it was determined, after ſome debating, to petition Virginia for that purpoſe. An act had already paſſed that ſtate, authoriſing any diſtrict of country over the mountains to ſeparate whenever a majority of the inhabitants ſhould wiſh it: but in this inſtance it was urged, by thoſe who were not friendly to the ſeparation, that it was not the wiſh of the majority of the inhabitants of Kentucky to become independent *. In fact, many gentlemen, holding con-

* "It was boldly aſſerted by lord Sheffield, in 1784, that the people of the interior country of America were mere nominal ſubjects, and would ſpeedily imitate and multiply the examples of independence. The regular organization of the government of the territory north-weſt of the Ohio ſince that time; the arrangements made ſhortly after, for the erection of Kentucky into a ſeparate ſtate, with the conſent of Congreſs and Virginia; the ceſſion of the extenſive country ſouth of the Ohio to Congreſs in 1790, and its eſtabliſhment as a kind of temporary fief of the general government, with civil offices appointed by the preſident, to be admitted into the union as an entire new member, when its population ſhould be ſufficiently numerous; the adoption of the federal conſtitution by a ſpecial convention of Vermont; and the formal admiſſions of that ſtate and Kentucky into the american union, at their own deſire, and by an act of the legiſlature of the United States; have, as far as poſſible, contradicted the prophecy.

"Another opinion, in regard to thoſe diſtant ſcenes, is, that they can derive no benefit from the american ſtates. At this moment, the arm of government is extended, and its funds are appro-

conſiderable tracts of land in the diſtrict, who were not reſidents, thought our ſeparation would be premature, particularly as we had courts of juſtice, whoſe juriſdiction was diſtinct from that of Virginia; and the only ſolid complaint (which, indeed, was a ſerious one) was the diſtance to which we muſt ſend our repreſentatives, and our local ſituation requiring in ſome inſtances a legiſlation, which the majority of the aſſembly of the ſtate would not be competent to judge of. However, this buſineſs was procraſtinated; for finding, though we might ſeparate whenever we choſe, yet that it was optional with the legiſlature of Virginia to recommend us to be taken into the federal government (which they were not likely to do, and which it was certain could not be done without), we were content to remain as we were for that time.

The federal government in the courſe of this year undertook to lay off the country weſt of the Ohio, in ſuch manner as would anſwer the purpoſe of ſelling the land, and ſettling

priated, to protect them againſt the hoſtilities of the Indians: and the whole regular military force, which it has been thought neceſſary to ſupport, was raiſed, and is now employed in their defence. The Atlantic rivers, from the Miſſiſſippi to the Mohawk, which nature has formed as the channels of their trade, can be cleared of natural and political obſtructions only by the meaſures of the Atlantic ſtates; and no leſs than eight ſeveral plans to that end are now in preparation or execution in as many different places, under the auſpices of the five ſtates, within whoſe territories the moſt favourable rivers and grounds have been placed by nature.

"A great and expenſive turnpike road has been commenced by Pennſylvania, leading directly weſtward towards Pittſburg on the Ohio and Allegany (anno 1793). Congreſs alone can effect the relinquiſhment of the poſts, the keys of the weſtern country. The improvement and opening of the many neceſſary roads, leading weſtward, muſt be done by the acts of the Atlantic ſtates, and by their funds. Not a year elapſes without ſeveral appropriations of money to this object. By a ſincere, juſt, and cloſe union between the inhabitants of the weſtern country and thoſe upon the ſea coaſts, both parties will avoid thoſe expenſive, bloody, and frequent ſtruggles, which everywhere diſgrace and injure adjacent ſtates."—Tench Coxe's View, p. 205, 206.

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the country. Peace had been made the preceding year at Fort M'Intoſh, between the United States and the Indians, in which the country upon the Muſkingum, Scioto, and the Great and Little Miami rivers, had been given up by the Indians as a conſideration for former maſſacres, and as neceſſary to produce permanent tranquillity; they finding the United States, by ceſſion from Great Britain, had a right to all the country within the limits deſcribed in the treaty of 1783, and that it would be in vain for them to remonſtrate againſt their peopling it, particularly as it was to Great Britain they were to look for reſtitution, who had abandoned them when allies, and ſold their country without even conſulting them. But when the ſurveyors began to act, the Indians diſcovered immediate and hoſtile ſigns of diſapprobation, ſome maſſacres were committed, and the buſineſs was put off until the following ſpring.

Congreſs as yet had taken no decided meaſures as to the organization of this country, or the mode of parcelling it out, and diſpoſing of it; the diſcontinuance of the late war was ſtill recent, and the multifarious objects which preſented themſelves to an infant government, not recovered from the ſhocks of a doubtful credit, together with the habitual idleneſs which the profeſſion of arms produces, threw an embarraſſment over all their proceedings. It was in this dilemma that they recommended the meeting of a convention, to be compoſed of deputies from the different ſtates, to aſſemble in Philadelphia in May 1787, to take into their conſideration the nature and defects of the federal government as it then exiſted. In this examination they found that the old government wanted efficiency; and the total abſence of uniſon between the different ſtates, from local laws and cuſtoms, was productive of delay, and a variety of obſtructions, tending to counteract the concord of confederation.

It was under theſe conſiderations that the preſent federal

government aroſe. It has eſtabliſhed one great and important principle for the benefit of mankind, and the extenſion of civilization, which is, that a power may ſo exiſt in a government, as to admit of alteration or change, without danger to the tranquillity of the ſtate, by government recommending to the conſtituent powers of that ſtate, the deputing men to inquire into the radical defects of their conſtitution, and making ſuch alterations as the improved wiſdom of experience may find neceſſary. It is thus in the progreſſion of things that governments will arrive at perfection.

I muſt beg that you will excuſe this digreſſion, as it was neceſſary to account for the delay in proceeding to the ſettlement of the country weſt of the Ohio. This buſineſs took up the greater part of 1787, ſo that it was a year or more before much was done. In the mean time the Indians continued to increaſe their depredations, under a belief, that if once the whites were ſuffered to eſtabliſh themſelves on their ſide of the Ohio, there would be no end to their encroachments until they ſhould be extirpated. In this opinion they were not a little encouraged by the engliſh traders at Detroit and Niagara, who, from an avarice in human nature hard to be accounted for * (but as it degenerates under bad laws and worſe morals), ſeek, in murder and bloodſhed, for the ſale of a few extra pounds of gunpowder and lead †. However, ſome land had been ſurveyed in 1786 and 1787, and in the latter year a ſettlement was formed upon the

* It is not more difficult to account for the avarice of the indian trader, whether he lives within or without the american line, than it is for the ſame principles and motives which regulate all the merchants and ſtore-keepers of the United States.—EDIT.

† This is a mere rhapſody, and means nothing, unleſs it is to delude the multitude: powder and lead are become as neceſſary to the meliorated condition of the Indians as blankets and other wearing apparel, which conſtitute at leaſt three fourths of the value that is given by Europeans in exchange for their furs and peltry.—EDIT.

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Muſkingum, which may be looked upon as the commencement of the american ſettlements upon the weſtern ſide of the Ohio *. In 1788 and 1789 ſome farther ſurveying was done; but little ſince has been tranſacted in thoſe parts, except wars between the Indians and ſettlers. Yet it is to be hoped that the decided meaſures taken by the United States will ſecure peace, which cannot fail to promote proſperity.

Nature in her pride has given to the regions of this fair river a fertility ſo aſtoniſhing, that, to believe it, ocular demonſtration becomes neceſſary. During theſe times of bar-

* The Muſkingum river at its junction with the Ohio is about 200 yards wide, and is rendered particularly curious from the ancient fortifications which lie about a quarter of a mile from the upper point of the mouth of the river, and within the ground-plot of the city of Marietta. Theſe works are very extenſive, and evidently mark the ingenuity of man in very remote and former ages. They conſiſt of three diſtinct ſquares, communicating with each other by a covered way, and again by another covered way 200 yards in length, connecting the largeſt and principal ſquare with the old bed of the Muſkingum river, whence the preſent river is diſtant, in ſome places, about 100 yards.

Theſe ſquares are formed by a ditch and parapet upon a principle ſimilar to that with the entrenched wall called the Devil's Ditch, on Newmarket heath, and were evidently deſigned as poſts of refuge and defence to the ancient inhabitants. There are here ſeveral mounds ſtill retaining a conical figure, and forming the ſepulchres of a people far more advanced in civilization than any which have yet been diſcovered in this part of the continent. There is one of theſe cones which challenges a more particular deſcription than the reſt: it ſtands in the middle of the centre ſquare of the city, is much higher, and more regularly uniform, than any of the others. In its preſent ſettled ſtate, there is plainly to be ſeen a glacis, and a parapet about four feet higher than the ſurrounding land. Within the parapet is a ditch, twelve feet wide, and about three feet below the general ſurface of the country. This ditch extends round the baſe of the cone, which has a diameter of fifty feet, and a perpendicular height of thirty-five feet from the bottom of the ditch. The ſides of the mound are formed to a mathematical exactneſs; along which, to its higheſt point, have grown for ages paſt, and regularly gone to decay, ſome of the richeſt and fineſt timbers of the foreſt, producing an increment of vegetable mould, nearly equal in depth to that which forms the whole ſurface of the ſurrounding country.—EDIT.

barous war and maſſacre, the people of Kentucky and Cumberland, ſecured by their numbers and ſtrength, except in their outermoſt plantations, enjoyed perfect ſecurity. The former continued to keep in view the object of her independence; and from the reſpectable figure ſhe has made in the adminiſtration of her affairs, it is at length agreed, that ſhe is to be admitted into the federal union in June 1792.

Having furniſhed you with only an imperfect hiſtory of the manner in which this back country has been ſettled, I will endeavour, in compliance with your requeſt, to give you a deſcription of its natural and artificial productions. Believe me to be, ſincerely,

Your's, &c.

LETTER III.

MY DEAR FRIEND, *Kentucky.*

IN caſting your eyes over the map of America, you will diſcover that its weſtern (or middle) country is divided from the Atlantic country by a chain of mountains which riſe in the remote parts of the ſtates of New York and New Jerſey, and run a ſouth-weſterly courſe, until they are loſt (as I obſerved before) in the flat lands of Weſt Florida. The weſtern country is thoſe parts which are watered by the ſtreams running into the Miſſiſſippi.

It is about fifty miles over the Allegany mountain, croſſing by the route which general Braddock took from Fort Cumberland near the Potowmac, at the deſcent into the country of Redſtone, on the Monongehala, the ſouthern branch of the

the Ohio. This river riſes in the ſame mountain conſiderably to the ſouthward, runs nearly parallel with it, the oppoſite way, upwards of one hundred miles, and is navigable for boats nearly to its ſource; the whole of this country beyond the mountain is extremely fertile, well watered, and abounding with all kinds of timber calculated for building houſes, boats, cabinet work, &c. &c. The ſugar maple tree is intermixed in great quantities *. From the foot of the moun-

* See "An account of the ſugar maple tree of the United States, and of the methods of obtaining ſugar from it; together with obſervations upon the advantages, both public and private, of this ſugar. In a letter to Thomas Jefferſon, eſq. ſecretary of the United States, and one of the vice-preſidents of the american philoſophical ſociety, by Benjamin Ruſh, profeſſor of the inſtitutes, and of clinical medicine, in the univerſity of Philadelphia."——The ſubject of this excellent paper ſeems, at firſt ſight, more particularly to relate to the United States; but it may, and we hope will, very eſſentially affect the general ſtate of the world, by increaſing the ſupply of an article, of which the uſes are yet, on account of its high price, but imperfectly known. If the monopoly of the Weſt India iſlands, where alone the waſteful culture by ſlaves, in the abſence of the owner, can be ſupported, ſhould be gradually diminiſhed, and at laſt aboliſhed, by a plentiful produce of ſugar from the maple, humanity would no longer ſuffer, the article would find its true level, and every nation would be more or leſs benefited.

The acer ſaccharinum of Linné, or ſugar maple tree, grows in great quantities in the weſtern countries of all the middle ſtates of the american union. It is as tall as the oak, and from two to three feet in diameter; puts forth a white bloſſom in the ſpring, before any appearance of leaves: its ſmall branches afford ſuſtenance for cattle, and its aſhes produce a large quantity of excellent pot-aſh. Twenty years are required for it to attain its full growth. Tapping does not injure it; but, on the contrary, it affords more ſyrup, and of a better quality, the oftener it is tapped. A ſingle tree has not only ſurvived, but flouriſhed, after tapping for forty years. Five or ſix pounds of ſugar are uſually afforded by the ſap of one tree, though there are inſtances of the quantity exceeding twenty pounds. The ſugar is ſeparated from the ſap either by freezing, by ſpontaneous evaporation, or by boiling. The latter method is the moſt uſed. Dr. Ruſh deſcribes the proceſs, which is ſimple, and practiſed without any difficulty by the farmers.

From frequent trials of this ſugar, it does not appear to be in any reſpect inferior to that of the Weſt Indies. It is prepared at

mountain it is about fourteen miles to Redſtone Old Fort, which is on the banks of the Monongehala, and the uſual place of embarkation of people coming down the Ohio, who travel Braddock's road; from thence to Pittſburg is about fifty miles by water. Large tracts of flat land lie all along upon the banks of this river from the Old Fort to Pittſburg, which are capable of being made into extenſive and luxuriant meadow ground.

This country is populous, it being the oldeſt ſettlement, and made immediately after taking Fort du Queſne. The Yohegania empties itſelf into the Monongehala about ſixteen miles above its junction with the Allegany river: the country on this river is more uneven, but in the vallies the ſoil is extremely rich. Near to Pittſburg the country is well peopled, and there, as well as in Redſtone, all the comforts of life are in the greateſt abundance. Flour is manufactured in as good a ſtyle as in any part of America; and butter, cheeſe, bacon, and every kind of proviſions, can be had in the greateſt quantity. This whole country abounds in coal, which lies almoſt upon the ſurface of the ground: the hills oppoſite Pittſburg, upon the banks of the Monongehala, which are at leaſt three hundred feet high, appear to be one ſolid body of this mineral.

This muſt become in time the moſt valuable grazing country in all America, from the fertility of its ſoil, its capability of being formed into extenſive meadows, and its proximity

a time of the year when neither inſect, nor the pollen of plants, exiſts to vitiate it, as is the caſe with common ſugar. From calculations grounded on exiſting facts, it is aſcertained, that America is now capable of producing a ſurplus of one eighth more than its own conſumption; that is, on the whole, about 135,000,000 pounds, which in the country may be valued at 15 pounds weight for one dollar. Dr. Ruſh mentions many other benefits his country may derive from this invaluable tree, and concludes his paper with an account of ſome of the advantages of ſugar to mankind, not merely as commonly conſidered to be a luxury, but as an excellent, wholeſome, and nouriſhing article of food.—EDIT.

to

to the mountains, which attract the clouds, and produce that moiſture ſo neceſſary to graſs;—beſides which, its ſituation is about three hundred and twenty miles from Philadelphia, about two hundred and forty from Baltimore, and about two hundred and twenty from the federal city on the Potowmac, a diſtance which is too great to carry by land the bulky articles of huſbandry; but to which cattle may be driven with the greateſt eaſe.

This country has derived no inconſiderable advantage from the ſettlement of Kentucky, and the other ſettlements that are making on the Ohio and Miſſiſſippi, the great road of migrating from the northern ſtates lying through it; and indeed it is moſt convenient, both from Maryland and Virginia, at all ſeaſons of the year, provided that there be any thing bulky to carry, the paſſage being for the greateſt part by water, and the Potowmac navigable, a few places excepted, to Fort Cumberland; all of which obſtructions will be removed in a few years by canals that are cutting *. From Fort Cumberland it is about ſixty miles land carriage to Redſtone Old Fort; but ſo friendly has nature been to this country, that, though it is without ſeas, the rivers run in ſuch directions that there is ſcarce any place in all the back parts of America where art may not reduce the land carriage to a very ſmall diſtance. I cannot ſpeak upon ſo general a ſubject definitively; but I mean to be underſtood within fifteen leagues. It is aſſerted, from the beſt authorities, that the land carriage between the Potowmac and Ohio may be reduced to leſs than twenty miles.

Such is the progreſſion of things in this country, while there was apparently no market for its ſuperfluous productions, that every article has ſold extremely well, in conſequence of the number of emigrants who have been continually paſſing down the Ohio.

* Thoſe canals were to be finiſhed in the courſe of 1793.

Down

Appalachian Room
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Down from Pittſburg the country is flat on the banks of the river; but a little diſtance from them it is conſiderably broken, particularly on the north-weſtern ſide. Much good land, however, is interſperſed on the ſouth ſide as far as the approach to the Little Kanhaway, where the nature of the ſoil ſeems reverſed, and the good land is then found on the weſtern ſide upon the Muſkingum. There are ſome ſtrips of rich land upon the Little Kanhaway; but, farther up the river, the country is broken and ſteril, producing ſcarce any other timber than the fir-tree, or pine, and knotty black oaks, which are generally deemed ſymptoms of a bad ſoil *. This tract of bad land extends quite into the mountains in a ſouth direction, and runs ſouth-weſterly as far as Great Sandy river, with little or no variation, except on the bottoms of the Great Kanhaway †, which are extenſive and rich. The bottoms

* The beneficial effects of the caſſia chamæcriſta, in recruiting worn-out lands, and enriching ſuch as are naturally poor, are deſcribed as follows, by Dr. James Greenway, of Dinwiddie county, Virginia:—In Maryland and Virginia they have long been in the practice of ſowing a pint of the beans of this plant with every buſhel of oats on poor lands. The oats ripen, and are cut in July, when the beans are young, and eſcape the injury of the ſcythe. They flower in Auguſt and September. In October the leaves fall off, the ſeeds ripen, and the pod opens with ſuch elaſticity as to ſcatter the beans to ſome diſtance around. The year following, the field is cultivated with corn; the beans which ſprout early are all deſtroyed with the plough and hoe; but the more numerous part not making their appearance above ground until the corn is laid by, ſpring up unhurt by the inſtruments of agriculture, and furniſh ſeed for the enſuing year, when the field is again ſowed with oats. By this alternate cultivation of corn and oats with the beans, the land is ſo far improved by the mouldered leaves and ſtalks of the beans, that the product will be fifteen buſhels to the acre on ſuch as, prior to this management, would not have produced more than five. Dr. Greenway is of opinion, grounded on experience and obſervation, that the common field-pea is preferable to every thing elſe in improving lands, if the vines be left to rot on the ground, inſtead of being given to cattle for fodder.—EDIT.

† This river, at its mouth, is nearly 500 yards wide, and the current gentle for about 10 or 12 miles, when it becomes conſiderably rapid for upwards of 60 miles farther, where you meet with the

toms on the Ohio are everywhere extenſive and luxuriant. On the weſtern ſide of the river, the country beyond the rich vein of land on the Muſkingum is only tolerable on this ſide of the head waters of the Scioto, which are ſucceeded by as fine a body of land as the imagination can paint. This extends conſiderably near to the Ohio, and running weſtward quite to the Miami, now approximates its banks, and diſplays, in its verdure and variety of majeſtic foreſts, all that beauty and richneſs, which have been ſo much celebrated by travellers who have paſſed through them. The country on the eaſtern ſide, except on the banks of the rivers, is indifferent. There is a body of good land on Great Sandy; but leaving that in a ſouth-weſterly courſe, high, rugged, and broken hills ariſe, which will hardly ever be capable of cultivation: theſe hills extend between thirty and forty miles, and open into the fine lands of Kentucky.

We have travelled now about five hundred miles down the Ohio in its meandering courſe, and we will ſuppoſe ourſelves at Limeſtone, where the champaign country on the eaſtern ſide of the river begins. This is the uſual landing-place for people coming down in boats, who mean to ſettle in the upper part of the ſtate, as I ſhall in future call it. It is now neceſſary to look back to that country, which we have travelled through with ſuch rapidity. Pittſburg lies in about lat. 40° 40', the general courſe of the Ohio is about W. S. W. and the diſtance by land from Pittſburg to Limeſtone is nearly 300 miles. But as the north-eaſtern limits of the ſtate are Great Sandy *, which is ſome diſtance above Limeſtone, we may fix them, as nearly as can be, in lat. 39°. I am ſorry I cannot ſpeak with more preciſion; but theſe things have not yet been aſcertained from obſervation.

the firſt falls, when it becomes almoſt impoſſible to navigate it, from the great number of obſtructions which its various cataracts preſent.

* Balclutha, in main forks of Big Sandy river, lies in 38° 39. north latitude,—EDIT.

The

The eaſt ſide of the Ohio, for about ten or twenty miles below Wheeling, which is about one hundred below Pittſburg, is generally well ſettled. There are few ſettlements on the oppoſite ſhore until you come to the Muſkingum, and the country now wears the face of a wilderneſs on both ſides of the river, there being no habitations worth notice, except at the mouth of the Great Kanhaway, until we arrive at Limeſtone.

Every thing here aſſumes a dignity and ſplendour I have never ſeen in any other part of the world. You aſcend a conſiderable diſtance from the ſhore of the Ohio, and when you would ſuppoſe you had arrived at the ſummit of a mountain, you find yourſelf upon an extenſive level. Here an eternal verdure reigns, and the brilliant ſun of lat. 39°, piercing through the azure heavens, produces, in this prolific ſoil, an early maturity which is truly aſtoniſhing. Flowers full and perfect, as if they had been cultivated by the hand of a floriſt, with all their captivating odours, and with all the variegated charms that colour and nature can produce, here, in the lap of elegance and beauty, decorate the ſmiling groves. Soft zephyrs gently breathe on ſweets, and the inhaled air gives a voluptuous glow of health and vigour, that ſeems to raviſh the intoxicated ſenſes. The ſweet ſongſters of the foreſts appear to feel the influence of this genial clime, and, in more ſoft and modulated tones, warble their tender notes in uniſon with love and nature. Every thing here gives delight; and, in that mild effulgence which beams around us, we feel a glow of gratitude for that elevation our all-bountiful Creator has beſtowed upon us. Far from being diſguſted with man for his turpitude or depravity, we feel that dignity nature beſtowed upon us at the creation; but which has been contaminated by the baſe alloy of meanneſs, the concomitant of european education, and what is more lamentable is, that it is the conſequence of your very laws and governments.

You

You muſt forgive what I know you will call a rhapſody, but what I really experienced after travelling acroſs the Allegany mountain in March, when it was covered with ſnow, and after finding the country about Pittſburg bare, and not recovered from the ravages of winter; there was ſcarcely a blade of graſs to be ſeen; every thing looked dreary, and bore thoſe marks of melancholy which the rude hand of froſt produces. I embarked immediately for Kentucky, and in leſs than five days landed at Limeſtone, where I found nature robed in all her charms.

It naturally ſtruck me there muſt be ſomething in climate that debaſed or elevated the human ſoul; and that chill penury which a ſteril country and damp cold climate produces, in accumulating the wants of men, had increaſed their dependence, which at once ſaps the firſt principles of man. I conceived, in the infancy of the world, that men in temperate climates had retained their freedom longeſt. Thus in England you have enjoyed a conſiderable ſhare of liberty, while almoſt all Europe have ſuffered under the fetters of an odious deſpotiſm. The perfection of arts will meliorate the condition of man in every part of the world; but the amelioration of government and education muſt take place before he will be able to reſume his priſtine dignity.

From Limeſtone to Johnſon's Fork of Licking creek, the country is immenſely rich, and covered with cane, rye-graſs, and the native clover*. The cane is a reed that grows to the height frequently of fifteen or ſixteen feet, but more generally about ten or twelve feet, and is in thickneſs from the ſize of a gooſe-quill to that of two inches

* From Johnſon's Fork, paſſing the Lower Blue Licks, and Main Licking river, till you approach within 5 miles of Hingſton Fork, the land is very thin, ſtony, and broken; but thence to Bourbon Court-houſe and Lavington as rich and as well-conditioned land as any in nature. Main Licking river is about 200 yards wide at its mouth, and its principal branch is navigable nearly 100 miles.

diameter;

diameter; ſometimes, yet ſeldom, it is larger. When it is ſlender, it never grows higher than from four to ſeven feet; it ſhoots up in one ſummer, but produces no leaves until the following year. It is an evergreen, and is, perhaps, the moſt nouriſhing food for cattle upon earth. No other milk or butter has ſuch flavour and richneſs as that which is produced from cows which feed upon cane. Horſes which feed upon it work nearly as well as if they were fed upon corn, provided care is taken to give them once in three or four days a handful of ſalt; otherwiſe this food is liable to heat, and bind their bowels. The rye-graſs, or, more properly ſpeaking, *wild rye*, when it arrives to maturity, is from two feet and a half high to three and a half, and the head and beard reſemble the real rye, and ſometimes produce a ſmall grain long and ſlender, not unlike rye*. Whether cultivation would bring it to the ſame perfection, I can form no idea; it is however certain that it is a very good and valuable graſs. The clover is in no reſpect different from the clover in Europe, but as it is more coarſe and luxuriant. There is a variety of other kinds of graſs, which are found in different places; but I have only mentioned the two former, they being eſteemed the moſt valuable.

* Mr. Giſt, in his journal, ſays, that in ſome of the plains of the Oillinois country, a ſpecies of wild rye grows ſpontaneouſly; that it ſhoots in winter ſo as to appear green through the ſnow, though two feet deep. It were to be wiſhed that experiments were made as to the cultivation and melioration of it. The wheat plant, which now in its cultivated ſtate gives bread to great part of the human ſpecies, was moſt likely brought to this ſtate by ſome ſuch cultivation, from ſome ſuch humble wild plant. Upon this, governor Pownall obſerves, that it is a curious and ſingular fact, that no hiſtory furniſhes us with any account of the native place of this plant as indigenous; the preſent editor of this work is happy in being able to aſſure the reader, from the mouth of Mr. profeſſor Pallas, who explored this matter on the ſpot, that the native place of wheat is the parts about Thibet, and that there it is indigenous.

EDIT.

In

In order to travel into the interior parts of the ſtate, the route lies acroſs the branches of Licking creek. There are ſeveral of them which take their riſe in the high hills of Great Sandy, and the ſpurs of the Allegany mountain; they traverſe a moſt delightful country, and form a junction a ſmall diſtance below the Lower Blue Lick*. A ſalt ſpring is called a Lick, from the earth about them being furrowed out, in a moſt curious manner, by the buffalo and deer, which lick the earth on account of the ſaline particles with which it is impregnated. The country from the Fork to the Ohio is conſiderably broken, but generally rich, and continues uneven, except on the banks of the river, quite to the mouth of the Kentucky, which is about one hundred and ten miles below the mouth of Licking creek by water, and ſeventy above the Rapids of the Ohio. Between the mouths of Licking and Kentucky lies the Great Bone Lick, which is juſtly celebrated for the remarkable bones which are found there, and which give name to the place. Several of thoſe bones have been ſent to Europe; but I believe no perſon who has written upon natural hiſtory has given any decided opinion to what claſs of animals they belonged. Buffon has called them the Mammouth; but I am at a loſs to know from what authority, as we have no tradition, either oral or written, that gives an account of any ſpecies of animals which were as large as thoſe muſt have been, judging by the magnitude of the bones. Buffon ſays, that ſimilar bones have been found both in Ireland (if I am not miſtaken) and in ſome part of Aſia. It appears ſomewhat extraordinary, at the firſt view, that we ſhould diſcover manifeſt proofs of there having exiſted animals of which we can form no adequate idea, and which in ſize muſt have far exceeded any thing now known upon earth; and thoſe ſigns too, in cli-

* There are two ſalt ſprings upon Licking, both of which are now worked with ſucceſs.

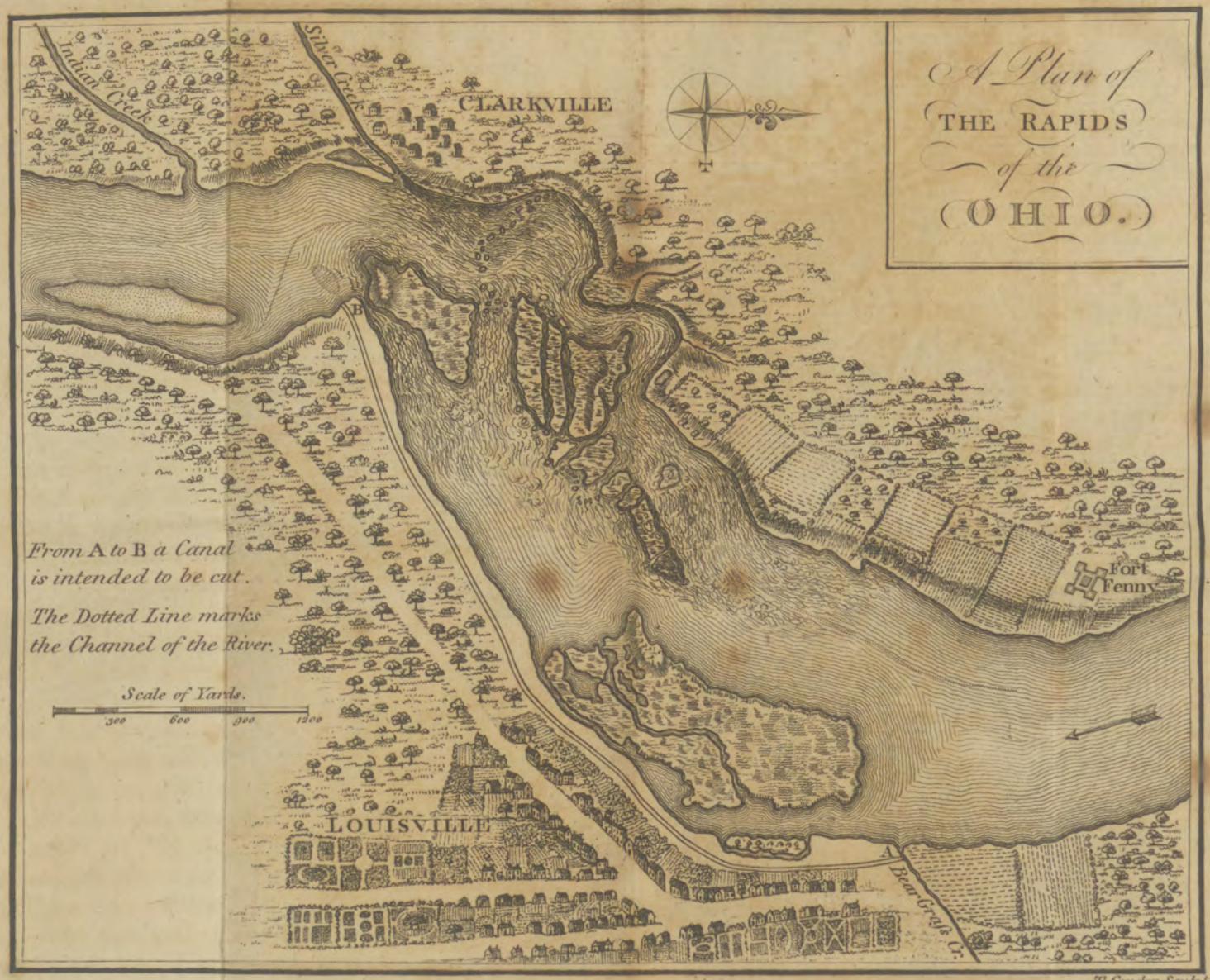
mates

mates where the elephant (the largeſt animal now in exiſtence) is never found. Every phænomenon upon the earth tends to confirm the idea, that it ever has been ſubject to revolutions, beſides its diurnal and annual motion from eaſt to weſt.

After paſſing the Blue Lick, the ſoil, if poſſible, increaſes in richneſs. From thence to Danville is about fifty miles. Lexington lies about midway, and is nearly central of the fineſt and moſt luxuriant country, perhaps, on earth. From Lexington to Leeſburg is about twenty miles; to Boonſburg it is about twenty; the Upper Blue Lick nearly thirty. This ſquare, which is nearly fifty miles, comprehends entirely what is called firſt rate land. Leeſburg lies on the Kentucky, about twenty miles from its mouth by land, and nearly forty by water. The country between that and the Ohio is broken, but rich, though it is not deemed a valuable body of land. The Kentucky is bound everywhere by high rocky precipices, that are generally two hundred feet and upwards perpendicular, and which makes its paſſes difficult. Few places on it have any bottom land, as the rock riſes moſtly contiguous to the bed of the river; which confinement, after heavy rains, renders it very formidable from the impetuoſity of its current. On aſcending the banks of this river, the land on either ſide is equally good for ſome diſtance above Boonſburg; but adjacent to the mountains from whence the river riſes, the country becomes broken, ſteril, and of little or no value. Boonſburg lies on the Kentucky, about ſixty miles above its mouth by land, and about one hundred and thirty by water. From Leeſburg down the river on the ſouth ſide, for about ten or twelve miles, the hills are conſiderably high and ſteep; but when you paſs the waters of Drinnon's Lick creek, you fall into a body of good champaign land, which extends, with little variation, to the Rapids of the Ohio. From

Leeſburg

Engraved for Imlay's American Topography.



T. Conder Sculp.

Published Feb.y 2.d 1793, by J. Debrett, Piccadilly, London.

Leeſburg to Danville, the country, for the firſt twenty miles, is, comparatively, of an inferior rate of land; but farther on, you get into the rich country I have mentioned, comprehended within the ſquare of fifty miles.

Large bodies of good land lie on every ſide of Danville for twenty miles and upwards; but in the courſe from thence to the Rapids of the Ohio, on the waters of Salt river (which takes its name from a ſalt ſpring, called Bullitt's Lick, that is on its banks, about twenty miles from the mouth of the river), the ſurface is, in ſome places, broken into ridges of hills, which are in general good land, but not well watered. As you approach the Rapids, it becomes more level, better watered, and the ſoil more fertile. The country of Beargraſs is beautiful and rich; as, indeed, is the land on Gooſe and Harrod's creeks. In the fork of the Ohio and Salt river, which form a junction about twenty miles below the Rapids, the proſpect is flat, and interſperſed with ſmall lakes, or ponds, occaſioned by the extreme lowneſs of the banks of the Ohio in this fork, which, when flooded, overflows the country, and the water fills theſe ponds periodically, or as often as thoſe inundations happen, and which are frequent from December until April.

The Rapids of the Ohio lie about ſeven hundred miles below Pittſburg, and about four hundred above its confluence with the Miſſiſſippi. They are occaſioned by a ledge of rocks that ſtretch acroſs the bed of the river from one ſide to the other, in ſome places projecting ſo much, that they are viſible when the water is not high, and in moſt places when the river is extremely low. The fall is not more than between four and five feet in the diſtance of a mile; ſo that boats of any burden may paſs with ſafety when there is a flood; but boats coming up the river muſt unload; which inconvenience may very eaſily be removed by cutting a canal from the mouth of Beargraſs, the upper ſide of the Rapids, to below the lower reef of rocks, which

is not quite two miles, and the country a gentle declivity the whole way. A view of the Rapids is given in the annexed plate, in which is marked the propoſed canal.

The ſituation of the Rapids is truly delightful. The river is full a mile wide *, and the fall of water, which is an eternal caſcade †, appears as if nature had deſigned it to ſhew how inimitable and ſtupendous are her works. Its breadth contributes to its ſublimity; and the continually rumbling noiſe tends to exhilarate the ſpirits, and gives a cheerfulneſs even to ſluggards. The view up the river is terminated, at the diſtance of four leagues, by an iſland in its centre, which is contraſted by the plain on the oppoſite ſhore, that extends a long way into the country; but the eye receding, finds new beauties, and ample ſubject for admiration, in the riſing hills of Silver creek, which, ſtretching obliquely to the north-weſt, proudly riſe higher and higher as they extend, until their illumined ſummits imperceptibly vaniſh. Clarkville, on the oppoſite ſhore, completes the proſpect, and from its neighbourhood, and from the ſettlement forming upon the officers land, a few years muſt afford us a cultivated country, to blend appropriate beauty with the charms of the imagination. There lies a ſmall iſland in the river about two hundred yards from the eaſtern ſhore; between which and the main is a quarry of excellent ſtone for building, and in great part is dry towards the end of the ſummer. The banks of the river are never over-

* Major Willis, whilſt commanding at Fort Ferring, meaſured a ſtraight line upon the ice directly acroſs the falls in their wideſt part, and found 1300 yards clear water-way, between the lower beaches or counter-ſhores of the banks on both ſides the river.—EDIT.

† So far from its being an eternal caſcade, at the time of a pretty ſmart freſh, and when the Ohio is full from bank to bank, no appearance of a fall, or even ripple, is to be ſeen: at thoſe times a ſeventy-four gun ſhip may paſs the falls with the greateſt ſafety; and in the dryeſt ſeaſons the navigation is never impeded on the north-weſt ſide. Kentucky boats, freighted for New Orleans, with forty, ſixty, or eighty hogſheads of tobacco, may always paſs with ſafety.—EDIT.

flowed

flowed here, they being fifty feet higher than the bed of the river. There is no doubt but it will ſoon become a flouriſhing town: there are already upwards of two hundred good houſes built. This town is called Louiſville.

I omitted to mention, that when the ſtate of Virginia conceded the territory weſt of the Ohio to the United States, ſhe reſerved a tract lying oppoſite to the Rapids, for thoſe officers and ſoldiers called ſtate troops, and who had been immediately employed in the weſtern country.

Having left the weſtern ſide of the Ohio at the Miami, I ſhall continue my deſcription of the country on this ſide, as far as my knowledge extends, and will then proceed upwards.

In leaving the Rapids in a ſouth-weſterly direction, the country is flat, it bordering upon the country I have deſcribed in the fork of the Ohio and Salt rivers. After paſſing the main branch of the Salt river *, near Bullitt's Lick, ten miles diſtant, in the fork of the north and ſouth branches, the country becomes broken and hilly; but between which and the Cumberland road, that leads from the upper parts of Kentucky, there is a conſiderable extent of fine land; but travelling a few leagues farther ſouthward, you arrive at extenſive plains, which ſtretch upwards of one hundred and fifty miles in a ſouth-weſt courſe, and end only when they join the mountainous country. Some few clumps of trees, and a grove here and there, are the only obſtructions to a boundleſs horizon. It is pleaſant to behold the deer bounding over the ſcraggy ſhrubs which cover the earth. While the ſetting ſun gilds thoſe extenſive plains, the mild breezes of a ſummer's eve, playing upon the enraptured ſenſes, ſoftens the heart to love and friendſhip. Unperceived, upon ſome eminence, you may enjoy the ſports of wild animals, which here rove unconcerned lords

* This river is about 150 yards wide at its mouth, its current is gentle, and its principal branch is navigable about 60 miles.

of the field. Heavens! what charms are there in liberty! Man, born to enſlave the ſubordinate animals, has long ſince enſlaved himſelf. But reaſon at length, in radiant ſmiles, and with graceful pride, illumines both hemiſpheres; and FREEDOM, in golden plumes, and in her triumphal car, muſt now reſume her long-loſt empire.

We now have arrived upon the waters of Green river: at the mouth of which, and between that and the Ohio, lies Henderſon's grant of twelve miles ſquare, as I mentioned. The plains extend beyond the head waters of this river quite into the limits of North Carolina; but at the mouth, and for forty miles above, there is a large proportion of good land, particularly upon Panther creek. From the mouth of Green river * up the Ohio to Salt river, the land upon the banks of the Ohio is generally fertile and rich: but leaving its banks you ſoon fall into the plain country, which is conſidered as little better than barren land. However, it is moſt likely that it will prove excellent for ſheep to feed upon, the climate being nearly the ſame as that of Spain, where the fineſt wool in Europe is produced. And though the land is not reckoned valuable in this country, on account of its comparative ſterility, yet it is of a ſuperior quality to much of the ſoil in the lower parts of Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia. It abounds with hazel, which, it is well known, never grows kindly in a poor ſoil.

The native ſtrawberry is found in theſe plains in the greateſt abundance, as are likewiſe plums of different ſorts; and if from the native grape that grows ſpontaneouſly here, we can form any idea of what the ſame ſoil is capable of producing when they are cultivated, it would appear that no climate or ſoil in the world is more congenial to the vine; for I have never taſted more delicious grapes; and it is

* Green river is upwards of 200 yards wide at its mouth, its current is gentle, and it is navigable nearly 150 miles.

the

the opinion of ſome judicious foreigners, who have viſited theſe genial regions, that as good wine as can be made in any part of the globe, might be produced from the native grape properly cultivated †. There is nothing more common than to meet with a pleaſant wine made here by the ſettlers, who know nothing of the uſe of vats, or the degree of fermentation neceſſary to the perfection of the art of wine-making. But, I flatter myſelf, ſome progreſs will be made in this buſineſs, as ſeveral foreigners have long had it in agitation to undertake it.

The country between Green and Cumberland rivers is generally rich, and finely watered. There is in it a moſt valuable lead mine, and ſeveral ſalt ſprings; and between Green and Salt rivers there are two of a bitumen, which, when analyſed, is found to be amber. But ſo much do we ſtand in need of chymiſts and mineraliſts, that we remain ignorant of the properties and value of many foſſils which have been diſcovered; and many continue unknown, I ap-

† The grapes of the european vines which are tranſplanted to America do not ſo well bear the ſudden changes of the weather, nor the extremes of the dry and wet, to which the climate is liable, as the native grapes. If there be much thunder, and that attended with heavy ſhowers, and followed by exceſſive gleams of heat, at the time that the exotic grapes are growing to their maturity, ſuch grapes are apt to burſt; whereas the thick ſkin of the native grapes preſerves them againſt this miſchief. When therefore I have ſeen with what abundant luxuriance theſe native vines grow, and have been taught that the coarſeſt fruits by cultivation may be meliorated even into ſorts that are delicious; when I have read how change of ſoil and cultivation have ſucceeded; I have always thought that the american ſettlers would do more wiſely in trying to cultivate and meliorate their native vines, ſmall and ſour as their grapes may appear at preſent, than by endeavouring to force the nature of the foreign vine. It takes always a great time to accommodate an exotic to a foreign clime, and does not always ſucceed at laſt; the native, whoſe nature is already aſſimilated to its own clime, might ſooner, and with better hopes of ſucceſs, be improved under the preſent ſtate and progreſs of american cultivation. See Mr. Anthill's obſervations on the culture of the vine, in the Tranſactions of the Philoſophical Society at Philadelphia, vol. i.—EDIT.

prehend, from the want of curiosity of men whose only object seems to be cultivation, and the science of government. Perhaps these are the most essential to the happiness of men in the wild state which this country is in. Arts appear to follow population. Necessity has been the mother of invention, it is true; but from the attainment of that perfection to which we have arrived in arts and philosophy, wisdom and science must go forward. It is physically impossible for man to degenerate to barbarism.

When the greatest merit consists in the exercise of the most useful and appropriate talents, I think it is likely that the ingenuity of men will feel a more lively stimulus to the exercise of invention from the love of fame, the love of mankind, and regard to their own dignity, than it ever yet experienced from necessity. While odious distinctions exist, and men are rewarded in proportion to their servility, human nature must be robbed of half its manliness, and consequently men will be slothful. How many drones do we observe in every part of Europe, who feed upon the industry of the necessitous, who work only as it is necessary to their existence! Such have been the effects of the factitious duties of man in your hemisphere, that every thing has become perverted; and governments, instead of securing happiness to men, have only tended to aggrandize individuals; and thus has flowed in that debasement of character which has marked half the inhabitants of Europe with little more dignity than brute creatures.

Cumberland river rises among the mountains, considerably to the north-east, and, after its several branches have joined it, runs a long way south, and enters the limits of North Carolina *. After a course of half a degree within those limits, it turns to the north-west, and empties itself into the Ohio, at some distance above its junction with the

* Cumberland river is navigable in large vessels to Nashville, and thence in boats to the mouth of Obas river.—Edit.

Miſſiſſippi. The Tenaſee runs into the Ohio, not a long way below the mouth of Cumberland. The Tenaſee is the moſt important of the ſouthern branches of the Ohio *. Its northern fork, called Holſton, riſes in the country of the ſame name (which I have before mentioned), and, after paſſing through Nolachucky, is joined by the main or ſouth branch. This branch riſes in the remote parts of the ſtate of Georgia, and, after traverſing the borders of the Cherokee country, is joined by the Holſton branch, when it is called the Tenaſee: from thence it runs ſouth-weſterly, quite through the limits of North Carolina, and approaches the head waters of the Mobile, which empties itſelf into the Gulf of Mexico. In its courſe, it is very rapid thus far: from the material declivity of the high country, which from mountains gradually ſinks into a flat, there is a number of falls, but none of them conſiderable. It now turns again to the northward, and from its lazy motion, it is obvious that there is very little fall of water from this to the Ohio. This turn conſtitutes what is called the Great Bend of the Tenaſee, or Muſcle Shoal, from the number of ſhoals in this part of the river that are covered with theſe ſhell-fiſh. The river is here from two to three and a half miles wide. Its importance will conſiſt in its being the moſt convenient inlet from the upper parts of Virginia and the Carolinas to the Miſſiſſippi, it being navigable for boats of forty tons burden from Holſton, the falls excepted, where carrying-

* The Tenaſee is 600 yards wide at its mouth, and upon aſcending it, to the diſtance of 260 miles, it widens to between two and three miles, which width in continues for nearly thirty miles, and which comprehends what is called the Great Bend.

Thus far it is navigable without any obſtruction, and, ſome triſling falls excepted, it may be navigated at leaſt 600 miles farther.

The Tenaſee river is navigable by veſſels of great burden to the Muſcle Shoals; thoſe ſhoals are only to be paſſed in ſmall boats or batteaux: from the Muſcle Shoals the river is navigable in boats of 40 or 50 tons burden, to the Virginia line.—EDIT.

places will anſwer until there are canals made, which can be done with very little expence*.

Holſton is a narrow ſtrip of country, ſurrounded on every ſide by mountains; but there is a hollow which winds through them, ſo as to admit of a paſſage this way, and down the river, without any difficulty of bad roads whatever. Should you continue your route by land in the road to Kentucky (which I ſhall deſcribe in another place), you would have ſeveral mountains to paſs, and at leaſt two hundred miles of bad road.

* There are five navigable rivers in this territory, which diſcharge themſelves immediately into the Miſſiſſippi; viz. Wolf, Hatchee, Forked-deer, Obion, and Reel-foot. Wolf river, ſeven miles from the mouth, is about 50 yards wide; Hatchee, 80 yards; Forked-deer, 60 yards; Obion, 70 yards; and Reel-foot, 30 yards. Theſe rivers in general are deep, and flow with a gentle current, unincumbered with rocks or rapids, until they reach the barren or broken tract in which they riſe. Each of thoſe rivers is bordered by a ſmall ſtrip of low ground, 60 or 80 yards wide, and this again is terminated by a gentle ſlope or ſecondary bank. In order to underſtand the uſe, perhaps the cauſe, of this remarkable circumſtance, an inner and an outer bank to each of thoſe rivers, it ſhould be remembered that the river Miſſiſſippi, during the month of May, riſes perpendicularly nearly 25 feet, at which ſeaſon the low ground on both ſides of that river is covered with water, to the depth of 12 or 18 inches. This inundation, on the weſt ſide of the river, extends to a great diſtance, for the country ſeems to be lower in that direction, and ſome of the waters of that river find their way to the ocean by other channels. On the eaſt ſide of the river, the inundation hardly extends above five miles; at that diſtance the waters are reſtrained by a ſecondary bank, which runs parallel to the general courſe of the river. This outer bank is properly the beginning of high and dry land. It is obvious, that during thoſe ſpring floods, the rivers, which run into the Miſſiſſippi, muſt ſuffer a conſiderable interruption. Their current is affected 10, 15, or 20 miles from the mouth, and they overflow their banks. On thoſe occaſions, the ſecondary bank of thoſe ſmall rivers becomes neceſſary, for it prevents the adjacent land from being overflowed, except the narrow border above deſcribed. The induſtry of a ſmall french colony at New Orleans has given a ſufficient proof that the inundations of the Miſſiſſippi may be reſtrained by artificial banks, by which means arable land has been and may be ſecured, that is hardly equalled in value by any known lands, except in Egypt.—EDIT.

After

After you leave the plains which extend into the Cumberland country, in your courſe to the Tenaſee, the ſurface is ſomewhat broken, but the ſoil is moſtly rich. Great part of the land lying between theſe rivers and the Ohio, and between Cumberland and Green rivers, was in military grants, made by Virginia to their officers and ſoldiers, and is eſteemed a ſituation valuable for its proximity to the junction of the Ohio and Miſſiſſippi. Their grants extend as low on the Miſſiſſippi as the partition line between Virginia and North Carolina, all of which is a beautiful country; and the banks of the river, which are very high, prevent it from overflowing; which is not the caſe a great way lower down*.

The

* The land on the waters of Tenaſee and Cumberland rivers is generally well timbered. In ſome places there are glades of rich land without timber; but theſe are not frequent nor large. The general growth is poplar, hickory, black-walnut, buck-eye, or the horſe-cheſnut, ſycamore, locuſt, and the ſugar-maple. The undergrowth, in many places, is cane 15 or 20 feet high, ſo cloſe together, as to exclude all other plants; where the cane does not abound, we find red-bud, wild-plum, ſpice-wood, red and white mulberry, genſang, Virginia and Seneca ſnake-root, angelica, ſweet aniſe, ginger, and wild-hops. The glades are covered with clover, wild-rye, buffalo-graſs, and pea-vine. On the hills, at the heads of rivers, we find ſtately red-cedars; many of theſe trees are four feet in diameter, and forty feet clear of limbs. In thoſe hills there is abundance of iron-ore, lead-ore, and coals. Copperas and alum fit for uſe have been gathered in caves near Naſhville.

On the rivers that run into the Miſſiſſippi, the growth is nearly the ſame as on the waters of Cumberland river.

In ſpeaking of a new country, that is extremely fertile and well covered with herbage, it can hardly be neceſſary to ſay that it abounds in wild game. The buffalo, elk, deer, and bear, are numerous; nor is there any ſcarcity of wolves, panthers, wild-cats, foxes, beavers, and otters. They have pheaſants, partridges or quails, and turkies in abundance through the year. During the winter, their waters are covered with the ſwan, wild-gooſe, brant, and duck. Cat-fiſh have been caught in thoſe rivers, that weighed above 100 pounds, and perch that weighed above 20 pounds. Nature ſeems to meaſure her works on a different ſcale on the oppoſite ſides of the Apallachian mountains.

In

The land in the Great Bend of the Tenaſee is very fine; but when you approach the country of the Chickaſaws, it becomes broken, light, and ſandy: and, as you extend to the ſouthward, I have been informed (I never travelled farther than this by land) the ſoil grows ſtill lighter, and, except a large body of good land on the Miſſiſſippi and the bottoms of the ſeveral ſtreams that run into the Gulf and the Miſſiſſippi, it is little better than Weſt Florida, which has been celebrated in Europe for its fertility; but ſo fine a country have I been endeavouring to deſcribe to you, that, judging by compariſon, the people in Kentucky and Cumberland look upon that as an indifferent ſoil.

This letter has imperceptibly grown to a conſiderable length. I was anxious to comprehend within this ſketch, all the country denominated the weſtern country on both ſides of the Ohio to the Miami, and then the whole of the Kentucky and Cumberland countries, and the country upon the Tenaſee, in order that I might proceed up the Ohio on the weſtern ſide, comprehending the whole of the country between that and the Miſſiſſippi, back to the Miami, and continuing northward to the lakes: afterwards to ſhew the

In the year 1780, a ſmall colony under the direction of James Robertſon, croſſed the mountain, and ſettled on Cumberland river, at the place now called Naſhville. In the year 1783, the ſtate of North Carolina laid off a tract of land to be reſerved for the diſcharge of military bounties; this reſervation included the infant colony, a ſmall tract having been allotted to each of the ſettlers. A county was alſo laid off on thoſe waters, called Davidſon, to commemorate a brave and popular officer who fell in the ſervice of his country. The bounty lands were run off by ſurveyors appointed for that purpoſe; and in a few years a conſiderable number of the original grantees ſold their titles to other perſons, and the ſettlement has lately been increaſing very faſt. There were 7000 people on that river in September 1791, and their number, ſince that time, is much increaſed. We frequently hear of emigrants from the parent ſtate two or three hundred at a time croſſing the mountain.—EDIT.

pro-

probable riſe and grandeur of the american empire, before I proceed to an account of the artificial productions, &c. of Kentucky and Cumberland. Farewell.

Believe, my Friend,

I am your's ſincerely.

LETTER IV.

MY DEAR FRIEND, *Kentucky.*

IN contemplating the vaſt field of the american empire, what a ſtupendous ſubject does it afford for ſpeculation! Government, ethics, and commerce, acting upon principles different in many reſpects from thoſe of the old world, and entirely in others! A government which, with its ſpreading branches, ſeems in its mighty graſp to promiſe liberty and protection to one hemiſphere! A government which, from its ſimple conſtruction, and the unity and efficiency of its action, is not leſs remarkable in the political, than its natural hiſtory is in the phyſical world.

In ten years more, perhaps, a ſettlement will be formed ſufficiently populous to become a federal ſtate in the country into which I am now going to advance; the limits of which, from the confluence of the Miſſiſſippi and Ohio to Detroit, is between five and ſix hundred miles; and taking the medium diſtance between Pittſburg and the mouth of the Ohio, acroſs to the Miſſiſſippi from the Ohio is very little leſs. The inhabitants of this immenſe diſtrict do not, including French, amount to five thouſand. The country in

in this fork (if I may ſo call it) is various. Great part of it has been deſcribed by Charlevoix, Hutchins, and Carver. Charlevoix ſeems to have gone rapidly from Detroit by water the greateſt part of the way to New Orleans; Hutchins to have done nearly the ſame from Pittſburg, down the Ohio to the Miſſiſſippi, and up that river to the Illinois; ſo up that, and from thence to Detroit. He has given a tolerably good account of the Illinois country. Carver confined his travels and remarks to the lakes, the upper part of the Miſſiſſippi, particularly the river St. Pierre, and the north-weſtern branch of that river, and to the cuſtoms and manners of the indian nations. Theſe authors have all conſiderable merit. They have written ſo agreeably, that their books have been generally read; which has tended to diſſeminate a knowledge of this country in a ſavage ſtate. This part of it is little better; but you muſt view it as a creation burſting from a chaos of heterogeneous matter, and exhibiting the ſhining tiſſue with which it abounds.

Immediately in the fork the land is flat, and liable to overflow; but as you advance on either river the banks riſe, and the country expanding, diſplays a luxuriant ſoil for a long diſtance above the Wabaſh on the Ohio ſide, and quite to the Illinois on the Miſſiſſippi ſide, which is about two hundred and thirty miles above its junction with the Ohio, and twenty above the mouth of Miſſouri. This country lies nearly in the ſame parallel of latitude with Kentucky. From the mouth of the Wabaſh *, the bottoms on the Ohio are extenſive and extremely fertile, as is the country from thence to Poſt St. Vincent; but towards the rapids of the Ohio, and beyond the bottoms of this river, the country is conſiderably broken, and the ſoil in ſome places light and indifferent. After leaving Poſt St. Vincent,

* The Wabaſh is nearly 300 yards wide at its mouth, and except ſome inconſiderable rapids, it is navigable upwards of 400 miles.

in

in the route to the Illinois county, you ſoon fall into thoſe extenſive plains which have been deſcribed inſuch glowing colours by Hutchins. This is certainly a beautiful country; and the immenſe number of deer, elk, and buffalo, which are ſeen grazing in thoſe natural meadows, renders even wildneſs enchanting. The air in this climate is pure, and the almoſt continual unclouded ſky tends not a little to charm the ſenſes, and to render even wildneſs delightful. The country between Poſt St. Vincent and Kaſkaſkies is flat and plain, with little variation. As you aſcend the Illinois river * the ſoil grows more fertile, and on either ſide you find immenſe foreſts.

I muſt now beg you will travel with Hutchins from hence to Detroit †. He will conduct you up the head branches of this river, and, after a ſhort paſſage, you will embark again on the waters of Lake Michigan, diſcovering how the operations of this great country will be facilitated by the peculiar courſes of its immenſe and numerous rivers. His obſervations I have been told are conſiderably accurate, and, as I have not had the advantage of travelling this route, I recommend you to read his book, which was originally publiſhed in England, and no doubt is ſtill to be had.

Detroit lies, between lat. 42° and 43°, upon the ſtraits which communicate between Lake St. Clair and Lake Erie, conſiderably to the weſtward of Pittſburg. The country lying between them is not remarkable for any thing but being a wilderneſs. The ſoil and climate are ſuch as would entitle it to the reputation of a fine country in any part of Europe, except in winter, when the froſt is extremely ſevere, but leſs intenſe than that of Canada. Quebec lies

* The Illinois is a fine gentle river, and navigable to its ſource for batteaux. Its width is various—in many places it is nearly half a mile: but its general breadth may be conſidered about 250 yards.

† The Illinois river furniſhes a communication with Lake Michigan by the Chiago river, and by two portages between the latter and the Illinois river; the longeſt of which is only four miles.—HUTCHINS.

nearly

nearly in the ſame latitude as Paris, and from the deſcription which the emperor Julian has given of the winters he quartered there, during his command in Gaul, there ſeems to be little difference between the winters of France at that period, in reſpect to cold, and the preſent winters of Canada. Perhaps the extent of continent lying to the north-weſt, and the immenſe lakes of freſh water which cover it, will not admit of the climate of that part of America being ſo rapidly meliorated as the climate of Europe has been by cultivation. However, it is certain, that as the country has been more opened in America, and thereby the rays of the ſun have acted more powerfully upon the earth, theſe benefits have tended greatly already to ſoften the winter ſeaſon: ſo that peopling Canada (for which we are much obliged to *you*) is a double advantage to *us*. Firſt, it is ſettling and populating a country, that muſt, ſooner or later, from the natural order of things, become part of our empire, and immediately meliorating the climate of the northern ſtates. But, to return to Detroit. Our courſe from thence to the head waters of the Miami is ſouth-weſterly. The country for ſome diſtance is flat, and the ſoil heavy and damp; but, upon the waters of thoſe rivers, it is beautiful, and abounds in the gifts of nature.

The communication between Lake Erie and the Ohio by water this way, will be up the ſouthern branches of the lake; and by ſhort paſſages you arrive upon the waters of the great Miami, Scioto, and Muſkingum, which are navigable when flooded *. It muſt be obſerved that the rivers I have been men-

* Great Miami is about 300 yards wide at its mouth, is a rapid ſtream, but without cataracts, with ſeveral large branches navigable for batteaux a long way up: the principal of which interlocks with a branch of the Miami river, which runs into Lake Erie, to which there is a portage; and a third has a portage to Sanduſky.

Scioto is about 200 yards wide at its mouth, its current gentle, and is navigable for nearly two hundred miles to a portage of only five or ſix miles to Sanduſky.

Muſkingum is a fine gentle river, confined by high banks, which pre-

mentioning are not navigable, throughout the year, for boats of above ten or fifteen tons. Great part of the country between this and the Wabaſh is champaign; but in travelling towards the Rapids of the Ohio you paſs conſiderable plains, and then fall into a broken and hilly tract of poor land, that continues with little variation until you approach the Rapids, when all the variety and charms, which this river produces, preſent themſelves again. From Detroit to the Rapids is nearly four hundred miles.

I have gone curſorily over the weſtern country which is peopled, and about to be peopled; but have purpoſely avoided taking any notice of thoſe parts which are ſo little known, and of which I could ſay nothing but from the information of hunters and ſavages, which has been induſtriouſly collected and publiſhed by Carver, Jefferſon, and others. Beſides, as it is your wiſh only to be informed of the advantages of ſettlement, it would have been idle to have troubled you with accounts of countries that will not be ſettled, or at leaſt formed into ſtates, in our time.

The rapid population of the weſtern country has not only aſtoniſhed America itſelf, but it muſt amaze Europe, when they enter into the views and increaſe of this growing empire. The firſt ſettlement on the weſtern waters by the Engliſh was in 1760, and, under the influence of almoſt continual indian wars, that ſettlement (I am now ſpeaking of the upper ſettlement on the Ohio) now contains not leſs than an hundred thouſand ſouls. The ſtate of Kentucky

prevent its floods from overflowing the ſurrounding country. It is 250 yards wide at its confluence with the Ohio, and navigable, without any obſtructions, by large batteaux to a little lake at its head; from thence to Cayahoga, a creek that empties into Lake Erie, is not above two miles; and which muſt become the beſt portage between that lake and the Ohio.

Cayahoga at its mouth is wide and deep enough to receive large ſloops from the lake.

Sanducky is a conſiderable river that empties into Lake Erie; its ſtream is gentle, and large enough at its mouth to receive ſloops.

did

did not make a permanent ſettlement before 1780, which now contains not leſs than an hundred thouſand. The Cumberland ſettlement began about this time, but it was at leaſt three years afterwards before there was ſecurity given to that ſettlement, and there are ſettled about fifty thouſand ſouls more *. Beſides the ſettlement in the Great Bend of the Tenaſee, which will join them in their ſeparation from North Carolina, the ſettlement of Nolachucky and French-broad, made on the branches of the Tenaſee in the years 1782, 1783, 1784, and 1785, contain between thirty and forty thouſand ſouls; ſeveral other ſettlements are forming at the Iron Banks on the Miſſiſſippi, beſides thoſe upon the weſtern ſide of the Ohio, which, including the inhabitants

* The farmers on Cumberland river, for the ſake of deſcribing their lands, diſtinguiſh them by firſt, ſecond, and third quality. Land of the firſt quality will bear indian corn or hemp; but it will not bear wheat without great reduction. Land of the ſecond quality does not bear wheat to advantage until it has been reduced by two or three crops of corn, hemp, tobacco, or cotton. Land of the third quality bears every kind of grain, that is uſually ſown on dry ground, in the Atlantic ſtates. It is agreed by all who have viſited the Cumberland ſettlement, that 100 buſhels of indian corn are frequently gathered from an acre of their beſt land. Sixty or ſeventy buſhels from an acre is very common; but the farmer who expects to gather ſuch a crop muſt be careful, while the corn is ſoft, to guard it againſt bears and racoons. This, however, is a trouble that muſt ceaſe when the country is well ſettled. Wheat, barley, oats, rye, buckwheat, indian corn, peaſe, beans, potatoes of both ſorts, flax, hemp, tobacco, indigo, rice, and cotton, have already been planted in that ſettlement, and they all thrive in great perfection. The uſual crop of cotton is 800 pounds to the acre; the ſtaple is long and fine. It is alleged, however, that the lands on the ſmall rivers that run into the Miſſiſſippi, have a decided preference to thoſe on the Cumberland river, for the production of cotton and indigo. No experiments have been made on land near the Miſſiſſippi, within the ceded territory; but there is a ſmall ſettlement further down the river, within the limits of the United States, on a ſimilar ſoil, where the growth and quality of cotton is ſo remarkable, that its culture is more profitable than any other crop. The ſoil on thoſe rivers is deep and light, having a ſmall mixture of ſand with a black earth; hence, as the planters allege, it proves favourable to the culture of all kinds of roots, as well as of indigo and cotton.—EDIT.

at

at Poſt St. Vincent and the Kaſkaſkies (I judge from the beſt information) do not fall ſhort of fifty thouſand. I have not mentioned the number in the ſettlement of the Great Bend of the Tenaſee, as I have not been able to collect any ſatisfactory information reſpecting them: but I ſuppoſe the aggregate number of ſouls in the weſtern country is very little, if at all, ſhort of four hundred thouſand, including the ſettlements of Holſton, Clinch River, and Powel's Valley, which taken together may amount to ſeventy thouſand ſouls, and which are properly on the weſtern waters.

The ſettlements on the weſtern ſide of the Ohio have been greatly haraſſed and retarded by the indian war, which has continued with little variation ſince 1785; but the vigorous meaſures which their depredations have obliged Congreſs to adopt, muſt end with a permanent peace, or in a few years their provocations will lead to the extirpation of the whole of the Miami and Illinois tribes. Their proweſs and determined reſolution will, no doubt, conſiderably annoy our army, which, having been moſtly recruited from the Atlantic country, are not acquainted with ſuch dexterity and courage, or indeed habituated to their manner of fighting; but our numbers have grown too conſiderable; for defeats only invigorate our meaſures, while the loſs of every man, to nations whoſe population is ſo extremely tardy as that of the ſavages of America, is a lamentable conſideration.

In the peopling this country, new ſtates will naturally ariſe; and thus, in contemplating the continent of America, we may form an adequate idea of what will be the magnitude of its federal empire. The upper ſettlement on the Ohio, though more populous than the ſettlement of Cumberland, is not likely to become a ſeparate ſtate ſo ſoon. The greateſt part of it is within the limits of Pennſylvania, and not ſo remote from the capital of that ſtate as the

Cumberland ſettlement is from the capital of North Carolina. The intercourſe is continual, and the productions of the country, or at leaſt their cattle, may be driven to Philadelphia, &c. &c. as I have obſerved before; and their influence is not ſufficient to procure them an act of ſeparation, ſhould they deſire it. In the caſe of North Carolina and Cumberland there is little or no communication between them, nor is it to be expected that it ever can be the intereſt of either to continue the connexion; therefore, it is moſt likely, that diſtrict will follow Kentucky in the links of the great federal chain.

I muſt now proceed upon conjecture, as there are no definite limits preſcribed by the federal government for the lines of demarkation, which are to be the different boundaries or limits of new ſtates that will ariſe. However, it is eaſy, by conſulting natural boundaries, to form a pretty juſt idea where will be their different diviſions. I have already remarked that Kentucky and Cumberland are divided by a line in lat. 36½°, which will be the boundary of Cumberland to the northward. The mountains will moſt likely be its eaſtern limits: its ſouthern limits will be, either the partition line continued between North Carolina and Georgia (South Carolina never poſſeſſed any weſtern land), or it will run ſoutherly, until it ſtrikes that ridge of hills which divides the Tenaſee country from the country of the Chacktaws; thence a due weſt courſe to the Miſſiſſippi, or following ſome one of thoſe branches which riſe in thoſe hills, and purſuing its courſe to that river. This will comprehend a diſtrict of country of nearly two hundred miles in length from eaſt to weſt, and nearly an hundred and fifty from north to ſouth. I cannot ſpeak here with accuracy, as it is that part of all the weſtern country which is leaſt known.

The country upon the head waters of the Tenaſee ſtands next in the liſt of advancement. This country includes the ſettlement of Holſton, the ſettlement of Clinch, and the

ſettle-

ſettlements of Powel's Valley, which are part in Virginia, and part in North Carolina; beſides the ſettlements of Nolachucky and Frenchbroad. This laſt ſettlement will be extended to the borders of the Cherokee country, which will bind this ſtate to the ſouthward. Its weſtern boundary will be Cumberland Mountain, which will divide it from the ſtates of Kentucky and Cumberland. Its northern limits will be the ridges of hills that divide the waters of the Tenaſee and the Great Kanhaway; and its eaſtern boundary will be the high hills that divide the eaſtern from the weſtern waters in this part of America, which are called in Virginia the North Mountains, and which continue their courſe through the Carolinas. This ſtate will be in extent upwards of two hundred miles from north to ſouth, and the average width from eaſt to weſt nearly an hundred and fifty.

This country has mountains on every ſide but the ſouth-weſt, and is interſperſed with high hills in moſt parts of it. The vallies are extremely fertile, and everywhere finely watered. The climate in the upper part of the country is not ſo temperate as that of Kentucky, though it lies in the ſame latitude, which is owing to the neighbouring mountains. Many parts of this diſtrict are well ſettled, and cultivation was brought to ſuch conſiderable perfection, that the inhabitants had it in contemplation to become independent ſeven years ſince, under the diſtinction of the State of Franklin, of which very probably you may have read. Its population is not only conſiderable, but its reſpectability in every conſideration will very ſoon entitle it to the rank of a diſtinct ſtate; though it may require ſome time to effect a unity of ſentiments, and a conſolidation of its various and detached ſettlements into that order which the organs of government require.

Before I leave this ſide of the Miſſiſſippi, I muſt beg leave to digreſs, and ſhew what will be the probable deſtination

of the indian nations, who live between the ſouthern limits of the country I have been mentioning, and the Floridas, and which may amount to thirteen thouſand, incluſive of men, women, and children.

The Cherokees are about two thouſand five hundred; the Creeks three thouſand five hundred; the Chacktaws are about ſix thouſand; and the different vagrant nations may amount to a thouſand more.

The ſettlements making in the upper parts of Georgia, upon the fine lands of the Oconee and Okemulgee rivers, will in a very few years bid defiance to them in that quarter. The georgian troops have already defeated them, and forced them to be quiet. The ſettlement of Frenchbroad, aided by Holſton, has nothing to fear from them; and the Cumberland is too puiſſant to apprehend any danger. The Spaniards are in poſſeſſion of the Floridas (how long they will remain ſo muſt depend upon their moderation and good manners), and the ſettlements at the Natchez and above, which will ſoon extend to the ſouthern boundaries of Cumberland; ſo that they will be completely enveloped in a few years. Our people will continue to encroach upon them on three ſides, and compel them to live more domeſtic lives, and aſſimilate them to our mode of living, or croſs to the weſtern ſide of the Miſſiſſippi.

In the ſettlement of Long Iſland, in the ſtate of New York, ſome of the tribes of Indians remained, and lived in continual intercourſe with the whites. Whether it was from any cruelty practiſed upon them, or from their predominant paſſion for ardent ſpirits, I will not pretend to ſay; but it is certain that very few of them remain, and they are a ſlothful, degenerate order of beings, compared with the aborigines of that country. In the ſettlement of South Carolina the Catawbas were allotted a tract of country, and though they have retained their courage, their numbers have greatly declined. The cauſe of civilization proving repugnant to

their

their population, I think, may be ſufficiently accounted for in the whites encouraging their thirſt for intoxication.

I will next take notice of the Genaſee country, which lies upon the waters that run into Lake Ontario, and which it is expected will be peopled as ſoon as the Six Nations of Indians are peaceable. This is a very rich and fertile tract of country, lying in the remote parts of New York, bounded by Pennſylvania to the ſouth-eaſt, by the lakes to the north-weſt, and high hills and a wilderneſs from the Ohio country. I have hitherto omitted taking notice of it, as not properly belonging to the weſtern country; but as I am going to proceed to partition the country weſt of the Ohio into ſeparate ſtates, I thought it moſt conſiſtent to keep up the chain of connexion; and without mentioning this diſtrict, there would have been a chaſm between New York and the uppermoſt ſtate upon the waters of the Ohio.

Let us now return to the Ohio. That ridge of hills which divides the waters of this river from that of the lakes running ſouth-weſterly, until they run north-weſterly, and divide the ſources of the Wabaſh and Illinois rivers from the ſouthern branches of the lakes, will moſt likely mark the limits to the weſt of the upper ſtate upon the weſtern ſide of the Ohio. The ridge of hills, which divides the waters of the Allegany river from thoſe of the Genaſee, will bound it to the north; the Allegany river and the Ohio to the eaſt; and the Muſkingum to the ſouth. The next ſtate I ſhould form between the Muſkingum and Scioto, the Ohio, and that ridge of hills * between the ſources of theſe

* There are no mountains or ridges of hills that ſeparate the waters of the Ohio from thoſe of the St. Lawrence. The country which forms the dividing ground between the waters of the Miſſiſſippi and the lakes, though neceſſarily much elevated above the coaſts of the lakes, or the ſhores of the Ohio or Miſſiſſippi rivers, does nevertheleſs aſſume a level form, which ſpreads into extenſive pararies, or plains of natural meadow, interſperſed with ſwamps and moraſſes, whence iſſue the north-weſt ſources of the Ohio, and the ſouth-eaſt branches of the lakes.—EDIT.

rivers and thoſe of Lake Erie; the third between the Scioto, the Great Miami, the Ohio, and the ſame ridge of hills. The country lying between the Miami, Wabaſh, the Ohio, and the ſame hills, I would put into another ſtate; and the country lying between the Wabaſh, Ohio, Miſſiſſippi, and Illinois rivers, I would eſtabliſh into a fifth ſtate.

Between the mouth of the Illinois river and waters of Lake Michigan, lies a diſtrict of country equally fertile with any part of the weſtern country; but, in the progreſſion of our ſettlements, it will be ſome years before any ſettlements can be formed there, except in the fork of the Miſſiſſippi and Illinois; which may be erected into a ſtate, by running a line from a point lat. 42° 30′ upon the Miſſiſſippi, in ſuch a direction as to ſtrike the head branches of the Illinois. But it is moſt likely that the country on the Miſſiſſippi and Miſouri will be ſettled before this diſtrict, though it is conſidered as the empire of Spain. However, I will not be ſo indecorous as to parcel out the territories of other nations: it is ſufficiently preſumptuous to have gone ſo far as I have.

I have now marked out the imaginary boundaries of ſix new ſtates, excluſive of thoſe on the eaſtern ſide of the Ohio, the Genaſee ſettlement, and without including the country between the northern limits of Kentucky and Pittſburg, or the country between Niagara, Detroit, and the ſources of thoſe rivers which run into the Ohio.

The upper ſettlement on the eaſtern ſide of the Ohio will moſt likely follow the Cumberland and Holſton in its independence. In peopling the new ſtates I conclude the lowermoſt will be firſt ſettled, and conſequently the firſt to be admitted into the federal government. The diſtrict of country that will be laſt ſettled, in all probability, between the Ohio, the lakes, and the Miſſiſſippi, to the ſouth of St. Anthony's falls, is perhaps that which lies between Niagara and Detroit, and extending to the ridge of hills which divides the waters of Lake Erie and Ohio, by reaſon of its

damp

damp and cold ſoil. The ſurrender of the forts of Niagara and Detroit (which I underſtand is about to be done), may increaſe the ſettlements upon the borders of Lake Erie; but I think it is not likely that unhoſpitable clime will find inhabitants, while the genial regions of the Miſſiſſippi are in a great meaſure uninhabited.

It is next neceſſary to take notice how, and in what probable time, theſe ſtates will be inhabited. The firſt ſettlement upon the Ohio, and the progreſs made in agriculture, were extremely tardy. But it is neceſſary to recollect, that America was not only in an infant ſtate at the concluſion of the war in 1763, but that the continual wars with the Indians greatly retarded the progreſs of that ſettlement; and if the ſame obſtructions have been given to the ſettlements on the weſtern ſide of the Ohio, it is equally certain that the exhauſted condition of the finances of the United States, until within a year and a half paſt, did not permit them to take thoſe vigorous meaſures neceſſary to their tranquillity; and that permanent ſettlements on that ſide of the river, and the increaſe of the neceſſaries of life (which are now in greater abundance in the weſtern country than in any other part of America), will enable them to ſupport their ſituation with infinitely more eaſe, than when we were obliged to bring almoſt every thing for uſe over the mountain.

I have eſtimated the number of ſouls on the weſtern waters at 400,000. I ſhould ſuppoſe, from the diſpoſition to early marriages, which is general, and the extraordinary fecundity it is obſerved everywhere prevails, with the addition of the emigrants who may be expected from the eaſtern ſtates, that the inhabitants will double once in 15 years for the next 60 years to come, at leaſt,—which in the firſt 15 years will be equal to peopling four or five of theſe ſtates; and I think we may expect to ſee at the end of 30 years the whole country I have been deſcribing inhabited.

The ratio of increaſe after the firſt 30 years appears almoſt too aſtoniſhing for belief: 6,400,000 ſouls increaſe in the courſe of 60 years, when it is notorious that all America added to her population little more than 2,000,000 in the courſe of a century, no doubt will appear a calculation too extravagant; for which reaſon it will be neceſſary for me to ſtate the riſe of the one, and the probable growth of the other.

Mr. Jefferſon, in his notes on Virginia (to which I ſhall have frequent occaſion to advert in my ſubſequent letters), allows a duplication only once in 27¼ years. He takes the ſpace of 118 years incluſive from 1654, until the year 1702, when the tithes of Virginia had increaſed from 7209, to 153,000; which eſtimate, he ſays, is corroborated by the particular uniformity of the intermediate enumerations taken in 1700, 1748, and 1759. According to this increaſe, he ſuppoſes the inhabitants of Virginia alone will amount to between 6 and 7,000,000 within ninety-ſix years.

It appears, by a ſtatement which he has made of the emigrants in different years to that country, that the greateſt number in any one year was 3000, which was the year 1628. From the year 1654 the diſſolution of the Virginia company took place, and importations almoſt ceaſed until it became the practice of your government to tranſport convicts to the colonies; ſo that it does not appear that the peopling of Virginia was materially owing to the migrations from Europe: whereas I have known upwards of 10,000 emigrants to arrive in the ſingle ſtate of Kentucky within one year, and from 4 to 10,000 in ſeveral other years.

Great part of the country from the Bay of Fundy to Cape Florida upon the ſea coaſt is unfavourable to agriculture. New England has never yet produced corn ſufficient to ſupply its inhabitants with bread; which muſt proceed either from the ignorance of the arts of huſbandry in that country, or from the poverty of the ſoil: I believe both have

have helped to retard the progreſs of agriculture. Long Iſland is chiefly a ſand heap, where the inhabitants ſeem for a great length of time to have been content to live upon fiſh. The ſtate of New York for a conſiderable diſtance back is a continuation of hills and ſtones. The country from Polouſhook to the capes of the Delaware is a flat of nothing but ſalt marſhes and pine barrens, which extend for twenty miles up the country; and the whole country from thoſe capes ſouthward to the Gulf of Florida is no better, for a conſiderable diſtance from the ſea, the bottoms of the rivers excepted; ſo that the firſt ſettlers of America had not only the natives to contend againſt, but alſo extreme poverty.

The extenſion of the dutch ſettlement from New York up Hudſon's river to the fine lands about Albany, and to the fertile banks of the Rariton, in Jerſey, and the ſettlement of Pennſylvania by the celebrated Penn, firſt produced that plenty which is not only neceſſary to comfort, but is eſſential to occaſion that fecundity which diſtinguiſhes the rapid population of moſt infant countries, after they have overcome the firſt difficulties of eſtabliſhing a ſettlement.

As the natives were driven back, the ſettlers began to penetrate into the fertile regions of the middle parts of the ſtates, which lie at ſome diſtance from the ſea coaſt. But ſeveral cauſes now combined to retard the population of the country. The unfavourable appearance of the ſoil of New England induced moſt of its inhabitants to lead ſea-faring lives, which not only tend to check the natural increaſe of men by the loſſes incidental to ſuch an employment, but hinder, in a material degree, the propagation of the ſpecies by the ſeparation of the ſexes.

This buſineſs was in ſome meaſure common to the whole colonies. Beſides which, the wars that England was often engaged in againſt France and Spain, and in which we were alſo concerned, with the frequent indian wars, and the late ame-

american war, helped not a little to obſtruct the natural proportion of the increaſe of inhabitants. America had only croſſed the line between poverty and affluence, when the late unfortunate war commenced. However, there was a ſtill more nefarious and deteſtable cauſe for this ſlowneſs of population, ariſing from the introduction of african ſlavery. Men began then to look upon it as infamous to labour—amuſements were invented to fill up their time—diſſipation followed in all the exceſs of idleneſs and folly. The fair ſex were neglected; marriages were leſs early, and leſs frequent. And thus it happened that the inhabitants of Virginia were found to double only once in 27¼ years, and which has been adopted by ſome perſons as a criterion to eſtimate the increaſe of the inhabitants of all the other ſtates; but it is not a fair criterion, for it is notorious, that Pennſylvania is much better peopled than Virginia, though its firſt ſettlement was at a later date. But, now, for the reverſe. Though we enjoy an extenſive inland navigation, we are not liable to the ſame loſs of men which the perils of the ſea produce; nor any of that loſs which maritime countries ſuffer by their citizens entering into foreign ſervice, or ſettling in foreign countries: our voyages will be regulated by the periodical floods, and the æras of abſence will be more determinate and certain; ſo that abſence here cannot ſo materially interrupt domeſtic happineſs, and cannot in the leaſt retard the increaſe of inhabitants. It is impoſſible that we can experience any thing like poverty, for no country, perhaps, upon the globe is ſo rich in the comforts and neceſſaries of life. As to wars, we can have none after a few years more are paſt. The Spaniards may put us to ſome inconvenience for a few years to come; but, in doing this, they will not only riſk the loſs of New Orleans, but the whole of Louiſiana, which they conſider as the key to Mexico. Thus ſecured from wars, and the inland navigation of the country not ſubjecting us to material loſſes in that buſineſs;

buſineſs; with the propenſity to early marriages, produced by the ſimplicity and innocence of youth, tutored under the pure maxims of virtue and reaſon; it cannot be conſidered as a ſanguine calculation, when we add the additional conſideration of the probable number of emigrants we may receive, that our population will double once in fifteen years.

Having endeavoured to give you an idea of the country north-weſt of the Ohio, omitted in my laſt, and what will be the probable partitions of the new ſtates to be laid off on that ſide of the river, the population, and expected increaſe of the inhabitants of the weſtern country; I ſhall take leave of you for the preſent, and in my next you ſhall have an account of its productions, navigations, &c.

I remain, affectionately,

Yours, &c.

LETTER V.

MY DEAR FRIEND, *Kentucky.*

IN the advancement of civilization, agriculture ſeems to have been in every country the primary object of mankind—Arts and ſciences have followed, and, ultimately, they have been relevant to each other. Fortunately for us, the preſent æra of reaſon not only admits, but makes it neceſſary, that they ſhould go hand in hand. The decency of life is not the ſmalleſt of ſublunary blandiſhments. Purity is to the body what virtue is to the ſoul;—an eternal invigorating germ, whoſe bloſſoms diffuſe the moſt fragrant odours, and give a vivacity to the mind equally manly and delightful.

The

The weſtern limits of the federal empire are bounded on the north by the Lakes Ontario, Erie, St. Clair, Huron, Superior, and the Lake of the Wood *; to the weſt by the Miſſiſſippi; and extending as far ſouth as the Natchez, or lat. 32 deg. then is bound by the Floridas to the ſouth. What is called the Weſtern Territory lies on this ſide of the Allegany mountain, within theſe limits †.

Here is found all the variety of ſoil and climate neceſſary to the culture of every kind of grain, fibrous plants, cotton, fruits, vegetables, and all ſorts of proviſions. The upper ſettlements on the Ohio produce chiefly wheat, oats, barley, rye, indian corn or maze, hemp and flax. The fruits are apples, pears, cherries, peaches, plums, ſtrawberries, raſpberries, currants, gooſeberries, and grapes; of culinary plants and vegetables, there are turnips, potatoes, carrots, parſnips, cymbiline or ſquaſh, cucumbers, peaſe, beans, aſ-

* Lake Ontario is about 600 miles in circumference, Lake Erie nearly 300, Lake St. Clair about 90, Lake Huron is reckoned 1000, and Lake Superior between 15 and 1600.

The Lake of the Wood from eaſt to weſt is about 70 miles, and its greateſt breadth about 40.

Lake Michigan is divided on the north-eaſt from Lake Huron by the Streights of Michillimacknac. Its greateſt length is 230 miles, its breadth about 60, and its circumference nearly 600.

On the north-weſt parts of this lake its waters branch out into two bays; that which lies towards the north is Noquet's Bay, and the other Puans, or Green Bay.

The waters of this, as well as the other great lakes, are clear, wholeſome, abound in fiſh, and are of ſufficient depth for the navigation of ſhips.

It is worth obſerving, that ſome of theſe lakes, in magnitude, are almoſt equal to the ſeas of Europe; and though there is not an immediate communication for ſhips with the Atlantic ocean, yet the advantages they muſt afford to the operations of commerce will prove not only very conſiderable, but, I conceive, will be nearly as beneficial as open ſeas, when the ſurrounding countries are under that ſame government, and influenced by reciprocal intereſt.

† Colonel Gordon, in his journal, ſays, "that this country may, from a proper knowledge, be affirmed to be the moſt healthy, the moſt pleaſant, and moſt fertile ſpot of earth known to european people."

paragus,

paragus, cabbages, brocoli, celery, and ſalads; beſides which there are melons and herbs of every ſort. The proviſion conſiſts of beef, pork, mutton, veal, and a variety of poultry, ſuch as ducks, Muſcovy ducks, turkies, geeſe, dunghill fowls, and pigeons. The ſuperfluous proviſions are ſold to the emigrants, who are continually paſſing through thoſe ſettlements, in their route to the different diſtricts of country, and which I have enumerated. Some conſiderable quantities of ſpirits diſtilled from rye, and likewiſe cider, are ſent down the river to a market, in thoſe infant ſettlements where the inhabitants have not had time to bring orchards to any perfection, or have not a ſuperfluity of grain to diſtil into ſpirits. The beef, pork, and flour, are diſpoſed of in the ſame way. The flax and hemp are packed on horſes, and ſent acroſs the mountain to the inland towns of Pennſylvania and Maryland, and (as I hinted in a former letter) in a few years, when grazing forms the principal object of thoſe ſettlers, they will always find a market for their cattle at Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Alexandria.

Theſe ſettlements might produce a conſiderable quantity of ſugar, but hitherto what they have made has ſerved for little more than home conſumption, as every part of the back country from lat. 42° to 36°, and upon the Miſſiſſippi, as far north as lat. 45°, produces an abundance of the ſugar maple-tree as would be equal to furniſh ſugar for the inhabitants of the whole earth; and to ſend it to any of the market towns on the Atlantic is too far to be profitable, until the canals of the Potowmac ſhall have been finiſhed. That country produces alſo all the pot-herbs which are common in Europe: ſeveral kinds of nuts grow in the foreſts, ſuch as cheſnuts, hickory, and black walnuts. The mountains, hills, and uninhabited parts abound in deer, wild turkies, and a ſpecies of grouſe, called by the Americans promiſcuouſly partridge or pheaſant. There is an abundance of wild fowl, as indeed is the caſe in every part of the weſtern

weſtern country: to enumerate theſe could prove for you neither amuſement nor inſtruction.

Linen and woollen cloths, leather, and hats, for home conſumption, are manufactured with conſiderable ſucceſs. The two firſt articles are only made in families for their own uſe; but the latter are made by men of profeſſion in that buſineſs, and are of a quality that would not diſgrace the mechanics of Europe. Blackſmiths work of all ſorts, even to making fire-arms, is done there; as is alſo cabinet work, wheel-wright, mill-wright, houſe carpentry, joinery, ſhoe-making, &c. &c.; in ſhort, all the trades immediately neceſſary to the promotion of the comforts of new ſettlements, are to be found here.

After paſſing to the ſouthward of lat. 40 deg. the climate becomes favourable to the culture of tobacco. It will, no doubt, grow farther to the north; but neither its flavour is ſo aromatic, nor the crop ſo certain or productive. Indeed the farther ſouth tobacco grows, generally the finer its quality; hence it is, that the ſaegars of Cuba are ſo much admired for their peculiar ſcent, and the Oroonookoo for its mildneſs. However, this is of little conſequence to any country, as it is certain no cultivation is ſo pernicious to the ſoil, and of ſo little real advantage to the cultivator. It continually impoveriſhes the land; and every additional ſeaſon, inſtead of producing riches to an eſtate, tends to beggar it: every veſtige of its growth is miſery and devaſtation, and no ſoil, but one as prolific as that of the Nile, would be capable of producing it for any length of time, according to the ſyſtem which has been purſued in Virginia and Maryland. However, the whole of the Ohio and Miſſiſſippi country below lat. 40 deg. is perhaps better adapted to produce tobacco in quantity than any other country upon the face of the globe.

Kentucky produces, beſides tobacco, all the different kinds of grain that I have deſcribed in the upper ſettlement;

ment; all the fruits, with the addition of apricots and nectarines *; theſe and peaches grow here to very great perfection, particularly when planted upon a light ſoil, which ſhould always be the caſe when it can be found: but, however extraordinary it may appear, it is not often the caſe in this diſtrict of country.

Thoſe culinary plants, vegetables, &c. I have enumerated above, are produced in the whole weſtern country. In ſome parts they grow to greater perfection than in others, as in this the cucumber, turnips, peas, and many others, are much finer than I ever ſaw them any where beſide. The cantelupe melon is only to be equalled by thoſe in Perſia. We are not at the trouble and expence of forcing. Every thing put into the ground of the vegetable kind grows in a moſt wonderful manner.

The ſoil is uncommonly favourable to hemp and indian corn. I have known 12 cwt. of the former produced from an acre of ground, and as much as 100 buſhels of the latter. This has not only been done from an uncommon fertile ſpot, but there are large bodies of land adjoining, which are equally prolific †. I believe that, were I to mention upon an average the produce of the whole country, it would be found to be nearly as follows:

Hemp per acre - -	800 cwt.
Indian corn, or maze, ditto -	60 buſhels
Wheat, ditto - -	30 ditto
Barley, ditto - -	40 ditto
Oats, ditto - -	50 ditto
Clover and timothy graſs, ditto	25 cwt.

* I never ſaw an apricot or nectarine in any part of the weſtern country. They are a fruit very rarely met with in the Atlantic ſtates.—EDIT.

† From ſeveral accounts, and from the ſpecimens of the indian wild hemp, as well as from the judgment which ſome of our rope-makers of the firſt claſs here in England have given on it, it ſeems pretty clear, that ſomething more might be done in America by the cultivation of the native, than by the tranſplanting of a foreign ſpecies.—EDIT.

Beſides

Beſides hemp and flax for manufacturing, cotton is cultivated with conſiderable ſucceſs, particularly in the ſouthern parts of the ſtate, and Cumberland; and, no doubt, in a few years, when our ſettlements extend to the Natchez, cotton will be produced in as great perfection as in the Eaſt or Weſt Indies. No ſoil or climate can be more congenial to this plant than the regions on the lowermoſt parts of the Miſſiſſippi. We have it in our power to promote the culture of ſilk alſo. The mildneſs of the climate, and the great quantity of the mulberry trees, which are everywhere interſperſed in our foreſts, render this matter extremely eaſy; but how far this will be politic, when the uſe of ſilk is going out of faſhion, is a matter that requires ſome conſideration*. Cotton has ſupplied its place, and its ſuperior ex-

* That ſenſible and judicious obſerver, Mr. Pratt, recommended it to his countrymen, that, inſtead of attempting to breed the ſilkworm of Aſia, they ſhould make trials on various ſpecies of ſpinning-worms, with which the woods of America abound. From repeated experiments, he thought himſelf authoriſed to aſſert, that he was ſure a native ſilkworm would ſome day or other be found in America, ſuch as might turn to practical account; whereas the thunder, the boiſterous and ſudden changes of weather, under the preſent ſtate of the climate of America, diſturbed the foreign ſilkworm, ſo as that it would never be cultivated to any advantage equal to what the native ſilkworm might be. At the time that theſe things were in New England a ſubject of ſpeculation, they were, by the experiments made by madam Hubert, a Provençal ſettled in Louiſiana, reduced to demonſtration. This lady made many comparative experiments on the native and foreign ſilkworm, fed on different leaves of different mulberry trees; the native worm of America, though larger and ſtronger, yet being wild, and not ſettled like the domiciliated worm of Europe, did not produce an equal quantity of ſilk; but this ſhe imputed wholly to its wild unſettled nature; their ſilk, although coarſe, was ſtrong and thick. Since making the above remark, governor Pownall was informed that 10,000 weight of cocons of the *native* ſilkworm of America, was ſold in 1771 at the public filature in Philadelphia, and that the ſilk produced from them was of a good quality; and a ſample being ſent to England, was much approved of in London. By the tranſactions of the american philoſophical ſociety held at Philadelphia, printed in 1768, it appears, that Mr. Moſes Bertram had made many curious experiments on the native ſilkworm. See alſo M. de Pratz, hiſt. de Louiſiana, liv. ii. chap. 2.—EDIT.

cellence,

cellence, I apprehend, will always make it a more profitable manufactory.

The growth of wool will form an important conſideration with us. The plains I have deſcribed extend quite to the mountains, ſo that ſheep here may have every advantage which the flocks of Spain enjoy. If we can form any idea from the ſamples of wool produced in many parts of the country, we may conclude that our moſt ſanguine expectations will be fully anſwered.

The buffalo are moſtly driven out of Kentucky. Some are ſtill found upon the head waters of Licking creek, Great Sandy, and the head waters of Green river. Deer abound in the extenſive foreſts; but the elk confines itſelf moſtly to the hilly and uninhabited places.

The rapidity of the ſettlement has driven the wild turkey quite out of the middle countries; but they are found in large flocks in all our extenſive woods.

Amidſt the mountains and broken countries are great numbers of the grouſe I have deſcribed; and ſince the ſettlement has been eſtabliſhed, the quail, by following the trail of grain which is neceſſarily ſcattered through the wilderneſs, has migrated from the old ſettlements on the other ſide the mountain, and has become a conſtant reſident with us. This bird was unknown here on the firſt peopling of the country.

There is a variety of wild fowl in every part of this ſtate, particularly teal, and the ſummer duck. The latter breeds with us. Its incubation is always in temperate climates, which is the reaſon of its being called the ſummer duck.

The productions of Cumberland are nearly the ſame as thoſe of Kentucky. The quality of tobacco is perhaps ſomething better; but the climate being conſiderably warmer, is not ſo favourable to wheat and barley, nor does graſs grow there ſo luxuriantlyas with us.

The country below Cumberland ſoon becomes warm

enough for indigo and rice; and perhaps theſe articles, in a few years, will be cultivated on the Miſſiſſippi with as much ſucceſs, if not more, than they ever were in South Carolina, or Georgia; particularly the former, as the ſoil on the Miſſiſſippi is infinitely more luxuriant than any in the Carolinas. Some eſſays were made in this buſineſs previous to the late war; but the object was abandoned in the deſtruction of the ſettlement I mentioned in a former letter, made below the Natchez.

Oranges, and other tropical fruits, grow at the Natchez, and ſome diſtance above, to conſiderable perfection. There are a variety of nuts that grow both in Kentucky and Cumberland, ſome of which are common to both: the moſt remarkable of them is the pacane; all of which have been noticed both by Carver and Jefferſon. Grapes, plums, gooſeberries, and ſtrawberries, grow alſo ſpontaneouſly in the ſouthern parts of Kentucky, and in moſt parts of Cumberland.

The produce of the weſtern country will be nearly the ſame in the ſame parallels of latitude throughout; ſo that, comparing my imaginary ſtates with the ſettled country ſouth-eaſt of the Ohio, you will be able to form a juſt idea of what they will be capable of producing. But to comprehend the object of the commerce of this country, it is firſt neceſſary to contemplate it, abounding in all the comforts of life, limited in its variety of climate only by what is not deſirable; with a ſoil ſo prolific, a navigation ſo extenſive, and a ſecurity ſo permanent, from being inland, that it ſeems this vaſt extent of empire is only to be equalled for its ſublimity by the object of its aggrandizement.

Proviſions, tobacco, and raw materials, will conſtitute the firſt articles of our trade *. Such a quantity of beef, pork, bacon,

* The following juſt and judicious obſervations were addreſſed to the earl of Hillſborough, in the yea 1770, when ſecretary of ſtate for the north american department:

bacon, butter, cheeſe, &c. &c. might be furniſhed from this country as will one day, no doubt, furniſh the Weſt India iſlands,

"No part of North America will require leſs encouragement for the production of naval ſtores, and raw materials for manufactories in Europe, and for ſupplying the Weſt India iſlands with *lumber, proviſions*, &c. than the country of the Ohio; and for the following reaſons:

"Firſt, The lands are excellent, the climate temperate; the native grapes, ſilkworms, and mulberry trees, abound everywhere; hemp, hops, and rye, grow ſpontaneouſly in the vallies and low lands; lead and iron are plenty in the hills; ſalt ſprings are innumerable; and no ſoil is better adapted to the culture of tobacco, flax, and cotton, than that of the Ohio.

"Second, The country is well watered by ſeveral navigable rivers, communicating with each other; by which, and a ſhort land carriage, the produce of the lands of the Ohio can, even now (in the year 1772), be ſent cheaper to the ſea-port town of Alexandria, on the Potowmac river in Virginia (where the troops of general Braddock landed), than any kind of merchandiſe is ſent from Northampton to London.

"Third, The river Ohio is, at all ſeaſons of the year, navigable with large boats, like the weſt-country barges, rowed only by four or five men; and from the month of February to April large ſhips may be built on the Ohio, and ſent to ſea, laden with hemp, iron, flax, ſilk, tobacco, cotton, pot-aſh, &c.

"Fourth, Flour, corn, beef, ſhip-plank, and other uſeful articles, can be ſent down the ſtream of the Ohio to Weſt Florida, and from thence to the Weſt India iſlands, much cheaper and in better order, than from New York or Philadelphia, to thoſe iſlands.

"Fifth, Hemp, tobacco, iron, and ſuch bulky articles, may alſo be ſent down the ſtream of the Ohio to the ſea, at leaſt 50 per cent. cheaper than theſe articles were ever carried by land carriage, of only 60 miles, in Pennſylvania; where waggonage is cheaper than in any other part of North America.

"Sixth, The expence of tranſporting european manufactories from the ſea to the Ohio, will not be ſo much as is now paid, and muſt ever be paid, to a great part of the countries of Pennſylvania, Virginia, and Maryland. Whenever the farmers or merchants of the Ohio ſhall properly underſtand the buſineſs of tranſportation, they will build ſchooners, ſloops, &c. on the Ohio, ſuitable for the Weſt India or european markets; or by having black walnut, cherry tree, oak, &c. properly ſawed for foreign markets, and formed into rafts in the manner that is now done by the ſettlers near the upper parts of the Delaware in Pennſylvania, and thereon ſtow their hemp, iron, tobacco, &c. and proceed with them to New Orleans.

iſlands, and afford relief to the miſerable Chineſe, whoſe ſcanty portion of rice is only ſufficient to keep ſoul and body together. Our mountainous countries muſt always prove excellent ranges for herds of cattle; the graſs, in the ſummer, affording ſufficient food to fatten them, without the expence of cultivated meadows, and the winters are ſeldom ſo ſevere as to require any other food than the cane and pea-vine.

The navigation of this country has been much talked of. The diſtance from one place to another has been computed with ſome degree of accuracy, and the various experiments which have been made confirm the opinion that its difficulty is merely imaginary.

The common mode of deſcending the ſtream is in flat-bottomed boats, which may be built from 15 to 500 tons

"It may not, perhaps, be amiſs to obſerve, that large quantities of flour are made in the diſtant (weſtern) countries of Pennſylvania, and ſent by an expenſive land carriage to the city of Philadelphia, and from thence ſhipped to South Carolina, and to Eaſt and Weſt Florida, there being little or no wheat raiſed in thoſe provinces.

"The river Ohio ſeems kindly deſigned by nature, as the channel through which the two Floridas may be ſupplied with flour; not only for their common conſumption, but alſo for the carrying on an extenſive commerce with Jamaica, and the Spaniſh ſettlements in the bay of Mexico. Millſtones in abundance are to be obtained in the hills near the Ohio; and the country is everywhere well watered with large and conſtant ſprings and ſtreams for griſt and other mills.

"The paſſage from Philadelphia to Pennſacola is ſeldom made in leſs than a month, and ſixty ſhillings per ton, freight (conſiſting of ſixteen barrels), is uſually paid for flour, &c. thither. Boats carrying 800 or 1000 barrels of flour may go in about the ſame time from Pittſburg as from Philadelphia to Pennſacola, and for half the above freight; the Ohio merchants would be able to deliver flour, &c. there in much better order than from Philadelphia, and without incurring the damage and delay of the ſea, and charges of inſurance, &c. as from thence to Pennſacola.

"This is not mere ſpeculation; for it is a fact, that about the year 1746, there was a great ſcarcity of proviſions at New Orleans; and the French ſettlements at the Illinois, ſmall as they then were, ſent thither in one winter upwards of eight hundred thouſand weight of flour."

burden.

burden. But, as far as I have been able to judge, I ſhould ſuppoſe, that about 50 or 60 tons burden would be the moſt convenient, wieldy, and conſequently ſafe, particularly when the waters are very high; for in ſuch caſes the rapidity of the current makes it difficult to manage an unwieldy maſs with facility. Theſe boats are built of oak plank, with a certain proportion of breadth to their length, *i. e.* nearly as 12 feet to 40; which will be a boat of nearly 40 tons. They are covered or not, as occaſion may require. The object is to build them as cheap as poſſible, for their unwieldineſs prevents the poſſibility of their returning, and they can only be ſold as plank.

Several of theſe boats ſetting out together, let us ſuppoſe 5, 10, 15, or 20, of 60 tons burden each, which would require each 6 hands to navigate them; ten boats then of 60 tons each will employ 60 hands, which will be equal to navigate up the ſtream 3 boats of 5 tons each, and would be more than ſufficient to bring back the cargo that the produce of the 10 boats would purchaſe; as the articles we export are groſs and bulky, while we want only in return ſuperfine goods: the coarſer goods of every ſort will always be manufactured in the country. We alſo make our own ſalt, ſugar, ſpirits, malt liquor, and ſhall ſoon make our own wine. Theſe boats muſt be worked up with ſteam and ſails.

The invention of carrying a boat againſt the ſtream by the influence of ſteam, is a late improvement in philoſophy by a Mr. Rumſey of Virginia, whoſe ingenuity has been rewarded by that ſtate with the excluſive privilege of navigating thoſe boats in her rivers for 10 years; and as this grant was given previous to the independence of Kentucky, the act of ſeparation guarantees his right. Some circumſtance or other has prevented his bringing them into uſe. However, there can be no doubt of the ſucceſs of his ſcheme; for the aſſembly of Virginia had the moſt unequivocal aſſurances before they gave the privilege, in a certificate ſigned by

general Wafhington and Man Page, eſquire; ſetting forth, that they had ſeen a boat, they believed to be conſtructed by Mr. Rumſey, aſcend a ſtream without the aid of manual labour, but without mentioning the operating cauſe, which has ſince appeared to be ſteam. If this principle ſhould fail (and from ſuch authority I do not conceive how it is to be preſumed), I flatter myſelf that philoſophy is capable of ſupplying the place in the appropriation of ſome one of the ſecrets with which mechanics abound.

In taking a retroſpective view of the world, we are for a moment ſurpriſed when we recollect that ſome thouſands of years had elapſed before printing was invented; and that the only way of accumulating the copies of art and genius was by the tardy method of tranſcribing; and that the art of navigation was for nearly as long a time devious, and regulated by no certain laws, the ſtars and head lands of different countries being the only guides to the adventurous mariner, who often periſhed when the heavens were obſcured. O Liberty! how many bleſſings haſt thou brought us! Man, in promulgating his opinions, now finds ſecurity under the wings of an eſtabliſhed freedom; and the diſmal dungeon, which eclipſed the luminous mind of the celebrated Italian, would now be erected into a ſchool for him to lecture in, inſtead of a priſon to bewail the miſerable ignorance and depravity of his fellow-creatures. Truth and reaſon have led to this melioration of manners—it will lead more benefits to mankind.—But ſhould we ſtill be obliged to row our boats againſt the ſtream, it is not only practicable but eaſy.

The frequent turnings in the Miſſiſſippi produce in every bend eddy water; which, with the advantage the wind affords, that blowing the greater part of the year from the ſouth-weſt, and directly up the windings of the river, by reaſon of the vacancy between the banks and riſing foreſts on either ſide, afford a channel for the current of the air,

air, is ſufficient with ſails, keeping as much as poſſible in the eddy water, to carry a boat 50 miles a day up the ſtream.

To account for thoſe winds philoſophically would be extremely eaſy; but, as it is a circumſtance notorious from the teſtimony of voyagers in the Miſſiſſippi and Ohio, I preſume the teſt of experience will be preferred to any philoſophical diſquiſition upon the ſubject.

Should this navigation prove too tedious, and no improvements appear likely to be made in it, the importing into the country may be facilitated by another channel, from the gulf of Mexico up the Mobile, which is a lazy current; from the principal branch of which there is but a ſhort paſſage to a branch of the Tenaſee, when you will have the advantage of the ſtream quite into the Ohio. I have enumerated this circumſtance merely for the ſake of information; for I have not the ſmalleſt doubt of the eligibility of the navigation of the Miſſiſſippi, which is proved from the experiments that are daily making.

The diſtance from Pittſburgh to the Muſkingum is 173 miles; to the Little Kanhaway 178; to the Great Kanhaway 285; to Great Sandy 342; to the Scioto 390; to Limeſtone 500; to the Little Miami 510; to Licking creek 524; to the Great Miami 550; to the Great Bone creek 582; to the Kentucky 626; to the Rapids 703; to Salt river 723; to Green river 922; to the Wabaſh 1019; to Cumberland river 1113; to the Tenaſee 1126; to the Miſſiſſippi 1183; from thence to New Orleans is about 1005.

I have mentioned that it is about 230 from the mouth of the Ohio up the Miſſiſſippi to the mouth of the Miſouri and about 20 from thence to Illinois, which is navigable for batteaux to its ſource. From thence there is a portage only of 2 miles to Chickago, which is alſo navigable for batteaux to its entrance into lake Michigan, which is a diſtance of 16 miles. This lake affords communication with the river St. Lawrence through lake Erie, paſſing Niagara

by a portage of 8 miles. The lakes Erie and Michigan are navigable for veſſels drawing 6 and 7 feet water. This is one of the routes by which the exchange of commodities between the northern and ſouthern parts of this empire will be facilitated.

In continuing the plan of intercourſe, it will be found extremely eaſy to paſs through lake Ontario to Wood creek; up Wood creek, and by a portage of about 3 miles, you arrive at a creek, which in 3 miles more brings you to Fort Edward upon the Mohawk river, a branch of Hudſon's river. There are ſeveral carrying-places between that and its junction with Hudſon; but very little labour would remove them, and which I have no doubt but the ſtate of New York * will be judicious enough to ſet early about. It is certain they have ordered ſurveys to be made, and plans are forming for the removal of thoſe obſtructions. It has been long in embryo with them. It was impoſſible a plan of ſo much utility could eſcape that ſage and penetrating politician general Schuyler, whoſe vaſt eſtate lies moſtly in that part of America.

There are alſo portages into the waters of lake Erie from the Wabaſh, Great Miami, Muſkingum, and Allegany, from 2 to 16 miles †. The portage between the Ohio and Potowmac will be about 20 miles when the obſtructions in the Monongahela and Cheat rivers are removed, which will form the firſt object of the gentlemen of Virginia when they have completed the canal on the Potowmac.

The obſtructions to the navigation of the Great Kanhaway are of ſuch magnitude, that it will require a work of

* That ſtate paſſed an act of aſſembly in July 1792, for removing all the obſtructions between Hudſon's river and lake Ontario; by which means, when it is done, there will be an inland navigation, taking its various courſes, of nearly 2000 miles in extent.

† Some of theſe have been noticed in a note in a preceding part of this work.

ages

ages to remove them; but if ever that ſhould be done, there will be an eaſy communication between that and James river, and likewiſe with the Roanoke, which runs through North Carolina. But this is an event too remote to deſerve any conſideration at preſent.

All the rivers in this country of 60 yards wide and upwards, are navigable almoſt to their ſources for flat-bottomed boats during their floods, and for batteaux the greater part of the year, the Great Kanhaway and Little Miami excepted. The Tenaſee has a conſiderable fall where it paſſes through Cumberland Mountain, where there muſt be a portage alſo. From thence it is navigable quite to Holſton *.

The rapids of the Ohio I have deſcribed in a former letter †. They are no obſtruction in high water to boats going

* Tenaſee river is navigable by veſſels of great burden to the Muſcle Shoals; thoſe ſhoals are only to be paſſed in ſmall boats or batteaux; from the Muſcle Shoals, the river is navigable in boats of 40 or 50 tons burden, to the Virginia line.—The Cumberland river is navigable in large veſſels to Naſhville, and thence in boats to the mouth of Obed's river.—Duck river is navigable in boats about 90 miles. The waters of Harpath, Cany-fork, Stones, Roaring and Red river, have uniformly a gentle current towards the mouth, whence they are all navigable in boats for a conſiderable diſtance. In a word, no ſpot can be marked in that country, that is more that 20 miles from a boatable ſtream, ſo great are its advantages of water conveyance. There are five navigable rivers in this territory, which diſcharge themſelves immediately into the Miſſiſſippi: Wolf, Hatchee, Forked-deer, Obion, and Reel-foot. So that the whole country is well interſected by rivers; and moſt of thoſe rivers are navigable by large boats: ſome of them by ſhips. Wolf river is already deſcribed in p. 40. EDIT.

† Colonel Gordon, in his journal down the Ohio, mentions, "That thoſe falls do not deſerve that name, as the ſtream on the north ſide has no ſudden pitch, but only runs over a ledge of rocks. Several boats," he ſays, "paſſed them in the dryeſt ſeaſon of the year, unloading one half of their freight. They paſſed on the north ſide, where the carrying-place is three quarters of a mile long; on the ſouth-eaſt ſide it is about half that diſtance, and is reckoned the ſafeſt paſſage for thoſe who are unacquainted with it; but it is the moſt tedious, as, during part of the ſummer and autumn, the batteaux-men drag their boats over the rock. The fall is about half a mile

going down the river, and indeed batteaux may paſs almoſt at any time. There are two ſmall rapids in the Wabaſh between its mouth and St. Vincents; but they are no impediment to navigation, except at times of low water. The Kaſkaſkia is a ſmall river which runs into the Miſſiſſippi below the Illinois, and is navigable a conſiderable way above the plains. The Miſſiſſippi is navigable to St. Anthony's falls, without any obſtruction. Carver deſcribes it as navigable above them as far as he travelled. We have too little knowledge of the Miſouri to form any decided opinion of the extent of its navigation. It is however certain, that it is a more powerful ſtream than the Miſſiſſippi, and in entering that river, it triumphantly ruſhes acroſs, and its turbid waters, unmixed, ſeem to diſdain a connexion ſo inferior. From the beſt information that we have been able to collect, it is navigable for 12 or 1500 miles above its mouth, without obſtruction; and I think it is not unlikely that in ſettling the country towards its ſource, we ſhall find it is not remote from the ſources of the ſtreams running into the Pacific ocean, and that a communication may be opened between them with as much eaſe as between the Ohio and Potowmac, and alſo between the ſettlements on the Miſſiſſippi and California. This circumſtance is the more likely to happen, as it does not appear that the ridges of hills which divide the waters of the Pacific ocean from the waters of the Miſſiſſippi, are either ſo high or ſo rugged as the Allegany mountains*.

You

a mile rapid water, which, however, is paſſable, by wading and dragging the boat againſt the ſtream when loweſt, and with ſtill greater eaſe when the water is raiſed a little."

* As the general ſurface of the land ſlopes to the S. E. and as the heights of the tops of the mountains decreaſe gradually on the eaſtern ſide, ſo the general flow of the great rivers has a courſe which ſuch a face of country naturally gives: while they continue to run in any one vale, their courſe is S. W.; whenever through the gaps or interſections of the mountains they can force a way eaſtward, they do, tumbling over rocks, rifts, and precipices, in continual falls

You will obſerve, that, as far as this immenſe continent is known, the courſes and extent of its rivers are extremely favourable to communication by water; a circumſtance which is highly important, whether we regard it in a ſocial or commercial point of view. The intercourſe of men has added no inconſiderable luſtre to the poliſh of manners; and, perhaps, commerce has tended more to civilize and embelliſh the human mind, in two centuries, than war and chivalry would have done in five.

The federal government regulating every thing commercial, muſt be productive of the greateſt harmony, ſo that while we are likely to live in the regions of perpetual peace, our felicity will receive a zeſt from the activity and variety of our trade. We ſhall paſs through the Miſſiſſippi to the ſea—up the Ohio, Monongahela and Cheat rivers, by a ſmall portage, into the Potowmac, which will bring us to the federal city on the line of Virginia and Maryland—through the ſeveral rivers I have mentioned, and the lakes, to New York and Quebec—from the northern lakes to the head branches of the rivers which run into Hudſon's bay into the arctic regions—and from the ſources of the Miſouri into the Great South ſea *. Thus in the centre of the earth,

falls and cataracts ſouth-eaſterly; and ſo along each ſtage, and ſo from one ſtage to another, is their courſe in great zigzags S. W. and S. E. Such is the courſe (ſpeaking generally) of the Delaware, Suſquehanna, and Potowmac rivers. The leſſer rivers, which run only from off the eaſtern ſlope of theſe mountains (ſuch as Rapahanoch, James river, Roanoke, and the other rivers of the Carolinas), urge their courſe in all ways and windings to the ſea at S. E.—POWNALL.

* Beſides the ſeveral channels of communication already mentioned, there are two others which, in a very few years, will be opened; as the Pennſylvanians have already turned their attention toward them.

One from lake Erie to a place called Le Bœuf, down the Allegany, to a river called Kiſkiſminitas, then up the ſame a certain diſtance, and from thence by a ſhort portage to a branch of the Suſquehanna, called Juniata. The other is from lake Ontario to the eaſt branch of the Delaware, which it is ſaid will not be attended

earth, governing by the laws of reaſon and humanity, we ſeem calculated to become at once the emporium and protectors of the world †.

Before

tended with much difficulty; and which will be a direct communication between Philadelphia and that lake.

† There is a ridge of hills, generally called the Shining Mountains, which begin at Mexico, and continue to the eaſt of California, that ſeparate the water of thoſe rivers which fall either into the gulf of that peninſula, or the gulf of Mexico. From thence, as they continue their courſe northward, between the waters of the Miſſiſſippi, and the rivers that empty themſelves into the Pacific ocean, and end in about lat. 48 or 49, where ſeveral rivers have their ſources, which either run into Hudſon's bay, or the South ſea.

Theſe hills lying nearly parallel with the Allegany mountains, a conſiderable diſtance from the Pacific ſea, form, if it may be ſo called, a great valley, which conſtitutes what is called the Weſtern country of America, and is nearly in the centre of this vaſt continent.

In reflecting upon the object of the federal government, and the rapid ſtrides it is making, it appears rather puerile in the United States to think of making the ſeat of their government permanent upon the Potowmac; or at leaſt it would be ſo, to run the country to heavy expences, when it is obvious that poſterity will, in the courſe of a century at fartheſt, remove it to the Miſſiſſippi, which is the moſt central, and conſequently the proper place. By that means the efficiency of the federal government will act like the vital fluid which is propelled from the heart, and give motion and energy to every extremity of the empire.

The country between cape Florida and cape North, the ſouthern head land of the gulf of St. Lawrence, lies between lat. 25 and 48, and weſt long. 82 and 66; and the country between California and Nootka ſound, between lat. 30 and 47, and weſt long. 118 and 128, which is a diſtance between 15 and 1600 miles from north to ſouth, and between 2500 and 3000 from eaſt to weſt; ſo that if we take the medium, and make an allowance for the probable extenſion of the United States both to the northward and ſouthward, it appears pretty clearly, that in a ſpot upon the Miſſiſſippi, nearly lat. 44, I think upon lake Pepin, or at St. Anthony's falls, ought to be placed the permanent ſeat of the federal government.

From a point lat. 44, upon the Atlantic coaſt, and running from thence a due weſt line, until it ſtrikes the Miſſiſſippi, is a diſtance of nearly 1200 miles, and from thence to the Pacific coaſt, continuing the ſame line, it is ſomething more; but the difference is immaterial, while the communications from thence would be facilitated to every part of the empire, by the peculiar advantages of the

Before I finiſh this letter, I ſhall juſt enter into ſome of the minutiæ of the diſtance and time of deſcending down the Ohio,

the various navigable rivers that have their ſources in the ſame neighbourhood. Carver has deſcribed them as follows:

"The four moſt capital rivers in America, *i. e.* the St. Lawrence, the Miſſiſſippi, the river Bourbon, or Red river, and the Oragon, have their ſources in the ſame neighbourhood. The waters of the three former are within thirty miles of each other; the latter is farther weſt.

"This ſhews that theſe parts are the higheſt land in North America; and it is an inſtance not to be paralleled on the other three quarters of the globe, that four rivers of ſuch magnitude ſhould take their riſe together; and each, after running ſeveral courſes, diſcharge their waters into different oceans, at the diſtance of 2000 miles from their ſources. For in their paſſage from this ſpot, to the bay of St. Lawrence eaſt, to the bay of Mexico ſouth, to Hudſon's bay north, and to the bay of the ſtreights of Annian weſt, each of theſe traverſe upwards of 2000 miles."

Beſides, the ſame author has deſcribed thoſe places (and the truth of which is ſupported by the teſtimony of other travellers with whom I have converſed) as one of the moſt beautiful countries upon the earth. Theſe are his words:

"The Miſſiſſippi below lake Pepin, flows with a gentle current; but the breadth is very uncertain, in ſome places it being upwards of a mile, in others not more than a quarter.

"This river has a range of mountains throughout the whole way, which in particular places approach near to it, in others lie at a greater diſtance.

"The land between the mountains on either ſide, is generally covered with graſs, with a few groves of trees interſperſed, near which large droves of deer and elk are frequently ſeen feeding.

"In many places, pyramids of rocks appeared, reſembling old ruinous towers; at others, amazing precipices:—and what is very remarkable, whilſt this ſcene preſented itſelf on one ſide, the oppoſite ſide of the ſame mountain was covered with the fineſt herbage, which gradually aſcended to its ſummit. From thence the moſt beautiful proſpect that the imagination can form opens to your view.

"Verdant plains, fruitful meadows, numerous iſlands, and all abounding with a variety of trees that yield amazing quantities of fruit without care or cultivation: ſuch as the nut tree, the maple, which produces ſugar, vines loaded with delicious grapes, and plum trees bending under their blooming burdens;—but above all, the winding river flowing gently beneath, and reaching as far as the eye can extend, by turns attract your admiration, and excite your

Ohio, which will ſerve for an account of all the other rivers. Mr. Jefferſon has ſtated, that "the inundations of the Ohio begin

your wonder. The lake is about 20 miles long, and nearly 6 in breadth.

"The Miſſiſſippi, as far as the entrance of the river St. Croix, about 40 miles above lake Pepin, is very full of iſlands; ſome of which are of a conſiderable length. On theſe alſo grow great numbers of the ſugar tree, and around them vines loaded with grapes creeping to their very tops. From the lake a few ſmall mountains are to be ſeen.

"The river St. Pierre flows through a moſt delightful country, abounding with all the neceſſaries of life, which grow ſpontaneouſly; and with a little cultivation it might be made to produce its luxuries.

"Wild rice grows here in great abundance, and every part is filled with trees bending under their loads of fruit; ſuch as plums, grapes, and apples—The meadows are covered with hops and many ſorts of vegetables; while the ground is ſtored with uſeful roots;—with angelica, ſpikenard, and ground nuts as large as hens eggs.

"A little diſtance from the river are eminences from which you have views that cannot be exceeded for their variety and beauty;—amidſt theſe are delightful groves, and ſuch amazing quantities of the ſugar tree, that they would produce ſugar ſufficient for any number of inhabitants.

"A little way from the mouth of this river, on the north ſide of it, ſtands a hill, one part of which, that toward the Miſſiſſippi, is compoſed entirely of white ſtone of a ſoft nature. But what appears remarkable is, that the colour of it is as white as the driven ſnow. The outward part of it was crumbled by the wind and weather into heaps of ſand, of which a beautiful compoſition might be made; or, I am of opinion, that, when properly treated, the ſtone itſelf would grow harder by time, and have a very noble effect in architecture.

"Near that branch which is termed the Marble river, is a mountain, from whence the Indians get a ſort of whetſtone, out of which they hew the bowls of their pipes. This country likewiſe abounds with a milk-white clay, of which china-ware might be made, equal in goodneſs to the Aſiatic.

"At the falls of St. Anthony the Miſſiſſippi is above 250 yards wide, and forms a moſt delightful cataract. The fall is thirty feet perpendicular, and the rapids below, which are about 300 yards more, render the deſcent conſiderably greater; ſo that when viewed at a diſtance they appear to be much higher than they really are.

"The

begin about the laſt of March, and ſubſide in July. He has written his notes on Virginia like a man of erudition, and con-

" The country round is extremely beautiful.—It is not an uninterrupted plain, where the eye finds no relief; but it is compoſed of many gentle aſcents, which are covered with the fineſt verdure, and interſperſed with little groves, that give a pleaſing variety to the proſpect.

" On the whole, when the falls are included, which may be ſeen at the diſtance of four miles, a more pleaſing and pictureſque view cannot, I believe, be found throughout the univerſe.

" The country, about 60 miles above the falls, to the river St. Francis, is in ſome places hilly, but without mountains; and the land is tolerably good. A little above this, to the north-eaſt, are a number of ſmall lakes, called the Thouſand Lakes;—the country about which, though but little frequented, is the beſt within many miles for hunting, as the hunter never fails returning loaded beyond his expectations. The Miſſiſſippi here begins to grow ſmall, it being not above 90 yards wide."

Other travellers agree with Carver, alſo, in ſaying that there is a conſiderable proportion of good land upon lake Superior and upon Red river—They deſcribe the country about lake Winnepeck, which lies to the north-weſt of lake Superior, as very fertile; it producing vaſt quantities of rice, which grows ſpontaneouſly; and ſay, that the ſugar tree grows in great plenty; which, if true, not only proves that the ſoil muſt be very fruitful, as they never grow in indifferent land; but that the climate muſt be conſiderably more temperate here than it is upon the Atlantic coaſt 10 degrees farther ſouthward; for I never heard of a ſugar tree being ſeen on the eaſtern coaſt of America as far north as lat. 43°. This opinion is confirmed by the following remarks made by Carver:

" I can from my own knowledge affirm, that I found the winter I paſſed to the weſtward of the Miſſiſſippi far from ſevere; and the north winds blowing on thoſe countries, conſiderably more temperate than I have often experienced them to be nearer the coaſt [meaning the Atlantic coaſt]; and that this did not ariſe from an uncertainty of the ſeaſons, but was annually the caſe, I conclude, both from the ſmall quantity of ſnow that fell, and a total diſuſe of ſnow ſhoes by the Indians, without which none of the more eaſtern nations can poſſibly travel during the winter."

When it is remembered, that the ſettlements of the United States have extended, in little more than a century, upwards of 600 miles back from the Atlantic, under the influence of almoſt continual indian wars, excluſive of many other cauſes which operated to retard their growth, and which are incidental to the riſe of all infant countries circumſtanced in the peculiar manner that Ame-

conſidering that he never was in this country, he has given ſuch an account of it as cannot be diſpleaſing to an European.

America was; and that it is not only probable, but morally certain, that the preſent ſtrength of the ſettlements weſt of the Allegany mountains, muſt in the courſe of a very few years ſecure them from all invaſion; it appears to me to be an object of the greateſt importance with the preſent federal government to look forward to a circumſtance, upon which the perfection of their political ſyſtem depends: and it is the more ſo, as the preſent æra of reaſon puts it in their power to extend the advantages of civilization with an accelerated force, to which no period that we are acquainted with in the annals of man, has been equally auſpicious.

This object has not eſcaped many of our moſt penetrating legiſlators; and perhaps the ſentiment would have been general, if there had been time, ſince our independence, for the habits of life, and the influence of education, to be done away. But the ſyſtem of the aggrandizing commerce, which originated in Europe, had been tranſplanted upon the ſhores of this continent, and has taken ſuch deep root, as in ſome inſtances to militate to the injury of philoſophy, and the happineſs of mankind.—Hence it has happened that the ſpirit of ſelfiſhneſs which is the characteriſtic of prejudice, folly, and impolicy, has ſometimes betrayed its features in the deciſions of our union.

That this ſhould have happened is not in the leaſt extraordinary; but it is to be preſumed, ſince the Europeans are beginning to follow our example, it will give ſtability to thoſe wavering characters, which will always be found among men who have not judgment ſufficient to diſcover the principles of a juſt policy, nor the firmneſs to adopt them without the countenance of others; ſo it has happened, that there have been found evil geniuſes, or ignorance, which have reprobated the ſublime and reaſonable views of the union as chimerical.

The advantages of peace have been clearly aſcertained by the moſt enlightened nations of Europe after ſtruggles for dominion that have coſt them millions of lives, and brought a load of evils upon themſelves, which nothing but Herculean ſtrength would be able to ſupport: but if man has been treated hitherto as a beaſt of burden, the moſt enlightened philoſophers, particularly Dr. Adam Smith, have proved theſe benefits, and the folly of colonization.

I therefore think when we contemplate the progreſs of reaſon, the peculiar nature of the federal government, and the ſingular circumſtance of a people of one entire continent ſpeaking the ſame language, it ſeems that nothing ſhort of a revolution in the natural intellects of men, can fruſtrate the deſign.

I have entered into theſe minutiæ by way of illuſtrating, as far as

pean. But, as in every thing which has characteriſed his political life, his judgment in this appears ſuperficial, and his mind attached to the theory of its own fabrication. Frequent rains in the latter end of the autumn produce floods in the Ohio, and it is an uncommon ſeaſon when one of thoſe floods does not happen before Chriſtmas. If there is much froſty weather in the upper parts of the country, its waters generally remain low until they begin to thaw. But, if the river is not frozen over (which is not very common), there is always water ſufficient for boats of any ſize from November until May, when the waters generally begin to ſubſide; and by the middle of June, in moſt ſeaſons, they are too low for boats above 40 tons, and theſe muſt be flat-bottomed. The froſt ſeldom continues ſo long as the middle of February, and immediately upon its breaking, the river is flooded; this flood may in a degree ſubſide, but for no length of time; and it is from that period until May that the boats generally come down the river. The diſtance of deſcending is in proportion to the height of the water; but the average diſtance is about 80 miles in 24 hours, and from 60 to 100 are the extremes: ſo that the mean time of going in a flat-bottomed boat from Pittſburg to the Rapids, is between 8 and 9 days, and about 20 days more to New Orleans: which will make a paſſage from Pittſburg to that place nearly a month. The inundations of the Miſſiſſippi commence ſomething later than thoſe of the Ohio; but it is very certain they begin in March, and ſubſide in July. This is the moſt proper time to aſcend the river, as you avoid the ſhoals, have finer weather; but, above all, when the water is high you have ſtronger eddies: and with taking theſe advantages, and with dexterous

as the ſubject required, and my abilities would permit, to ſhew the advantages of the ſyſtem of government adopted by America; and at the ſame time to ſhew that the country toward the head waters of the Miſſiſſippi is beautiful, rich, and abounding in all the varieties of nature neceſſary to ſupport and embelliſh a great capital.

watermen, you may proceed 50 miles a day, which will bring you back to the rapids of the Ohio in 40 days, making a large allowance for contingencies.

I ſhall take leave of you for the preſent, with obſerving that the ſmaller rivers have no ſtated periods to govern their inundations; but are ſubject to be flooded by all heavy rains, which is a great advantage to the country, as it affords the inhabitants frequent opportunities of ſending their produce to the ſeveral markets upon the large rivers.

I am,

Yours, &c.

HERE the reader will not be diſpleaſed to ſee the obſervations on theſe parts in the topographical deſcription of the middle britiſh colonies, &c. by T. Pownall, M. P. late governor of Maſſachuſet's bay, and South Carolina, and lieutenant governor of New-Jerſey.

THE land, ſouth-weſtward of Hudſon's river, may be conſidered as divided into a number of ſtages. The firſt object worthy regard, in this part, is a rief, or vein of rocks, of the talky or iſinglaſſy kind, ſome two or three, or half a dozen miles broad; riſing generally ſome ſmall matter higher than the adjoining land; and extending from New-York city, ſouth-weſterly by the lower falls of the rivers Delaware, Schuylkill, Suſquehanna, Gunpowder, Patapſco, Potowmac, Rapahannock, James river, and Roanoke. This was the ancient maritime boundary of America, and forms a very regular curve. The land between this rief and the ſea, and from the Naveſink hills ſouth-weſtward as far as probably to the extremity of Georgia, may be denominated the Lower Plains, and conſiſts of ſoil waſhed down from above,

above, and ſand accumulated from the ocean. Where theſe plains are not penetrated by rivers, they are a white ſea ſand, about 20 feet deep, and perfectly barren; as no mixture of ſoil conduces to enrich them. But the borders of the rivers, which deſcend from the uplands, are rendered fertile by the ſoil waſhed down with the floods, and mixed with the ſand collected from the ſea*. The ſubſtratum of ſea mud, ſhells, and other foreign ſubſtances, is a perfect confirmation of this ſuppoſition. And hence it is, that for 40 or 50 miles inland, and all the way from the Naveſinks to cape Florida, is a perfect barren, where the waſh from the upland has not enriched the borders of the rivers; or ſome ponds and defiles have not furniſhed proper ſupport for the growth of white cedars. There is commonly a vein of clay ſeaward of the iſinglaſſy rief, ſome 3 or 4 miles wide; which is coarſe fullers earth, and excellently fitted, with a proper portion of loam, to make bricks of.

From this rief of rocks, over which all the rivers fall, to that chain of broken hills, called the Blue ridge or South mountain, there is a diſtance of 50, 60, or 70 miles of very uneven ground, riſing ſenſibly as you advance further inland, and may be denominated the Upland. This conſiſts of veins of different kinds of ſoil and ſubſtrata, ſome ſcores of miles in length; and in ſome places overlaid with little ridges and chains of hills. A peculiar ſtratum of ſoil runs in the ſame direction with the laſt through this ſtage. The people of the country call it red ſhell land. It appears to

* The country in general bordering upon the coaſt in this diſtance does certainly agree with this deſcription, but weſtwardly from the coaſt, and within the diſtance of 40 or 50 miles, there are large bodies of ſtrong ſound land, pleaſingly diverſified with hill and dale, and free from any adventitious materials, whether brought by the floods from the higher country, or ſuperinduced by or depoſited from the ſea.—EDIT.

me to be a ſpecies of red marl; although where it is dug up, or turned up with the plough, it riſes in ſlaty lamina, and ſeems ſtony, yet it ſoon diſſolves in the air, and is excellent wheat land. When it has been tilled for many years, ſo that it begins to fail in fertility, if the huſbandman ſets his plough a little deeper, ſo as to turn up a freſh layer, this, mixed with the old worn top, gives freſh power of vegetation to it.

The firſt place in which this ſtratum appears, as far as I have been able to learn, is in the Red mountains, weſt of Winnipiſſiocket lake: as running in a vein, the firſt appearance of it is on the weſt ſide of the range of mountains which run on the eaſt ſide of Connecticut river, and beginning at Hertford, runs 10 miles ſouth-weſt to Farmington, then 6 miles weſt to Penthorn, then ſouth-weſt to the mountains. It appears again in New-Jerſey, at Schuyler's mines, runs thence to Brunſwick, and ſpreading goes acroſs the Jerſeys, over the high ridge on which Prince-town ſtands. I am told it continues in the ſame general direction acroſs Pennſylvania, but I had not the means of purſuing it.

Limeſtone is found almoſt everywhere in the upper parts of this ſtage, and it is the general dreſſing that the huſbandmen uſe.

To the northward of Newark in New-Jerſey, is found an exceeding good fireſtone, which ſtands well.

The ſoapſtone is found about the Delaware river; and the aſbeſtos in many parts of this ſtage.

There are in New-Jerſey two copper mines, one at col. Schuyler's on the Paſſaick river, a very fruitful one of rich ore; the water obſtructed the working of it for ſome time: a worſe perplexity about the title ſince his death has ſtopped its being worked. It was ſaid that there was ſilver mixed in with this ore; it certainly ſold as ore at a great price. The other is at Mr. Stevens' on the upper part of the Raritan. Now and then little grains of native pure gold are found in this

this ore; I have had ſome of it. This ſold for 6ol. and 62l. ſterling a ton in 1754, Schyler's for above 70l. ſterling.

I have not heard of any lead any where as yet found on the ſouth or eaſt ſide of the mountains; there are ſeveral appearances of it on the weſt ſide. The French worked a lead mine in the Illinois country.

The declivity of the whole gives rapidity to the ſtreams; and our violent guſts of rain have waſhed it all into gullies, and carried down the ſoil to enrich the borders of the rivers in the lower plains. Theſe inequalities render half the country not eaſily capable of culture, and impoveriſh it, where torn up with the plough, by daily waſhing away the richer mould that covers the ſurface.

The South* mountain is not in ridges like the Endleſs mountains, but in ſmall, broken, ſteep, ſtony hills; nor does it run with ſo m uch regularity. Inſome places it gradually degenerates to nothing, not to appear again for ſome miles, and in others ſpreads ſeveral miles in breadth. It runs in more regular ridges through Virginia under the name of the Blue ridge, Pignut, and South mountain; after it has paſſed Maryland, it ſpreads in more regular hills, the north ridges of which trending north for about 13 miles approach near to the Kittatinny ridge; but reſuming again the main courſe, the hills of this mountain range along between Yellow breaches and Conawegy creeks to the river Suſquehanna oppoſite to the mouth of Swataro creek, and continue north-eaſt, under the names of the Flying† and Oley hills, through Pennſylvania to the Delaware: its ſouthern ridge runs off eaſt-north-eaſt by Hanover to Suſquehanna, where Pequa creek falls into it, and thence to Trenton. In New-Jerſey the northern hills narrow and riſe again into the form of a ridge, and is called Meſcapetcung; and in New-

* This mountain, in its ſeveral ridges as it croſſes New-Jerſey, Pennſylvania, Maryland, and Virginia, ſo abounds with iron ore that it might not improperly be called the *Iron Mountain*.

† So called from the innumerable flights of turkies on them.

York the Highlands. Between this range and the Kittatinny mountains, as they run through Pennſylvania, lies the vale of Talpahockin, one of the great rich vales of Pennſylvania. In New-Jerſey and New-York almoſt the whole vale is a great ſwamp or drowned lands. Money alone has been wanting for the general draining of theſe lands. Whenever they are drained, this tract will become one of the richeſt in America. The ſouthern part, as it paſſes through New-Jerſey, is elevated upland, but not ranges of hills. Among the hills into which this mountain ſpreads itſelf, between the Suſquehanna and Schuylkill rivers, to a breadth from 15 to 30 miles, run ſeveral vallies. A ſucceſſion of ſuch, divided from each other by little, hilly branchings of the main hills, run from Wright's ferry on the Suſquehanna to the Swedes ford near Norriton on the Schuylkill, ſome 2 miles broad, ſome more. The lands are of a limeſtone good farming ſoil. Every farmer has a limekiln for the dreſſing of his land, and they raiſe a great deal of wheat. The ſides of the hills are covered with woods: the timber in general oak, cheſnut, and hickory. The firſt valley which the road from Philadelphia to Lancaſter paſſes through runs from the Swedes ford to the middle branch of Brandywine creek, and is about two miles wide: hence the road runs ſlanting over 3 aſcents and 3 rivulets about 13 miles, and comes to a ſecond valley which runs along the ſouth ſide of the range called Welſh mountains to Lancaſter: whence it continues in a boſom of gently ſwelling hills to Wright's ferry on the Suſquehanna. Theſe ſucceſſions of vallies appeared to me as I rode along them the moſt charming of landſcapes. The bottoms of the vales were full of cultured farms, with houſes, ſuch as yeomanry, not tenants, live in: theſe were buſked up with gardens, and with peach and apple orchards all round them, and with every convenience and enjoyment that property and plenty could give to peace and liberty. My heart felt an overflowing of benevolence

at

at the ſight of ſo much and ſuch real happineſs. Between the South mountain and the higher chain of the Endleſs mountains (often for diſtinction called the North mountain, and in ſome places the Kittatinny, and Pequilin), is a valley of pretty even good land, ſome 8, 10, or 20 miles wide, which is the moſt conſiderable quantity of valuable land the Engliſh are poſſeſſed of; and runs through New-Jerſey, Pennſylvania, Maryland, and Virginia. It has yet obtained no general name, but may properly enough be called Piemont, from its ſituation. Beſides conveniences always attending good land, this valley is everywhere enriched with limeſtone.

On the eaſt ſide of the mountains, next the european ſettlements, there are ſome *, but very few, and thoſe thin beds of coal: there are ſome brackiſh licks or ſprings, but no ſalt ſprings. On the weſt ſide, both theſe abound everywhere.

The Endleſs mountains, ſo called from a tranſlation of the indian name bearing that ſignification, come next in order. They are not confuſedly ſcattered, and in lofty peaks overtopping one another, but ſtretch in long uniform ridges, ſcarce half a mile perpendicular in any place above the intermediate vallies. Their name is expreſſive of their extent, though, no doubt, not in a literal ſenſe. In ſome places, as the head of Roanoke, the traveller would be induced to imagine he had found their end, but let him look a little on, and he will find them again ſpread in new branches, of no leſs extent than what firſt preſented themſelves. The further chain, or Allegany ridge of mountains, keeps moſtly on a parallel with the iſinglaſſy rief, and terminates in a rough ſtony piece of ground at the head of Roanoke and New river. The more eaſterly chains, as they run further ſouthward, trend alſo more and more weſterly; which is the reaſon that the Upland and Piemont valley are ſo much

* One at the falls of James river.

wider in Virginia than farther northward. This ſouth-weſterly trending of the hither chains brings them to meet the Allegany mountain, and in ſeveral places to interſect it, and form new ſeries of mountains; as is the caſe, I believe, of the Ouaſioto.

They certainly do end to the northward and north-eaſt, at the Kiats Kill mountains, and at the Brimſtone and Oneida ridge, which lie ſouth of Mohawks river. The triangular mountainous tract of Couchſackrage, lying between the Mohawks and St. Lawrence rivers and lake Champlin, and the range of mountains on the eaſt ſide Hudſon river, are diſtinct and different ranges of country.

There are many chains of the Endleſs mountains; and ſo far as we are acquainted with them, we obſerve that each chain conſiſts of a particular kind of ſtone, and each different from the reſt: which differences continue for their whole extent, as far as I can learn. When I croſſed them I was not apprehenſive of this, and omitted enumerating their ſpecies. Some of the chains are ſingle narrow ridges, as the Kittatinny, ſome ſpread 2 or 3 miles broad on the top; ſome ſteep on one ſide, and extending with a long ſlope on the other: and the ſteeper they are, the more rocky; but they are everywhere woody where there is ſoil proper and ſufficient to ſupport the trees. Towards the further chains north-eaſtward, the mountains conſiſt of rich land, and in ſome places are but as large broad banks, which take 2 or 3 miles to croſs.

Many of theſe chains conſiſt of ſeveral ridges, one main ridge, and a number of leſſer ones, and ſometimes with irregular hills at their foot in the vale. Where any of thoſe chains ſo ſpread, they meet and ſometimes croſs each other: ſometimes leſſer branches or ſpurs ſhoot out from the main ridges, and theſe alſo generally end by irregular hills.

In the way to Ohio, by Franks Town, after you are paſt the Allegany mountain, the ground is rough in many places, and

and continues ſo to the river. Hereabouts the Laurel hill ſprings from the mountain, and continues, though not large, in a very regular chain, I believe, to the Ouaſioto mountain. For though the Allegany mountain is the moſt weſterly, on the weſt branch of Suſquehanna, it is far from being ſo, back of Virginia.

Except the further ridges, as juſt now mentioned, there is but little good land in the mountains; to be ſure not one tenth part is capable of culture; and what ſmall matter is ſo conſiſts of extreme rich ſoil, in lawns, on the river edges, being ſo much rich mud ſubſided there; and commonly gathered above falls, formerly in drowned land, and now drained by the rivers wearing channels through the rocks, which, like dams, held up the waters at each reſpective fall.

Amidſt the detail of theſe dry deſcriptions, it may perhaps relieve and amuſe the reader to inſert here ſome obſervations and opinions extracted from Mr. Evans's Journal *.

"The ſtones in all parts of theſe mountains are full of ſea ſhells: it is not in the looſe ſtones ſcattered through the vales that theſe ſhells abound only, but they are found at the tops of the mountains alſo. I ſaw ſome mixed with the rocky baſe of a high mountain; in Wiſhoôchon creek I found a ſoft ſtone 5 or 6 feet long, as full of all ſorts of ſhells as if they were kneaded into a lump of brown clay; there was all the variety that could be imagined, and many that had never before come under my obſervation, many that I could not imagine to exiſt in nature as the ſhells of any animal, particularly a large eſcalop with corbels, as fine as thoſe of cockles. I was almoſt diſpoſed to pronounce this a luſus naturæ, but I have ſince found that ſort of ſhell,

* Mr. Lewis Evans, to whom the indian traders gave an account of the country now called Kentucky, many years before its ſettlement, and who publiſhed his firſt map of it as early as 1752.

and

and many other of the ſorts which I ſaw here, in a bed of ſoil more than 30 feet under ground in Virginia *. The obſervations alſo which I had an opportunity of making at Moor's mill near London Town, in Maryland, ſhewed me how ill imagined any ſuch idea was. This place is not far from the ſea-ſide, the earth had been dug from an adjoining bank for a mill-dam; at the top I found the ſhells mixed with a looſe ſand; at 3 or 4 feet deep they were incloſed in a ſandy clay; and at 4 or 5 feet deeper, the clay was gradually hardened into a looſe kind of ſtone, in which were mixed ſhells, many reſembling the ſpecimens which we had before obſerved in the mountains. This inſtance of the ſoil hardening by degrees from a looſe ſand to an indifferent ſtone in the ſpace of 8 or 10 feet, where there could be no doubt but that the ſhells were genuine, and where the ſhells were actually of the ſame ſort as thoſe which I had obſerved in the mountains, convinced me that thoſe ſhells of the mountains were real, and had been mixed with and finally incruſted in the ſtones where they were

* This deſcription of the ſhells in theſe high mountains is very philoſophically and clearly accounted for by Mr. Buffon, in his Theory of the Earth.

I am convinced that the works of Buffon and Evans were equally unknown to each other.—Evans, like a good chriſtian, but a bad naturaliſt, has been forced to call in the miraculous tale of the *deluge*, to account for this very natural appearance. Kilkenny marble is full of ſmall conchæ and other ſhells. Some years ago, I took an old grave-ſtone, that had lain in a horizontal poſition for ſome hundreds of years, in the chancel of a country church in Suffolk; it was a blue granite marble; and placed it as an hearth in my kitchen, and burnt wood on it many years: it was 6 inches thick. When I removed it, to have a modern wind-up coal-range fixed in its place, I obſerved it broken into ſeveral pieces by the fire, and flinging logs of wood on it: it then appeared to me to be a mere concretion of ſhells: I tried ſeveral pieces of them, and they all fermented in common vinegar, and diſſolved in a ſtronger acid: thouſands of the ſhells were as complete as to form, although burned, as if they had juſt been gathered on the ſea-ſhore.—EDIT.

found,

found, by the ſame proceſs as here appeared in its ſeveral gradations.

" Various ſyſtems and theories of the preſent earth have been deviſed in order to account for this phænomenon. One ſyſtem ſuppoſes that the whole of this continent, the higheſt mountains themſelves, as they now appear, were formerly but one large plain, inclining with a conſiderable ſlant towards the ſea; that this has been worn into its preſent appearance of ridges, with vales between them, by the rains of the heavens and waters of the earth waſhing away the ſoil from the upper parts, and carrying it down to ſeawards: that the ſoil thus carried down and lodged in various places hath in a ſeries of ages formed the lower plains of the Jerſeys, Pennſylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and the Carolinas. The moſt material arguments to ſupport this hypotheſis are, that the very tops of the mountains on the weſtern ſide, though much higher than thoſe bordering on the engliſh pale, conſiſt yet of extraordinary rich land, but that towards our ſide the ſoil of the very vales as well as of the mountains is thin and ſtony, and the rock almoſt bare, as if the earth had been ſwept away off from them. The downfall of waters from the melting of the ſnow, the rains, and the ſwollen ſprings, is ſuch among the mountains, and the diſcharge from thence ſo great, that the freſhes on the Suſquehanna river, where it is a mile broad, riſe 20 feet, though they are diſcharged with a violent and precipitate current. Theſe freſhes carry down with them immenſe quantities of ſoil which they begin to drop as the velocity of their courſe ſlackens in gliding over the lower plains, and which they finally lodge in bars and iſlands at the mouths of the rivers where they meet the ſea *. Thus have been many

* I will here tranſcribe an extract from a letter of monſieur Vaudreuil, the governor of Louiſiana, dated September 28, 1752. "There is infinite difficulty," ſays he, "in ſettling towards the mouth of the river Miſſiſſippi, on account of the immenſe expence in banking

many very extenſive countries formed at the mouths of all the great rivers in the world, and thus at the ſeveral mouths of the many great rivers ranging ſo near one another along this coaſt may that long-continued range of flat country, which is herein before called the lower plains, be formed. And if we ſuppoſe this operation to have begun immediately at the carrying off of the waters of the deluge, when the earth was in a ſtate of fluidity, and to have continued in operation ever ſince, the effects will not appear more than natural. This hypotheſis accounts for all the appearances which are obſerved, and all the peculiarities which are found on the lower plains of America, ſuch as the nature of the different layers of ſtrata of which they conſiſt, for the ſea ſhells and fiſh bones being found at 30 and 40 feet deep and probably deeper, if examined for the various logs, and eſpecially for the cedar ſwamps and pine bogs, which are perfect mines of timber.

" But we muſt have recourſe to ſome other explanation, in order to account for the ſituation of the ſhells on the tops of the mountains.

" It is eaſy to ſhew the earth and ſea may aſſume one another's places; but poſitively to aſſert how that hath actually happened in times paſt, is hazardous; we know what an immenſe body of water is contained in the great lakes at the top of the country, and that this is dammed and held up by ridges of rocks: let us ſuppoſe theſe ridges broken down by any natural accident, or that in a long courſe of ages a paſſage may be worn through them, the ſpace occupied by the water would be drained: this part of America, diſburdened of ſuch a load of waters, would of courſe riſe, as the immediate effect of the ſhifting of the centre of gravity in the globe at once or by degrees, much or little,

banking againſt the inundations of the ſea and land floods. I am againſt ſettling it as yet; and for waiting until the ground be more and more raiſed by the accretion of ſoil; as it hath been 3 feet in the ſpace of 15 years."

accord-

accordingly as the operation of ſuch event had effect on that centre. The directly oppoſite part of the earth would, as part of the ſame effect, ſink and become depreſſed, and liable to be deluged without any apparent reaſon diſcoverable in thoſe parts for ſuch a change. There is no doubt but that many ſuch accidents have happened in the world before it became ſettled in its preſent condition and ſtate. That there have happened ſome ſuch accidents, by which the general body of the land of America hath been raiſed, we have reaſon to collect from the Chineſe chorography, called Quang-yn-ki, which deſcribes Tſhaoſſanas in Corea, which is now divided from it by the gulf Leao Tong, where the ſea has encroached ſo much that the mountain Kieſheſhang, which was formerly part of the continent, is now near 500 leagues off at ſea*. If the land of China became thus much depreſſed by the change of the centre of gravity of the earth, thoſe parts of America which lie nearly in an oppoſite meridian would be equally raiſed. No doubt many partial deluges have happened from ſuch cauſes, the reaſon of which, for want of knowledge in what had paſſed on the oppoſite ſide of the globe, could never be explained. Some ſuch changes may have come gradually, and advanced by ſuch ſlow degrees, as that in a period of a few ages would not be perceptible; hiſtory therefore could take no notice of them.

"We know from obſervation how much higher the Atlantic ocean is than the Pacific, and how it is piled up againſt the american coaſt on the weſtern ſhore of the gulf of Mexico, driven thither by the trade winds and attraction of the moon and ſun. Let us ſuppoſe it poſſible that a paſſage might be forced through the iſthmus of Darien or ſome other part of America between the tropics; theſe waters then would pour down from this height, and be diſcharged through this paſſage, inſtead of running back through the

* Buffon handles this very ſubject in a maſterly manner in his Theory of the Earth.—EDIT.

gulf

gulf of Florida; the height of the Atlantic would be lower between the tropics, and the level of the Pacific ocean would riſe; the centre of gravity of the earth would ſhift, and there would be few places on the earth but what would perceive the effect, although none would be able to conceive the cauſe, that did not know the particular event of this paſſage being opened." Suppoſe now that the Bahama and Caribbee iſlands were once (which they certainly appear to be) an iſthmus (like that of Darien), the continuation of the Apalachian mountains and the Al-a-Bah'ma country; that what is now the gulf of Mexico was a moſt extenſive plain, and that ſome ſuch accident as is above ſuppoſed did actually happen by the breaking of the ſea through this chain of land into this plain now the great gulf, that part of the globe actually becoming depreſſed, the oppoſite point would be raiſed. "I have mentioned," ſays Evans, "theſe different ſyſtems as they occurred to me on viewing the various phænomena which meet our eye in the mountains, for the information of thoſe who are curious in inquiring into the ſyſtem of our world; but I have neither purſued the inveſtigation with that attention, nor explained them with that cloſeneſs of reaſoning, which I might have done had I been intereſted about them: I ſhall therefore beg the reader to make choice of that hypotheſis which he likes beſt and thinks moſt probable; for my own part I can conclude on neither ſingly." The editor * here will take up the ſubject where Lewis Evans has left it, and add one more hypotheſis or theory to the many with which the learned have been amuſed.

Viewing this earth as it is, not as learned theoriſts ſuppoſe it ſhould have been or was at firſt made; examining with attentive inveſtigation of facts, the actual ſtate of its exiſtence; analyſing the operations which heat and moiſture, vegetation, corruption, and a continued proceſs

* Governor Pownall.

of

of exſiccation have on it, in its ordinary courſe of exiſtence; viewing the effects of earthquakes and volcanoes; I am led, by a combination of all the ideas which theſe objects offer, up to that ſtate of this globe which I conceive to be its original ſtate; and from thence I can, as I perſuade myſelf, trace it through every progreſs of its changing exiſtence. From the manner in which the land has been continually increaſing upon the waters of the globe from its firſt appearance, I traced back my ideas to the viewing it in the firſt ſtage of its exiſtence as a mere globe of mud: that as the earthy parts ſubſided and began to concrete into ſand, or clay, or ſtone; this globe, then an aqueous planet, was the proper habitation for the inhabitants of that element only: that in time as the planet, in the natural and ordinary operations of the power of nature directed by the great Creator, dried, the land appeared; and as ſoon as it was thus emerged above the face of the waters began to vegetate: that ſuch animals then, as the advancing vegetation became a proper habitation for, were created and came into being; the fowls of the air firſt, and every creeping thing, and the beaſts of the field in the next progreſs: that when this earth had advanced ſo forward in the melioration of being as to become a proper ſeat and habitation for man, then, in this laſt ſtate of the planet, the human race was brought into being; at firſt, a mere ſylvan animal of the woods. Having thus purſued this theory * (for I call it no other now, though I think I could evince to the contrary) by the analyſis and combination of my philoſophic ideas, I proceed to examine it by the actual account which our holy ſcripture gives us of it.

I find therein that the firſt ſtage of this globe is there

* It is more than mere theory, it is poſitive fact.—Every naturaliſt and philoſopher in Europe adopts this fact or theory, call it as you pleaſe: he cannot, and dares not, except in contradiction to his reaſon and ſenſes, adopt any other theory.—EDIT.

deſcribed

deſcribed juſt as my ideas led me to conceive of it: there was a firmament in the midſt of the waters, which divided the waters from the waters, thoſe which were under the firmament, and thoſe which were above it; the latter were called the heavens, the former were this planet. The next progreſs of creation was the exſiccation of this aqueous planet, ſo that dry land appeared, and was called earth. The next is, that the earth began to vegetate graſs firſt, ſhrubs next, and trees next, whoſe ſeed were in themſelves. As theſe waters and this earth were prepared for reception and ſuſtenance of their reſpective inhabitants, the waters brought forth abundantly the moving creature that hath life; the fowl alſo multiplied, and every creeping thing on the earth; the beaſt next after his kind. The laſt ſtage of this proceſs the Divine Creator allotted to the production of man, to whom he gave every herb bearing ſeed, and every tree in which is fruit, to be to him for meat. He dwelt in a paradiſe, and did not work the land; nor gain his food by the ſweat of his brow. That was (as we are taught) a curſe which he afterwards entailed upon himſelf, through an ambition of being wiſe above what was ordained for him. Thus ſay the Indians, that we land-workers take a deal of pains to ſpoil a good world.

That the literal ſtyle of the apologue deſcribes the proceſs of the advancing exiſtence of this planet and its inhabitants by a ſeries of days *, and that my idea muſt ſuppoſe a ſeries of ages, makes no difference; the proceſs is the ſame: a myriad of years in the ſight of God are but as one day. As, according to this idea of mine, the waters muſt naturally,

† I am told that the word uſed in the original ſignifies not days but periods.—Pown. This it certainly does; and conſequently the ancient Egyptians, from whom Moſes took his incomplete account of the creation of the world, were maſters of more real phyſical knowledge, than the moderns are willing to allow them.—

Edit.

and

and as, according to the account in our holy ſcripture, they did actually cover the whole of the globe before the earth appeared; and as its appearance was gradually by a natural ſeparation, I never was ſurpriſed, or thought it any extraordinary circumſtance which required the ſuppoſition of ſome extraordinary cauſe to account for it, that ſhells and marine ſkeletons ſhould be found on the higheſt mountains: I ſhould think it extraordinary, and rather be ſurpriſed, if they were not. If you will truſt nature or believe the ſcriptures, you will find that they have been from the creation, and are a proof, not of the deluge, but of the truth of the philoſophic account of the creation given in the book of Geneſis [and in the book of nature].

But to return * from this digreſſion of amuſement and ſpeculation to buſineſs:—the analyſis proceeds to deſcribe the fifth or upper ſtage which lies north-weſt on the back of the weſtern diviſion. The northern part of this may be conſidered as one great LEVEL PLAIN continuing as yet in its original ſtate †. Although it is the moſt elevated tract at the top of all this country, yet it is occupied by a maſs of waters which lies on its face in five great lakes; the lands and country bordering on theſe lakes ſlope gently towards, and many ſtreams run hence into, them ‡.

Ontario or Cataraqui, or the beautiful lake, is a maſs of freſh water, very deep, and has a moderate ſteep bank and gravelly ſhore along the ſouth ſide: the rivers which fall into it are apt to be ſometimes barred at the entrances. This, like the Mediterranean, the Caſpian, and other large invaſated waters, has a ſmall riſing and falling of the water like tides, ſome 12 or 18 inches perpendicular ||, occaſioned by

* The reflecting reader will perhaps be ſorry he has returned ſo ſoon.—EDIT.

† Vide memoir preſented to the duke of Cumberland, appendix to adminiſtration of the colonies.

‡ The parts here deſcribed are not pretended to be laid down accurately. Future diſcoveries will give local preciſion. We here only mean to exhibit a ſketch, not a plan.

‖ Partially alſo as the wind ſets.

the changes in the ſtate of the atmoſphere; riſing higher, as the weight of the incumbent air is leſs, and falling, as it becomes greater, it cannot be otherwiſe. This lake is beſt fitted for the paſſage of batteaux and canoes, along the ſouth ſide, the other having ſeveral rocks near the ſurface of the water; but the middle is everywhere ſafe for ſhipping. The ſnow is deeper on the ſouth ſide of this lake than any other place in theſe parts; but the lake does not freeze in the ſevereſt winter out of ſight of land. The ſtreight of Oghniàgarà, between the lake Ontario and Erie, is eaſily paſſable ſome 5 or 6 miles with any ſhips, or 10 miles in all with canoes; then you are obliged to make a portage up three pretty ſharp hills about 8 miles, where there is now cut a pretty good cartway. This portage is made to avoid that ſtupendous fall of Oghniàgara *, which in one place precipitates headlong 25 or 26 fathoms, and continues for 6 or 7 miles more to tumble in little falls, and run with inconceivable rapidity. And indeed the ſtreight for a mile or two is ſo rapid above the fall, that it is not ſafe venturing near it. They embark again at the fiſhing battery, and thence to lake Erie it is 18 miles, and the ſtream ſo ſwift, that the ſtiffeſt gale is ſcarce ſufficient to ſtem it in a ſhip; but it is eaſily paſſed in canoes, where the current here, as in all other places, is leſs rapid along the ſhore.

This ocean of waters has but one embouchure through the Canada river, and the iſſue of it is a ſtream which bears no proportion to the immeaſurable maſs of waters. Theſe lakes are found to have retired from parts which ſeem to have been their former ſhores, and decreaſe. There may be, in the courſe of nature, accidents which may lay ſome of theſe lakes quite dry, when they would become great plains or vallies.

The ſouthern parts of this upper ſtage lie as one extenſive broad boſom of a vale more than 1500 miles long, contain-

* Vide Peter Calm's account of it, publiſhed at the end of Bartram's journal.

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ing a wilderneſs of waters, which all fall into and drain through the channel of the river Meſſachibee, or Miſſiſſippi, which ſignifies the father of rivers, into the gulf of Mexico; the eaſt ſide of this great vale deſcends from the Endleſs mountains in gently ſwelling hills: the parts of this country to the north-eaſt of the Kiſkamenitas creek were, when the firſt edition of my map was publiſhed, very little known; nor can I learn that they are much more at preſent, unleſs to ſome land-jobbers, whoſe intereſt it is to keep their knowledge ſecret. I have however an opportunity of giving the reader a pretty accurate account of that part of it which is contained between the Ohio river and the Allegany mountains on the north-weſt and ſouth-eaſt, and the Monongahela and Great Kanhaway rivers north-eaſt and ſouth-weſt. I extract it from the journal of a ſecond tour made by Mr. Giſt in 1761, for the expreſs purpoſe of examining theſe lands.

To begin with the Youghiogeny and its branches: the vallies on the branches or ſprings which form the middle forks, are but narrow at its head; but there are about 2000 acres of good farming land on the hills about the largeſt branch. As one approaches Laurel hill, the undergrowth towards and over this hill is ſo abundant in laurel thickets, that the traveller muſt cut his way through them: the lands of the country through which the Youghiogeny runs are broken and ſtony, but rich and well timbered; in ſome parts, as on a creek called Laurel creek, rocky and mountainous.

From the mountains to Monongahela, about 15 miles in the line of Giſt's route *, the firſt 5 miles are good level

* Giſt gives us his courſe by the compaſs, and his diſtance as well as he could compute, on each tack. He was an old woodman or ſurveyor, and could give from computation nearly the diſtance run: his compaſs ſhewed him the angles, and when he came to any very remarkable ſpot, he corrected his computation by an obſervation.—Edit.

farming land with fine meadows; the timber, white oak and hickory. The same kind of land holds south to the upper branches or forks of this river 10 miles, and about the same distance north to where the Youghiogeny falls into it; the lands for about 8 miles along the same course of the river on each side, though hilly, are richer and better timbered; the growth walnuts, locust, poplars, and sugar trees or sweet maple. The bottoms or intervals by the river side are about 1 mile wide, in some places 2 miles. For several miles more down the river on the east side the intervals are very rich, and a mile wide: the upland, which he examined for 8 or 10 miles east, extraordinary rich and well timbered. The intervals on the west side are not above 100 yards wide; the upland on this side the river, both up and down it, rich soil and full of the sugar tree.

He next examined the lands in several courses, forming, to speak generally, a south-west course, first up by some branches of the Monongahela, and then across the heads of several rivers which run into the Ohio till he struck the Great Kanhaway river: he found the land in general hilly but rich, rocky in some places, yet not poor; the timber, walnut, ash, and sugar trees. The intervals on the borders of the creeks in some places 200 yards, in others a quarter of a mile broad. When he came within about 21 miles of the Kanhaway, he crossed over a high ridge of pine land, which was but poor soil; but descending thence, the land became pretty much the same as before.

The Kanhaway 79 poles wide; the intervals on its borders a mile wide and very rich; further up the river a mile and half wide, and full of lofty timber.

He went from the Kanhaway on a west-north-west course or thereabout to the Ohio, and returned up the south-east side of that river by a north-east course by Le Fort's creek; Little Kanhaway, or Buffalo creek; Fishing or Nawmissippi creek; Weeling creek; and the two upper creeks, and thence

thence eaſt and ſouth-eaſt to his old camp on the Monongahela. The borders or intervals on the Ohio a mile, and in ſome places a mile and half wide; the land rich and good, but the upland in general broken hilly land. He met with coal in ſome places. He examined the land up the creeks, as theſe, which we ſhould think great rivers, are called, and found the face of the country the ſame, rich intervals and good farming land on the uplands. This whole country abounds with game, as bear, elk, deer, turkies, and in one place he killed a black fox.

This country is now ſettling faſt, and will ſoon be better known.

The triangular tract of land at the head of this great vale, and between the Miſſiſſippi, the Ohio, and lake Erie (as that lake is vulgarly called), the country of the Illinois, is the fineſt ſpot of earth upon the globe *, ſwelling with moderate hills, but no mountains, watered by the fineſt rivers, and of the moſt delightful climate; the ſoil, as appears from the woods with which it is clothed, is of the moſt abundant fruitfulneſs in vegetation. It abounds with coal; and there are multitudes of ſalt ſprings in all parts of it. There are mines of iron, copper, and lead. Wild rye grows here alſo ſpontaneouſly.

"The paſs through the mountains from Pennſylvania, by Shamokin to Onondaga and Oſwego, is from my own obſervations, and well deſerves regard †; becauſe I had a pretty good inſtrument for obſerving the latitude, and minutely noted all our courſes, and am well accuſtomed to form a judgment of travelling diſtance. Mr. William Franklin's journal to Ohio has been my principal help in aſcertaining the longitude of the fork of Ohio and Monongahela; but however I muſt not omit mentioning that the latitude of this fork is laid down from the obſervation of

* It is plain the Kentucky country was not known at the time this was written.—EDIT.

† As laid down in his map.

colonel Fry, and is at leaſt 10 miles more northerly that I would otherwiſe have thought it was. The river from hence downward is agreed by all who have gone down it, to be in general pretty ſtraight, nor can its curves be indeed conſiderable where it is confined in a manner by a chain of little hills, from the laſt mentioned fork to 10 miles below the falls. Mr. Joſeph Dobſon gave me an account of the diſtances from creek to creek as they fall in, and of the iſlands, riſts, and falls all the way from the fork to Scioto; and Mr. Alexander Maginty and Mr. Alexander Lowry gave me the reſt to the falls, as well as confirmed the others. The river from the fork upwards is moſtly from Mr. John Daviſon; but that part from Canawagy to the head is entirely by gueſs, for I have no other information of it, than that it heads with the Cayuga branch of Suſquehanna. The routes acroſs the country, as well as the ſituation of indian villages, trading-places, the creeks that fall into lake Erie, and other affairs relating to Ohio and its branches, are from a great number of informations of traders and others, and eſpecially of a very intelligent Indian called the Eagle, who had a good notion of diſtances, bearings, and delineating." Indeed all the Indians have this knowledge to a very great degree of practical purpoſe. They are very attentive to the poſitions of the ſun and ſtars, and on their lakes can ſteer their courſe by them. The different aſpects which the hills exhibit on the north ſide, from that which the ſouth has impreſſed on their eyes, ſuggeſt, habitually, at the moment, in every ſpot, an almoſt intuitive knowledge of the quarters of the heavens which we, mechanically, mark by the compaſs. This, at the firſt bluſh, may appear incredible to ſome; but it may be explained even to the moſt incredulous *. Can any, the moſt inat-

* Every woodman or wood-feller in England will point out the cardinal points at the bare inſpection of any tree in the middle of a foreſt or grove, even if he be brought into it blindfolded.—Edit.

tentive

tentive obſerver, be at a loſs to pronounce, in a moment, which is the north or ſouth ſide of any building in the country? The ſame difference between the ſouth or north aſpect of a mountain or hill, or even a tree, is equally ſtriking to the attention of an Indian; and is much more ſtrongly marked by that accuracy with which he views theſe objects; he ſees it inſtantly, and has, from habit, this impreſſion continually on his mind's eye, and will mark his courſes as he runs, more readily than moſt travellers who ſteer by the compaſs. The ranges of the mountains, the courſes of the rivers, the bearings of the peaks, the knobs and gaps in the mountains, are all land-marks, and picture the face of the country on his mind. The habit of travelling marks to him the diſtances; and he will expreſs accurately from theſe diſtinct impreſſions, by drawing on the ſand a map which would ſhame many a thing called a ſurvey. When I have been among them at Albany, and inquiring of them about the country, I have ſat and ſeen them draw ſuch *. "The ſituation of Detroit is chiefly determined by the computation of its diſtance from Fort Niagara by Mr. Maginty, and its bearing and diſtance from the mouth of Sanduſky.

"I muſt not omit my acknowledgment," ſays Mr. Evans, "to Mr. William Weſt for ſeveral valuable notes about Potowmac, the forks of Ohio, and parts adjacent; nor to Richard Peters, eſq. for the great cheerfulneſs he aſſiſted me with in this compoſition. As for the branches of Ohio, which head in the new Virginia †, I am particularly obliged to Dr. Thomas Walker, for the intelligence of what names they bear, and what rivers they fall into northward and weſtward; but this gentleman being on a journey when I happened to ſee him, had not his notes, whereby he might

* This is a well-known fact.—EDIT.

† So called for diſtinction ſake; that part of Virginia ſouth-eaſt of the Ouaſioto mountains, and on the branches of Green Briar, New river, and Holſton river.

otherwiſe have rendered thoſe parts more perfect. But the particulars of theſe, and many other articles relating to the ſituation of places, I muſt defer till I deliver an account of the ſeveral rivers and creeks, their navigation, portages, and lands thereon.

A brief Deſcription of the moſt conſiderable RIVERS *in the* WESTERN DIVISION.

"THE face of the country, as already repreſented, determines the nature of the rivers. The flat country (or lower plains) which lies between the falls and the ſea, is everywhere interwoven with the moſt beautiful bays, rivers, and creeks, navigable for all ſorts of veſſels; and is the reaſon of ſo many fine creeks ſpreading on every ſide, from the bays of Cheſopeak and Delaware: for, as the land has no declivity, the flux and reflux of the ſea contribute to ſo wide extended navigation. All the creeks on Delaware, the verges of the ſounds, which extend along the ſea-coaſt, and ſome creeks in Virginia, and towards the head of Cheſopeak on the weſt ſide, are bordered with ſalt marſhes, ſome a mile or two wide. The firſt ſettlers of America, for the ſake of the graſs for the winter ſupport of their cattle, fixing their habitations along theſe places, being infeſted with muſkitoes and intermitting fevers, gave the foundation for ſuppoſing America unhealthy. The reſt of Cheſopeak bay, and its branches, is almoſt all a clean, gravelly, ſteep, dry bank; and, were it not for the ſcarcity of freſh water in ſome parts of the eaſtern ſhore, would be as pleaſant a country as imagination could well repreſent.

"The iſinglaſs vein already deſcribed, though broken at New-York to let the tide through into Hudſon's river, to a far greater diſtance than any other river on this coaſt, continues ſtill north-eaſtward, but with leſs uniformity, over the weſt end of Long Iſland, and the Connecticut ſhore appearing

appearing but here and there, by reaſon of its being overlaid with the ridges which terminate here.

" Delaware river *, from the head to Cuſhietunk, though not obſtructed with falls, has not been improved to any inland navigation, by reaſon of the thinneſs of the ſettlements that way. From Cuſhietunk to Trenton falls, are 14 conſiderable rifts, yet all paſſable in the long flat boats † uſed in the navigation of theſe parts; ſome carrying 500 or 600 buſhels of wheat. The greateſt number of the rifts are from Eaſton downward. And thoſe 14 miles above Eaſton, another juſt below Wells's ferry, and that at Trenton, are the worſt. The boats ſeldom come down but with freſhes, eſpecially from the Minneſinks: the freight thence to Philadelphia is 8d. a buſhel for wheat, and 3s. a barrel for flour. From the forks, and other places below, 20s. a ton for pig iron, 7d. a buſhel for wheat, 2s. 6d. a barrel for flour. This river, above Trenton, has no branches worth mentioning for conveniency of navigation. Legheiwacſein has not a hundredth part ſo much water as Delaware has at the mouth of it. This creek takes the general courſe laid down in the maps. But as Mr. Edward Scull, to whom I am obliged for many obſervations, has lately laid out ſome great tracts of land on this creek, and given me an account of it, I ſhall here deliver a few particulars, in order to ſettle ſome public diſputes that have been at ſeveral times raiſed about it. From the mouth to the fork the courſe is S. 70° W. about 12 miles in a ſtraight line, the creek crooked and rapid. There the two branches are nearly of a bigneſs, the ſouthern one rather the

* Called by the natives Potuxat, and by the Dutch South river, correlative to that at New-York called North river.

† Theſe boats are made like troughs, ſquare above, the heads and ſterns ſloping a little fore and aft; generally 40 or 50 feet long, 6 or 7 feet wide, and 2 feet 9 inches, or 3 feet deep; and draw 20 or 22 inches water when loaden.

largeſt.

largeſt. Half a mile above the fork, the ſouth branch, or Wallanpaupack, tumbles about 30 feet perpendicularly; and a little way higher are two other falls, not quite ſo large. From the fork to the proprietaries tract, it is S. 60 W. 4 or 5 miles, the channel pretty ſtraight. Thence for 10 miles taken in a ſtraight line, the courſe is S. 56 W. by compaſs, the ſtream crooked and very gentle. By the range of the hills, this branch continues much the ſame direction to its ſource. The northern branch of Legheiwacſein divides again into two branches, at about a mile and a quarter above the mouth, where each is about large enough to turn an under-ſhot griſt mill. Three quarters of a mile higher is a great pine ſwamp, through which both branches come. Mr. Scull thinks that theſe branches, whoſe general courſe is about N. W. do not at moſt extend above 15 miles; and that all the waters this way are confined to the lower ſide of the great chains of mountains, which extend from about the Station point to Suſquehanna about Whioming.

"The weſt branch of Delaware is but inconſiderable, compared with the north-eaſtern branch, into which it falls at Eaſton. Above the Tuſcarora hills at Gnadenhutten, it is divided into little creeks, and no part goes north-weſtward of the Cuſhietunk mountains. Delaware has no other branches on the weſt ſide between the Station point and Eaſton worth the mentioning, the country being drained by little runs and creeks.

"Schuylkill is a fine branch, up which the tide runs 5 miles above Philadelphia, where there is an impaſſable fall; and 3 miles higher another not much better. Thence to Reading is a fine gliding current eaſy ſet againſt, as the bottom is gravelly and even; and at ſeaſons not very dry, would furniſh 15 or 16 inches water all the way.

"Suſquehanna river is navigable with canoes quite from the lakes at the head to the falls at Conewega; nor is there any

any fall till that 3 miles below Whioming *. A quarter of a mile below Neſcopeki is another; both paſſable up or down with ſafety. The water thence to Samokin is generally pretty gentle. Thence to Conewega are ſeveral troubleſome falls, but all paſſable downward with ſafety in freſhes. Conewega is the only fall which tumbles headlong in this river. Below this are three or four others, which are paſſable only with freſhes. By reaſon of ſo many bad falls, this river has not yet any inland navigation; nor is it indeed capable of any from Conewega downwards. Its conſiderable branches are, Owege, Tohiccon or Cayuga, Senaghſe, or weſt branch, Juniata, Swatara, Conewega, Codorus, and Coneſtoga. Tohiccon promiſes well for a good navigation with canoes to the head of Ohio river, as it is a fine large branch, and the ſtream pretty moderate. The weſt branch is ſhallow and rapid, and has ſcarce a fall worth the mentioning, and not one impaſſable. It is paſſable only when the rains raiſe it; and then to the path leading from Franks-town to Ohio, where a portage of 40 miles makes this way a communication with that river. Juniata, as it is obſtructed with ſhort falls, is gentle, and pretty deep in the intermediate places, and may be improved for the carriage of goods almoſt to Franks-town. Swatara, Conewega, Codorus, and Coneſtoga, ſome centuries hence, will, no doubt, be improved to good account.

* This place and the diſtrict is now ſettled by a populous colony, which ſwarmed and came forth from Connecticut. The people of Connecticut ſay, that their charter, and the grant of lands under it, was prior to that of Pennſylvania; that the grant of lands to them extended within the latitudes of their grant (except where poſſeſſed by other powers at that time) to the South ſeas. They allow New-York and New-Jerſey to have been ſo poſſeſſed at the time of their grant, but ſay, that their right emerges again at the weſt boundary of thoſe provinces. Mr. Penn, and the people of Pennſylvania who have taken grants under him, ſay, that this diſtrict is in the very heart of the province Pennſylvania. On this ſtate of claims the two colonies are in actual war, which they have not even remitted againſt each other here, although united in arms againſt Great Britain 1775.

" Cheſopeak

"Chefopeak may be juftly eſteemed the bay of Suſquehanna; and as ſuch we may reckon all the creeks and rivers from Potowmac upwards, as ſo many branches of it. The many portages from the creeks of this bay to thoſe of Delaware, are become already very uſeful, and in future ages will be more ſo. And it may alſo be obſerved here, that the road at each is extremely level and good; and veſſels of different magnitudes eaſily come up to the portages.

"Large ſloops can come up to Snow hill on Pokomoke; the portage is 5 miles from thence to Senepuxen ſound, where ſhips may come. If the Marylanders ever intend a direct paſſage through their own colony to the ſea, here an attempt would be moſt likely to ſucceed.

"Shallops may go up Nanticoke river, near 20 miles into Delaware colony; the portage from this river to Indian river is 13 miles, and to Broad creek 12.

"Choptank is navigable with ſhallops to the bridge, about 6 or 7 miles within Delaware colony; and the portage thence to Motherkill is 15 miles.

"From Cheſter river to Saliſbury, on Duck creek, the portage is 13 miles; and from Saſſafras there is another portage to the ſame place 13 miles alſo.

"From Frederick, on Saſſafras, where good ſhips can come, there is a portage to Cantwell's bridge, on Apoquinimy, 14 miles.

"From Bohemia, where large flats, or ſmall ſhallops, can come, there is a portage of 8 miles to Cantwell's bridge. This is the moſt frequented of any between the waters of Delaware and Cheſopeak. All theſe creeks, which lead into Delaware, will receive large ſhallops, but no larger veſſels.

"From the head of Elk, where ſhallops can come, the portage is 12 miles to Chriſteen bridge; and it is about the ſame diſtance to Omelanden point, a faſt landing on Delaware river, 3 or 4 miles below Newcaſtle. This latter portage

portage has not been occupied ſince theſe parts came laſt under the dominion of the Engliſh.

"Potowmac is navigable with large ſhipping to Alexandria, and for ſhallops 14 miles more to the falls; the portage thence is 6 miles by a good waggon road. Boats, ſhaped like thoſe of Delaware, and of ſomething leſs dimenſions, may go up to the north mountain without obſtruction, ſave at the rift, or falls, in the ſouth mountain, which, however, is paſſable. The river runs through the north mountain without any fall; and from thence to Wills's creek, there are 3 or 4 rifts paſſable with canoes, or batteaux, when the water is not very low. The inland navigation by this river is ſcarce begun; but one may foreſee that it will become in time the moſt important in America, as it is likely to be the ſole paſſage from Ohio to the ocean. The north branch is ſcarce paſſable with canoes beyond the Shawane fields, ſome 3 or 4 miles above Wills's creek. The portage from this branch to Ohio is yet unſettled, by reaſon of the bad roads and hills. But as at this time it may be an object of inquiry, ſome account of the ground will not be unacceptable. From Wills's creek the ground is very ſtony for the greater part of the Allegany mountain; but not ſo much ſo from the Shawane fields. The mountain, though pretty ſtony, may have a good waggon road made over it. On the north-weſt ſide of this chain of hills, there is all along a great deal of ſwampy ground, which is a conſiderable obſtruction to a direct paſſage, but yet manageable by taking ſome little compaſs round. From this weſtward you croſs two branches of Youghiogeny: the greater, which is the moſt weſterly, at 3 miles above the joining of the three forks, or Turkey foot. And the three forks are 3 miles above the Laurel hill, through which Youghiogeny precipitates by a great fall of near 30 feet, and continues to run with great rapidity for 2 or 3 miles further. At this time to go from the croſſing to Youghiogeny below the falls, they are obliged to go

by

by the meadows, there croſs Laurel hill, and return again northward, and by that means take near 30 miles to reach the navigable water of this river; whereas, if a road could be made near the fall, 15 or 20 miles might be ſaved in the way to Fort du Queſne. There is a good ford through Youghiogeny, and the ground all the way good and ſound; and a road may eaſily be made along it. Laurel hill, though ſmall, is a ridge very hard to croſs, by reaſon of its ſteepneſs; but at the meadows is the beſt paſs we know of yet towards Virginia; there a waggon, which would require 4 horſes to travel with, may be drawn up by 6. Probably a paſs may alſo be found for wheel carriages to the north of the falls; and if there ſhould, it would much improve the portage between Potowmac and Youghiogeny, and reduce it to 50 miles, whereas it is now but little ſhort of 70. If we have the good fortune of being maſters of Ohio, the navigation of Youghiogeny will be of importance; ſince it is paſſable with flat-bottomed boats, capable of carrying 4 or 5 tons, from the mouth to the foot of the rift below the falls. A horſe path may be conducted in 6 or 7 miles, without much expence, from the great croſſing to the head of navigable water. From this to Fort du Queſne you may go down in a day, but it requires at leaſt three to return up the ſtream."

The following very curious and very intereſting account of the communications betwixt the waters of the european preſent ſettlements, and the waters of Ohio, I received from lieutenant-governor Mercer, which I give to the reader in his own words:

"During the laſt war on the Ohio, moſt of the heavy and bulky commodities were landed at George-town on Potowmac river, and conveyed thence in waggons to Conogochieg, where they were embarked on batteaux and canoes, and were landed at Fort Cumberland; from Fort Cumberland they were conveyed in waggons to the Monongahela

gahela at the mouth of Redſtone creek, and there put on board batteaux, which conveyed them to Pittſburg. The diſtance from Fort Cumberland to the mouth of Redſtone creek is 73 miles, and was generally performed in 3 days: each waggon with 4 horſes carried 22 cwt. and were allowed 9s. ſterling per day; but it was afterwards known, that a good waggon road might be made from Fort Cumberland on the north branch of the Potowmac to a branch of the Youghiogeny, which would not exceed 40 miles. The troops left in garriſon at Pittſburg, after the concluſion of the indian war, received very large ſupplies of proviſion, &c. from the inhabitants of the ſouth branch of Potowmac in Virginia, who cleared a waggon road, and found a good paſs through the mountains to Cheat river, a branch of the Monongahela, about 50 miles above the mouth of Redſtone creek, and found a good and ſpeedy conveyance thence by water to Pittſburg. The diſtance from the waters of the ſouth branch of the Potowmac to Cheat river is only 20 miles, and colonel Wilſon has erected good griſt and ſaw mills on Cheat river: theſe circumſtances are known to all the officers who ſerved in that quarter laſt war. And ſince the war, ſome perſons in Virginia, in particular Mr. John Balleneine, who is a good mechanic, has explored theſe waters, and the ſeveral natural advantages they offer; and is of opinion, nay has proved, that for leſs than 40,000l. locks, &c. might be formed at the falls both of Potowmac and James rivers, which would render thoſe rivers navigable at all ſeaſons of the year for the largeſt barges now uſed on the Thames, nay even of barges of 200 tons, as from his general obſervations of thoſe rivers, particularly of Potowmac, at the falls of which he has remarkable fine mills and a forge, and was alſo proprietor of a furnace for iron ore near the mouth of the Shannandoah for many years, that they never would have leſs than 4 feet water in the drieſt ſeaſons; and, from an actual ſurvey, he aſſures me that

that the waters of James river, and thoſe of the Kanhaway, are no more than 4 miles diſtant, and that the waters of the Kanhaway are alſo navigable, and together with thoſe of the ſouth branch might be made completely ſo for the expence above mentioned."

Though in ſearch of the head of Potowmac, the king's and lord Fairfax's commiſſioners determined the north to be the main branch; yet it is very well known, that the ſouth branch is navigable 40 miles up with batteaux. And as it was not clear to me that the true head of Potowmac was at the place thoſe gentlemen determined it, I have not mentioned the weſtern ſide of Maryland, which ſhould be a meridian drawn from the head of Potowmac to the Pennſylvania line. If the affair is candidly examined, it will probably be determined, that the ſouth branch is the moſt conſiderable. If ſo, the head of the north branch will not be the weſtern extremity of Maryland, though it now is of lord Fairfax's grant. Very hilly and ſwampy ground prevents a portage by any tolerable road from the ſouth branch to Monongahela. As this latter river is fine and gentle, ſome uſe may in future times be made of it, either in a communication with Green Briar, or Potowmac; for it is paſſable with flats a great way above Redſtone creek, and interrupted with one impaſſable fall only.

Shanedore is a fine branch of Potowmac, but its inland navigation is yet inconſiderable; but, in future time, it will no doubt be improved to a good account.

Rapahannock, York river, Matapany, and Pamunky, though of excellent marine navigation, are but inconſiderable above the lower plains; their branches being confined below the ſouth mountain, and impaſſable with the ſlighteſt inland craft.

James river is ſcarce inferior to any in excellent navigation for marine as well as inland craft: its lower falls being near 6 miles long, and tumbling in little ſhort cafcades, are entirely

entirely impaſſable. The river thence upward to an impaſſable fall in the ſouth mountain is excellently fitted for large boats like thoſe already deſcribed in Delaware; and it is paſſable with lighter craft much further, and would not require above 40 or 50 miles portage to the branches of Kanhaway river. But this however is not improvable to Ohio; for Kanhaway has an impaſſable fall in a ridge, which is impaſſable for man or beaſt by land: but its opening a paſſage to the New Virginia is a very great advantage.

"Roanoke, which falls into Albemarle ſound, beyond the bounds of my map, is barred at the entrance, ſo as not to receive ſuch large ſhips as it would otherwiſe bear: it is paſſable with ſhallops to the falls. From thence upwards it is generally placid and wide, and in ſome places interrupted with little rifts and falls, none of which, that I have heard of, impaſſable. It is liable to very great freſhes, and has not been yet improved to any inland navigation, for the people on its branches, Holſton river, Yadkin, and New river, turn hitherto all their commerce into James river. There is no river more likely to be of importance in the future navigation of the inland parts this way than Roanoke, becauſe it hath good depth of water, and extends right into the country.

"There are many other creeks and rivers in the ſettlements that are obſcured by the ſuperior excellence of theſe already deſcribed, which would well deſerve deſcription, if I were to give a detail of any particular colony.

"The little acquaintance that the public has had with the river OHIO, will be a ſufficient apology for entering into a more minute detail of it, and its branches, than of any other already deſcribed.

"From the head, which interlocks with the Cayuga branch of Suſquehanna to Canawagy, I have little knowledge; but ſuppoſe, from the evenneſs of the land, that it may afford good inland navigation in future ages. From Canawagy to Chartier's Old Town, the river is all along ſufficiently mo-

derate, and always deep enough for canoes and batteaux, which do not draw above 15 inches water; nor is it obſtructed with any remarkable rifts or falls, ſave at a ſharp bent ſome miles below Licking creek, where the water ruſhes on a rock with great violence; and at Toby's falls, which is a rift paſſable with ſafety on the weſt ſide. In this part of the river are ſeveral fording-places, but they are more rare as you come lower down. That at Chartier's Old Town is the beſt; which, as ſoon as the rock appears above water, is paſſable cloſe above it. At Shanoppens is another in very dry times, and the loweſt down the river. This part, which is very crooked, has ſeldom been navigated by our people, becauſe the great number of horſes neceſſary to carry their goods to Ohio, ſerve alſo to carry them there from place to place; and the little game that way makes it but little frequented.

"The navigation from Chartier's Old Town, all the way down to the falls, has been hitherto performed in very large wooden canoes *, which they make of great length, as better fitted to ſteer againſt a rapid ſtream; they are navigated down by 2 men, and upwards by 4 at leaſt. From Chartier's to the lower Shawane town, they are in the ſpring about 4 days in going down with the freſhes; for then they let the canoe drive in the night; but towards the end of ſummer, when the water is low, and leſs ſwift, they uſually ſpend 10 or 12 days: but at moderate ſeaſons the paſſage is performed in 6 or 8. In returning, they take often 30 or 40 days, though double-handed, and ſeldom leſs than 20. Suppoſing we go down the river from Chartier's, the water is pretty moderate till you come to Sweep-chimney iſland, between Dicks's and Pine creek, where it is very rapid. It generally happens that where the river is confined to narrower bounds by iſlands, it is more rapid, yet not ſo but

* Generally 30 or 40 feet long, 3 or 4 feet broad, and drawing empty 10 or 12 inches water, and when loaded about 18 inches.

canoes

canoes may be eaſily ſet againſt it. At Fort du Queſne, at Paul's iſland, 5 miles lower, and at a flat between that and Logs Town, the water is pretty rapid, as it is alſo at a ſmall iſland between that and Beaver creek. Theſe are, however, inconſiderable; nor are thoſe places juſt below Beaver creek, and at a flat a little above the upper end of the Pipe hills, much more worthy regard. At Hart's rock the river makes a quick bend round a rocky point, and a very ſharp rippling, where the boatmen are obliged to wade, and haul up near the rock, the ſouth-eaſt ſide being full of quickſands *. At Weeling iſland, Muſkingum iſland (a little way above a fine branch of that name), and at Beaty's iſland, the current is pretty rapid. At 3 or 4 miles above the Big bent is a conſiderable rift called Le Tart's falls, where the water is ſo rapid, that they are obliged to haul the canoes with ropes, in coming up, for near a furlong along the ſouth-eaſt ſide. From this to the lower Shawane town, at the mouth of Scioto, is no obſtruction worth mentioning." The Ohio, as I learn from captain Gordon's journal of 1766, from 50 miles above Muſkingum to the north of Scioto, is moſt beautiful, and interſperſed with numbers of iſlands covered with the moſt ſtately timber, with ſeveral long ſtraight reaches, one of which is 16 miles and an half long: "and the ſtream thence downward to the falls is ſtill more gentle, and better fitted for veſſels drawing greater depth of water." Theſe falls do not deſerve that name, as I am taught by captain Gordon's journal, as the ſtream on the north ſide has no ſudden pitch, but only runs rapid over the ledge of a flat limeſtone rock: ſeveral boats paſſed it in the drieſt ſeaſon of the year, unloading one-third of their freight; they paſſed on the north ſide, where the carrying-place is three quarters of a mile long. On the ſouth-eaſt ſide it is

* Above this there are two remarkable creeks, called by the traders the Two Upper creeks, which like twins run about 30 miles parallel to each other, and within 3 miles diſtance, with a very rich Meſopotamia between them.

about half that diſtance, and is reckoned the ſafeſt paſſage for thoſe who are unacquainted; but it is the moſt tedious, as during part of the ſummer and fall, they drag their boats over the flat rock. "The fall is about half a mile rapid water, which, however, is paſſable, by wading and dragging the canoe againſt the ſtream when loweſt; and with ſtill greater eaſe when the water is raiſed a little.

"The ſoil along theſe parts of Ohio, and its eaſtern branches, though but little broken with high mountains, is none of the beſt; conſiſting in general of low dry ridges of white oak and cheſnut land, with very rich interval low meadow ground. Here and there are ſpots of fine white pines, and in many places great extents of poor pitch pines. The land, from the back part of the Endleſs mountains, weſtward to Ohio, and from Fort du Queſne upward, is of theſe ſorts. The ſame little broken chain of hills, which borders it here near the river ſide, continues ſouth-weſterly, till it ends at 10 miles below the falls, keeping at ſome 10 or 15 miles from the general courſe of the river all the way down."

Captain Gordon's journal gives the following deſcription of this part of the country: From the falls to about 155 miles and three quarters, it is very hilly, the courſe of the river very winding and narrow, and but very few ſpots of level land on the ſides of the river. The hills are moſtly ſtony and ſteep; but from the great herds of buffaloes which we ſaw on the beaches of the river, and on the iſlands into which they came, there muſt be good paſture. After this the ridgy ground ends, the country then grows flat, and the river, whoſe bed widens, is divided by iſlands. The navigation is good from the falls; but where the flat country begins, boats muſt keep the principal channel, which is on the right hand going down.

"Beaver creek is navigable with canoes only. At Kiſhkuſkes, about 16 miles up, two branches ſpread oppoſite ways; one interlocks with French creek and Cherâge, the other

other weſtward with Muſkingum and Cayahoga; on this are many ſalt ſprings, about 35 miles above the forks; it is canoable about 20 miles farther. The eaſtern branch is leſs conſiderable, and both are very ſlow, ſpreading through a very rich level country, full of ſwamps and ponds, which prevent a good portage that might otherwiſe be made to Cayahoga; but will, no doubt, in future ages, be fit to open a canal between the waters of Ohio and lake Erie.

" Muſkingum, though ſo wide extended in its branches, ſpreads all in moſt excellent land, abounding in good ſprings and conveniencies, particularly adapted for ſettlements remote from marine navigation, as coal, clay, and freeſtone. In 1748 a coal mine, oppoſite Lamenſhikola mouth, took fire, and kept burning above a twelvemonth, where great quantities are ſtill left. Near the ſame place is excellent whetſtone; and about 8 miles higher up the river is plenty of white and blue clay for glaſs works and pottery. Though the quantity of good land on Ohio, and its branches, is vaſtly great, and the conveniencies attending it ſo likewiſe; we may eſteem that on Muſkingum the flower of it all.

" Hockhocking is paſſable with batteaux 70 or 80 miles up; it has fine rich land, and vaſt graſſy meadows, high banks, and ſeldom overflows. It has coals about 15 miles up, and ſome knowls of freeſtone.

" Big Kanhaway falls into Ohio on the ſouth-eaſt ſide, and is ſo conſiderable a branch, that it may, by perſons coming up Ohio on that ſide, be miſtaken for the main river. It is ſlow for 10 miles, to the little broken hills, and the land very rich; as it is for about the ſame breadth along Ohio, all the way from the Pipe hills to the falls. After 10 miles up Kanhaway, the land is hilly, the water pretty rapid, for 50 or 60 miles further to the falls, to which boats may go. This is a very remarkable fall, not for its great height, but for coming through a mountain now thought impaſſable for man or beaſt, and is itſelf impaſſable. But no

doubt foot or horſe paths will be found when a greater number of people make the ſearch, and under leſs inconveniencies than our travellers are at preſent. By reaſon of the difficulty of paſſing the Ouaſioto mountains, I thought them a very natural boundary between Virginia and Ohio in theſe parts; and for that reaſon made them the bounds of the different territories, not that there is any difference of right between one ſide and the other. Louiſa, New river, and Green Briar, are fine large branches of Kanhaway; which in future times will be of ſervice for the inland navigation of New Virginia, as they interlock with Monongahela, Potowmac, James river, Roanoke, and the Cuttawa river.

"Totteroy falls into Ohio on the ſame ſide, and is paſſable with boats to the mountains. It is long, and has not many branches, interlocks with Red creek, or Clinch's river (a branch of Cuttawa). It has below the mountains, eſpecially for 15 miles from the mouth, very good land. And here is a viſible effect of the difference of climate from the upper parts of Ohio. Here the large reed, or Carolina cane, grows in plenty, even upon the upland, and the ſeverity of the winter does not kill them; ſo that travellers this way are not obliged to provide any winter ſupport for their horſes. And the ſame holds all the way down Ohio, eſpecially on the ſouth-eaſt ſide to the falls, and thence on both ſides.

"Great Salt Lick creek is remarkable for fine land, plenty of buffaloes, ſalt ſprings, white clay, and limeſtone. Canoes may come up to the croſſing of the war path, or ſomething higher, without a fall. The ſalt ſprings hurt its water for drinking, but the number of freſh ſprings near it make ſufficient amends.

"Kentucky is larger than the foregoing, has high clay banks, abounds in cane and buffaloes, and has alſo ſome very large ſalt ſprings. It has no limeſtone yet diſcovered, but

but ſome other fit for building. Its navigation is interrupted with ſhoals, but paſſable with canoes to the gap, where the war path goes through the Ouaſioto mountain. This gap it is neceſſary to point out, as a very important paſs, and it is truly ſo, by reaſon of its being the only way paſſable with horſes, from Ohio ſouthward for 300 or 400 miles extent. And if the government has a mind to preſerve the country back of Carolina, it ſhould be looked to in time.

"As we go further down Ohio, the diſtance from the Ouaſioto mountains to the river becomes more conſiderable. The land, from the little broken hills to the mountains, is of a middling kind, and conſiſts of different veins and ſtrata; and though everywhere as good as any part of the engliſh ſettlements, falls far ſhort of that on the other ſide of Ohio, or between the little hills and the river. Theſe hills are ſmall, and ſeem only the brink of a riſing ſtage of land, and dividing the rich plains of Ohio from the upland, bordering on the Ouaſioto mountains. They terminate at 10 miles below the falls; indeed a little ſpur extended from their ſide is that limeſtone reach that Ohio ripples over at the falls.

"Now to return to the other ſide of Ohio. Scioto is a large gentle river, bordered with rich flats, which it overflows in the ſpring; ſpreading then above half a mile in breadth, though when confined to its banks it is ſcarce a furlong wide *. If it floods early, it ſcarce retires within its banks in a month, or is fordable in a month or two more. The land is ſo level, that in the freſhes of Ohio the backwater runs 8 miles up. Oppoſite the mouth of this river is the lower Shawane town, removed from the other ſide, which was one of the moſt noted places of engliſh

* The latitude of its mouth 38° 22'. I have marked the error of its being placed too high in the map. Muſkingum is in Evans's map placed in its general run much too far to the weſt; it was in ſome meaſure corrected in the ſubſequent edition.

trade with the Indians. This river, beſides vaſt extents of good land, is furniſhed with ſalt on an eaſtern branch, and red bole on Necunſia Skeintat. The ſtream is very gentle, and paſſable with large batteaux a great way up, and with canoes near 200 miles to a portage near the head, where you carry over good ground 4 miles to Sanduſky. Sanduſky is a conſiderable river, abounding in level rich land, its ſtream gentle all the way to the mouth, where it will receive conſiderable ſloops. This river is an important paſs, and the French have ſecured it as ſuch; the northern Indians croſs the lake here from iſland to iſland, land at Sanduſky, and go by a direct path to the lower Shawane town, and thence to the gap of Ouaſioto, in their way to the Cuttawas country. This will, no doubt, be the way that the French will take from Detroit to Moville, unleſs the Engliſh will be adviſed to ſecure it, now that it is in their power.

"Little Mineami river is too ſmall to be gone far with canoes. It has much fine land, and ſome ſalt ſprings; its high banks, and middling current, prevent its overflowing much the ſurrounding land.

"Great Mineami river, Aſſereniet, or Rocky river, has a very ſtony channel, a ſwift ſtream, but no falls. It has ſeveral large branches, paſſable with canoes a great way; one extending weſtward towards the Quiaaghtena river; another towards a branch of Mineami river (which runs into lake Erie), to which there is a portage, and a third has a portage to the weſt branch of Sanduſky; beſides Mad creek, where the French have lately eſtabliſhed themſelves. A vein of elevated land, here and there a little ſtony, which begins in the northern part of the peninſula, between the lakes Erie, Huron, and Michigan, extends acroſs the lake, Mineami river, below the fork, and ſouthward along the Rocky river, to Ohio; and is the reaſon of this river's being ſtony, and the grounds riſing a little higher than the adjacent

adjacent plains. It is, like all the land on this river, very rich, and would ſcarce have been perceived, had not the river worn the channel down to the rocks which lie beneath.

" Quiaaghtena river, called by the French Ouabach, though that is truly the name of its ſouth-eaſtern branch, is very large, and furniſhes a fine navigation; but whether interrupted with rifts or falls, I am not informed, but probably it is not, as the lands round are fine level flats, of vaſt extent. The weſtern league of Indians, known to themſelves by the general name of WELINIS, corruptly called by the French Illinois (frequently diſtinguiſhed by us, according to the ſeveral tribes or nations that it conſiſts of; as the Piancaſhas, Wawiaghtas, Piques, Tawightawis, and Mineamis), are ſeated from this river to Scioto; and were permitted, about 16 years ago, to ſettle there by the expreſs leave of the confederates.

" Into the weſtern end of lake Erie falls Mineami river, a conſiderable ſtream, navigable with canoes to the portages, which lead to the Quiaaghtena and Rocky river, interrupted with three conſiderable rifts below the forks: but however it is an important river, becauſe of the portages it furniſhes ſouth-weſtward."

I ſhall cloſe this account of the natural ſtate of the country with ſome conſiderations on the nature of its climate.

The two principal circumſtances on which ſingly and combined the nature of the climate of any country depends, are, the nature of the ſoil, and aſpect of the given horizon, as conſtituted and ſituated to receive and retain the heat of the ſun: and is the nature of the atmoſphere which is in the longeſt continuance of contact with this horizon.

1ſt. If this globe of earth had one uniform plain ſurface, the nearer approach to, or greater elongation from the equator which any country had (*cæteris paribus*), the greater or leſſer degree of heat its climate would partake of; becauſe the more directly, or more obliquely, that the rays of the

ſun

ſun ſtrike any ſurface, the greater or the leſſer muſt the reverberation of heat be, as the angle of reflection is more acute or more obtuſe: the more or leſs alſo will the atmoſphere in contact with this land be heated by this reverberation; but as this is not the caſe of the ſurface of the earth, a thouſand other collateral circumſtances interfere with and break this rule. As the ſurface of the earth is broken with numberleſs irregularities, wherever the inclination of the given horizon lies different from the general horizon of the globe, it counteracts this general effect: if on the north of the equator it ſlopes ſouthward, or on the ſouth of the equator ſlopes northward, ſo as to extend its general plain nearer at right angles with the rays of the ſun than the ſpheric plain of its latitude would have been, it will receive and retain more heat in proportion than belongs to that latitude. Hence the intenſe heat of the ſouthern parts of Perſia, and of thoſe parts which we call the Eaſt Indies. Hence alſo, principally, though other circumſtances may concur in the cauſe, is the climate of North America hotter than in the ſame latitudes in Europe. Hence alſo, in part it happens, that the regions of North America, in the upper ſtages, are not ſo liable to heat as thoſe in the lower plains, though in the ſame latitude. If, on the contrary, the given horizon ſlopes from the ſun's place, the heat in the lower latitudes will be more moderate, which is the caſe of France and Germany compared with the countries of the ſame latitude in America, and in the higher latitudes the country will ſuffer more rigorous cold. This latter is the caſe of Siberia, the plain of whoſe horizon being in a high north latitude ſlopes from the high Tartar plains northward; hence the more than natural rigour of the climate; hence the unfruittul and inhoſpitable nature of its ſoil.

2. Some ſurfaces and ſome ſoils (other circumſtances remaining alike) are more formed to create a reverberation of heat and to retain it. A ſandy ſoil ſoon heats, and alſo retains

tains its heats. A ſurface uneven and irregular, hills and deep vales, and even that which is broken with mountains (if thoſe be not too high, as explained below), reflecting the rays of the ſun a thouſand ways, and occaſioning them to croſs each other conſtantly in all directions, creates a ſtronger reverberation of local heat than is found in any extended plain. A country clothed with woods, which ſhade the earth from the action of the ſun, will always (taking in the whole region) be colder than a country cleared of thoſe woods; and the air which lies in contact with it, or paſſes over it, will be always colder. As theſe regions become cleared of theſe woods, are dried and cultured, that part of the climate which depends on this circumſtance always meliorates in proportion. This has been found to be the caſe with Gaul and Germany. This effect was ſenſibly felt, and very early obſerved, by ſome of the firſt ſettlers in North America; ſome of the very earlieſt written accounts which I have ſeen relate this circumſtance very particularly, and men of obſervation in that country have in every ſucceſſive age marked the progreſs of this melioration.

There is another circumſtance, which indeed does not much enter into the caſe of the climate of North America, but is amongſt theſe general propoſitions worth notice. It is this:

The longer the portion is of any given period of time, in which the ſun ſhines in any horizon, the hotter in that ſeaſon will the region of that horizon be. Hence the intenſe heat of the latter end of ſummer in Ruſſia.

3. The air or atmoſphere can be acted upon by the reverberation of the ſun's rays, and be heated only in proportion to its greater denſity near the earth, and in proportion to the continuity of contact which it hath with the heated parts of the earth. The earth alſo in proportion to this more continued contact amongſt its parts, in the general level of the ſurface, receives and retains more heat than it does in the

the higher mountainous diſcontinued parts above that level. From theſe two circumſtances combined it ariſes, that in the very high mountains, even under the equator, the cold is intenſe; and at a certain elevation above the general level of the globe, ſo rigorous and intenſe as to put a ſtop to all vegetation.

The atmoſphere will alſo be heated or chilled according to the nature of the particles which attracted by it are mixed and ſuſpended in it, whether they be aqueous, or whether nitrous or ſulphureous ſalts, and according to the fixation, fermentation, or precipitation of theſe particles.

The regions covered with great lakes of freſh water, but more eſpecially the region of the main ocean, the component parts of whoſe maſs are in perpetual motion, are in general warmer than, although in hot ſeaſons and climates never ſo hot as, the body of the land: it retains however a more equable heat, while the heat of the land changes from one degree of heat to an oppoſite one of cold.

The general currents of the air, and the nature of the vapours which may be mixed with them, muſt depend greatly on the poſition which theſe different portions of the globe have in reſpect of each other in any region. In ſummer, and in other ſeaſons when the land is heated, the winds which blow from ſea muſt prevail; in winter, when the land is chilled, and while the ſea retains its uſual warmth, the wind will blow from land to ſea, and more or leſs violent in proportion to the contraſt. The poſition of theſe regions in reſpect to the general currents of the atmoſphere and of the ocean, operate greatly in forming the courſes of the ſeaſons, and the nature of the climate.

Theſe principles thus laid down and explained, I will proceed to ſtate the facts. The climate of the continent at large, or rather of that portion of North America which is contained within the limits of my map, may be thus ſtated.

Its

Its ſeaſons are ſummer, autumn, or what the Americans more expreſſively call the fall, and winter. The tranſition from the locking up of all vegetation in winter to the ſudden burſt of it again to life at the beginning of the ſummer, excludes that progreſſive ſeaſon which in the more moderate climate of Europe we call ſpring.

The ſeaſon begins to break ſoon after the fall of the leaf, and temporary cold rains and fleets of ſnow fall in November, the north-weſt winds begin, and towards Chriſtmas winter in all its rigour ſets in; the ground is covered with ſnow, the froſt is ſettled, the ſky becomes clear and one continued expanſe of azure, with conſtant ſunſhine; temporary blaſts and ſtorms are at intervals exceptions to this. Towards April the currents of the air begin to change to north, and round to north-eaſt, and the ſeaſon of hazy, foggy, and rainy ſqualls from north-eaſt begins towards the latter end of April in ſome parts, towards the beginning of May in others. The froſt breaks up, the ſnow melts, and within a week or 10 days after, the woods and the orchards are in the full glow of bloom. About the middle of September the mornings and evenings begin to grow cool, and from that time to the beginning of the winter ſeaſon it is the climate of paradiſe

To give a deſcription of the climate of New-England, I ſhall tranſcribe that account which Dr. Douglas gives, as he, during a long reſidence therein, did, with a peculiar ſcientific attention, obſerve it. "In New-England generally the falling weather is from north-eaſt to ſouth-eaſt in winter: if the wind is north of eaſt, ſnow; if ſouth of eaſt, rain. The north-eaſt ſtorms are of the greateſt continuance; the ſouth-eaſt are the moſt violent. A north-weſt freezing wind backing to the ſouth-weſt, if reverberated, proves the moſt intenſe cold weather. Our great rains are in Auguſt about 2 months after the ſummer ſolſtice; and our great ſnows about

about 2 months after the winter ſolſtice. In falling weather the further the wind is from the eaſt the finer and drier is the ſnow; the further ſouth from the eaſt the more humid and fleaky. When the wind gets ſouth of ſouth-eaſt it turns to rain. The winds from weſt-ſouth-weſt to north-north-weſt are dry winds, fit for dry curing of ſalt fiſh; further north they are damp and ſoft, as coming from the ocean; further ſouth are from the hot latitudes, and ſun-burn the fiſh. Our intenſe hot days are with the wind from ſouth to weſt-ſouth-weſt; from north to eaſt-north-eaſt our moſt chilly weather. The dry winds are from weſt to north-north-weſt, all other winds vary more or leſs. From the middle of October begin, and about the middle of April leave off, chamber fires. Our ſeaſons as to temper of the weather may be reckoned as follows: winter, from the winter ſolſtice to the ſpring equinox: ſpring, from ſaid equinox to ſummer ſolſtice; ſummer, from ſaid ſummer ſolſtice to winter equinox; and autumn, from thence to winter ſolſtice." I have as above ventured to differ from this diviſion of the doctor's, having divided the ſeaſons into winter, ſummer, and fall; in his next paragraph he ſeems to be ſenſible of this diviſion: "at the end of Auguſt the ſymptoms of approaching winter begin to appear; we call it the fall of the year," as the leaves begin to fall.

Lewis Evans, in a map of Pennſylvania, New-Jerſey, and New-York, which he publiſhed in 1749, ſays, "That at Philadelphia, by many years obſervations, the extremes of the barometer were 28 59, and 30 78. And that by one year's obſervation, which was not remarkable either for heat or cold, Fahrenheit's pocket thermometer was from 14 to 84."

The courſes and the nature of the winds are in this region exactly what from the above principles one might pronounce them to be. In winter generally, and taking the year through for near half the period, the land winds blow, that is, the courſe of the air is from the colder region of a ſhaded uncul-

uncultivated land, to the milder region of the ſea: theſe land winds are the weſt and north-weſt winds. Theſe winds are always dry, and in the winter ſeaſon intenſely cold. Theſe land winds in very dry weather are endued with a ſtrong power of attraction, and abſorb the vapours of the inland waters of the country, and create, as they approach towards the lower plains, very thick fogs, which intercept the direct rays of light, ſo that the luminous object of the ſun appears as red as blood: there are various other phænomena attendant on this ſtate of refraction. Theſe vapours are greatly heated by the ſun, and greatly heat the air; in conſequence of this, when theſe fogs are diſſipated, the moſt intenſe heat ſucceeds them: if they laſt till evening before they are diſſipated, they are frequently followed by thunder guſts. As the weſt and north-weſt winds are ſteady and equable, the ſouth-weſt are unſettled and ſqually. The north winds are the carriers of ſleet, both ſnow and rain. The north-eaſt, when it takes to blow, as it does at the ſeaſon between the breaking-up of winter and the commencement of ſummer, is ſettled cold, and blows hard, with continued rains; and to the northward, as for example, on the coaſts of Nova Scotia, and often on the coaſt of New-England, when it does not bring rain, it drives in thick and fixed fogs before it. The eaſt winds are warm, but not ſettled under a fixed characteriſtic as to wet or dry. The ſouth-eaſt are warm and wet.

I cannot cloſe theſe obſervations without tranſcribing from Lewis Evans's map of Pennſylvania, New-York, and New-Jerſey, printed at Philadelphia 1749, the following curious, at that time novel and very curious, philoſophic propoſitions; not only as they point to very ingenious experiments, but as they ſhew what progreſs he had made in that ſingular branch of philoſophy, electricity, at a period when even the firſt philoſophers were but empirics in it.

"All

« All our ſtorms," ſays he, « begin to leeward; thus a north-eaſt ſtorm will be a day ſooner in Virginia than in Boſton.

« Thunder never happens but by the meeting of ſea and land clouds; the ſea clouds coming, freighted with electricity, and meeting others leſs ſo, the equilibrium is reſtored by ſnaps of lightning; and the more oppoſite the winds, and the larger and compacter the clouds, the more dreadful are theſe ſhocks: the ſea clouds, thus ſuddenly bereft of that univerſal element of repellency, contract, and their waters guſh down in torrents."

His philoſophy here is not perfectly juſt, though it contains very ſhrewd leading theorems, of which, with a true and painful philoſophic courſe of experiments, Dr. Franklin elicited the real truth.

I did intend to have continued this paper with a deſcription of the original indigenous inhabitants,

> Hæc nemora indigenæ fauni nymphæque tenebant,
> Genſque virûm truncis et duro robore nati,
> Queis nec mos nec cultus erat, nec jungere tauros
> Aut componere opes nôrant, aut parcere parto,
> Sed rami atque aſper victu venatus alebat.

I ſhould have inſerted a liſt of the tribes or nations, both in the northern and ſouthern diſtrict, marking their dwellings. This part would contain a deſcription of their nature, their ſyſtem of life, and mode of ſubſiſtence, of the progreſs they have made, and of the point in which they are found as to ſociety, communion, and government; as to their manners in the individual, the family, the tribe; as to the general ſpirit by which they regulate themſelves when conſidered as a nation. But although I have many materials, and theſe nearly arranged, yet I cannot at preſent find either leiſure or ſpirits to undertake this part. On this head,

head, therefore, I will take the liberty at preſent to refer the reader, who may be deſirous of ſeeing ſomething on this ſubject, to thoſe parts of the "Adminiſtration of the Colonies" (vol. i. chap. 7.) where theſe matters are treated of, ſo far as reſpects the general ſubject of that treatiſe.

THE price of land in the back countries of New-York and Pennſylvania, 1 dollar an acre.

The expence of clearing:

For cutting down the timber, 4 dollars.

For piling and burning, 4 dollars.

One man in 3 weeks will clear and burn an acre of land: he is uſually boarded and lodged beſide the above price.

An acre of maple and beech land, which is the timber that generally grows on the land, will, when burned, produce 150 buſhels of aſhes an acre: theſe ſell at the pot-aſh works from 6d. to 8d. New-York currency, a buſhel, paid in goods. It will require from 150l. to 200l. to ſet up a pot-aſh work, New-York currency.

LETTER VI.

MY DEAR FRIEND, *Kentucky.*

IN the œconomy of the creation how wonderfully is the wiſdom of Providence diſplayed! Some animals are formed with particular ſtomachs, as in the inſtance of the camel, which has one adapted to contain water. It is aboriginal in the torrid zone, where the rarefaction of the air is ſo great, and conſequently more ſubject to drought. In the arctic regions we find the muſk buffalo, or goat, clad with long wool, which ſecures it againſt inclement cold. Man, the moſt defenceleſs, naked, and helpleſs of all in an infant ſtate, in his maturity is ſuperior in reaſon; and thus the faculties of his mind and body unite in making him ſovereign of the world. "Born to deſtroy the inferior race of animals, he would exhauſt all nature, if, by a fecundity ſuperior to his depredations, ſhe did not repair the perpetual havoc he makes. But death is only the miniſter of life, and deſtruction is the parent of reproduction."

The articles of ſugar and ſalt, though not abſolutely neceſſaries of life, have become, from habit, ſo eſſential, that I doubt if any civilized people would be content to live without them. The extenſive climate of this country, I believe, is no where warm enough for the cultivation of the ſugar-cane with ſucceſs; and to import it would be too expenſive by reaſon of its great weight; but nature has ſuperſeded that neceſſity in the ſupply of the ſugar maple-tree. It has been long known that ſugar could be made from the juice of this tree; but from the imperfect knowledge of the buſineſs of ſugar-making, the ſamples from this liquid were

ſuch

ſuch as promiſed no great expectations in future experiments: however, the neceſſity which the people were under of making them, or doing without ſugar, proved, that, with care and proper management, it could be made equal to the fineſt ſugars of the Weſt Indies, or Brazil *. Some ſamples ſhewn to a ſugar-refiner in Philadelphia (which aſtoniſhed him) produced ſeveral inſtructions in the art, which occaſioned immediate ſucceſs. The people began to treat the ſugar-trees more tenderly; and inſtead of chopping a large gap in their trunk, as had always been the practice, and which was ſufficient to deſtroy a leſs tender tree, the juice was found to ooze as effectually from an inciſion made with a ſcrew auger of $\frac{1}{4}$ths of an inch diameter. But this was the ſmalleſt of the improvements. All the means made uſe of in the Weſt Indies for the perfection of the art were ſoon aſcertained and practiſed: ſo that the country is not only equal to ſupply itſelf with ſugar, but might, with increaſe of hands, ſupply the inhabitants of the globe †.

The ſugar maple-tree not only grows in the greateſt abundance throughout this country within the limits I have mentioned, but it is known to be the hardieſt, and the moſt difficult to deſtroy, of all the trees in our foreſts (the beech not excepted), by the planters, who have a method of chopping or girdling the trunks of trees about one foot and a half above the ground, in order to kill them, and thereby they prevent their crops from being ſhaded.

It is known, that old trees produce the moſt and the richeſt juice; and it is alſo known, trees that have been uſed for years are better than freſh trees. It is a common remark, that whenever you ſee a black tree of this ſort, it is a ſure ſign it is a rich one. The blackneſs proceeds from

* It is very ſweet; and, even in its firſt ſtate of granulation, has, though a peculiar, yet no unpleaſing taſte.—EDIT.

† From this tree many of the german ſettlers alſo make a rich liqueur. – EDIT.

the inciſions made in the bark by the pecking of the parroquet, and other birds, in the ſeaſon of the juice riſing, which oozing out, dribbles down its ſides, and ſtains the bark, which, in the progreſſion of time, becomes black.

I have mentioned theſe particulars with a view to prevent your falling into the general error, that the reſource of making ſugar from the maple will ſoon be deſtroyed from the very nature of producing it; believing, as many do, that it is impoſſible for the tree to be able to bear the annual wounds which are neceſſary to be made in its trunk, in order to draw off the juice; and that a few years muſt neceſſarily extirpate them; now, ſo far from there being any danger of that, experience has ſhewn, the longer that they are uſed in a proper manner, the more plentiful and rich will be their juice to a certain age; which will be in proportion to the life of thoſe trees. No exact eſtimate can be made of that; but I conclude their decay is not earlier than other trees.

Both in the animal and vegetable world it has been obſerved, that the exiſtence of life, according to the natural order of things, is in proportion to the period of time required to produce maturity. There are exceptions to this principle, to be ſure; as the crane and hawk for inſtance, which ſeem to acquire maturity as early as moſt other birds, and are known to live a century and upwards. However, it is very certain that the life of a ſugar maple is as long as an oak, or any other tree.

If there is any analogy between animal and vegetable ſubſtances (and which there moſt certainly is), the increaſing plenty and richneſs of the juice from the uſe and age of the ſugar-tree, will not be thought more extraordinary, than that the quantity of milk is greater and more rich produced from a cow that has been uſed for years, than from one which has been neglected, or prevented from breeding annually.

The

The ſeaſon of tapping is moſtly about the middle of February in Kentucky; but not until the latter end of the month, about Pittſburg, in the remote parts of Pennſylvania, on the head branches of the Suſquehanna, and Delaware, and in the ſtate of New-York. Froſty mornings and bright ſunſhine are neceſſary to produce copious exſudations. The ſeaſon continues in this climate about 6 weeks, when the juice is found to be too thin and poor to make ſugar; but it is ſtill capable of making molaſſes, ſpirits by diſtillation, vinegar, and an agreeable table beer.

The buſineſs of ſugar-making is moſtly managed by women and boys; the men generally having nothing more to do with it than to tap the trees, prepare the ſheds, and different apparatus. So that our agricultural employments are very little obſtructed by this buſineſs, which produces ſo important an article for domeſtic uſes. The perfection to which we have brought our ſugars has induced many people in the upper parts of the ſtates of New-York and Pennſylvania to make a buſineſs of it during the ſeaſon of the juice running; and conſiderable quantities have been ſent to the markets of Philadelphia and York, not inferior to the beſt clayed, french, and ſpaniſh ſugars.

The ſalt ſprings that have been found in the ſingle ſtate of Kentucky, under proper management, would be ſufficient to produce ſalt for all the inhabitants which the weſtern country could ſupport. There are at leaſt 12 of thoſe ſprings between Great Sandy and Cumberland; the principal of which are the upper and lower Blue Licks, on Licking creek; one on the Great Bone creek; one on Drinnon's Lick creek, about a mile and a half from the mouth of the Kentucky; and Bullit's Lick, on Salt river, 20 miles from the Rapids of the Ohio. This ſpring is the firſt that was worked in the country. The firſt eſſays in this buſineſs were alſo imperfect, which, however, proceeded more from poverty than ignorance. The great principle by which the

ſaline particles are cryſtallized, is univerſally known to be by the evaporation of the humid; and the greater the ſuperficial ſurface of that evaporation, the more rapidly the cryſtals will form. But the firſt ſettlers could not procure ſalt pans, and were obliged to uſe as a ſubſtitute the pots and kettles they had brought out for domeſtic purpoſes.

Such was the commencement of making ſalt in this country; which, from its ſcarcity and high price, in ſome meaſure diſcouraged the ſettlement of the country. However, the great improvements ſince that æra have done away all thoſe fears, and ſalt is now manufactured in plenty, and ſold cheap.

The water is by no means ſo ſtrong as ſea water. It requires nearly 400 gallons to make one buſhel of ſalt, which is more by one half than would be wanted of ſea water to produce that quantity.

The water is not collected immediately from the ſpring. An area of from 5 to 10 acres round thoſe ſprings is found to be impregnated with this mineral, ſo that by digging wells in any part of that ſpace ſalt water is diſcovered. From this circumſtance I am of opinion, that by digging pits a body of earth would be found ſtrongly impregnated with ſalt, from which the ſaline particles might be more eaſily ſeparated than from water; and it is certain, that if the water receives its particles of ſalt from the earth that it paſſes through, ſuch earth muſt contain a large proportion of ſalt, otherwiſe the ſtrength of the water would not be ſo conſiderable. However, it will require ſome time to determine this matter, as the infancy of our country will not permit us to ſpeculate too largely in experiments that would be attended with heavy expences, were they not to prove ſucceſsful.

Salt ſprings have been found in every part of the weſtern country; which has been well explored, and I have no doubt that time will prove every part of it is well ſupplied with

with them. The manner by which they are moſtly found in uninhabited places, is by the large buffalo roads which lead to them. Whenever the ramification of thoſe roads begins to concentre, it is almoſt an infallible ſign that a ſalt lick is near. Thoſe animals reſorting to them throughout the temperate part of the year for the benefit of the ſalt, make large roads, which leading from the Lick, branch different ways into the country.

We have various other minerals, ſuch as iron (which is the moſt uſeful), copper, lead, ſulphur, nitre, &c. &c. Iron ore is found in great plenty upon the northern branches of Licking creek, and likewiſe upon the waters of Green river. A lead mine has been worked many years with conſiderable profit, which lies in the country of Montgomery, upon the waters of the Great Kanhaway. There is another between the Cumberland and Tenaſee rivers, ſaid to be very valuable, and its ore more pure than any other which has been diſcovered in America. But the lead mine on the Miſſiſſippi muſt prove inexhauſtible. It extends from the mouth of Rock river more than 100 miles upwards. Beſides theſe, there are ſeveral others, ſome of which lie on the ſpaniſh ſide of the Miſſiſſippi, and have been uſed for years paſt. Copper mines have been diſcovered in ſeveral places; but the mine on the Wabaſh is, perhaps, the richeſt vein of native copper in the bowels of the whole earth; and no doubt will render all the others of little or no value. Sulphur is found in ſeveral places in abundance; and nitre is made from earth which is collected from caves and other places to which the wet has not penetrated. The making this ſalt, in this country, is ſo common, that many of the ſettlers manufacture their own gunpowder. This earth is diſcovered in greater plenty on the waters of Green river, than it is in any other part of Kentucky. But perhaps ſtill farther ſouthward, it will be found in greater plenty. However, it is ſo common in every part of the

country, that it might be made a conſiderable article for exportation. I have heard of black lead mines upon the head waters of the Kentucky, but I have not been able to procure any certain information reſpecting them. But I ſhould conceive that there can be little doubt, that when the country, and particularly the mountainous parts of it, are well explored, all the uſeful minerals will be found in abundance.

I have already mentioned the coal mines in the upper parts of the Ohio country; beſides which there are great quantities of coal upon the upper branches of the Miſſiſſippi. It is particularly favourable that this mineral lies at the heads of our larger rivers, as it can be ſent down with the greateſt facility; and it is very certain that the great body of it, which the Ohio country alone contains, is equal to anſwer all the purpoſes for which it may be wanted throughout this extenſive empire.

Though the champaign part of this country has no ſtone on its ſurface, yet everywhere limeſtone is found from 6 to 15 feet below it. Moſt of the bottoms of our rivulets and ſtreams are paved with this ſtone. It is very eaſily calcined, when it becomes excellent lime. It is alſo convenient for building, by reaſon of its peculiar ſmoothneſs, and the eaſe with which it may be worked into any form. Beſides this ſtone, which is the moſt common, every other kind of ſtone is found that is either uſeful or ornamental; ſuch as flint, grindſtones, and millſtones, of a very good quality, which have been reckoned equal to french burrs. There is the greateſt plenty of marble upon the banks of the Kentucky, particularly at Leeſburg. I have not ſeen any that has been poliſhed; but judges in that buſineſs give us the moſt flattering ideas of its quality.

Clay is very common in every part of this country which is proper for bricks; and there is a ſuperior kind on the Beech fork of Salt river, which no doubt might be manufactured

factured into good porcelain. Carver has mentioned a clay of this sort that he saw above St. Anthony's falls *. Marle, chalk †, gypsum, and ochres, are found in various parts.

Mr. Jefferson has described the medicinal, inflammable, bituminous, and other springs, very accurately; and as there have been no discoveries or light thrown upon the subject since he wrote, I shall refer you to his book for a particular account of them. Indeed, his account of the natural history of this country is generally to be depended upon, so that it is scarcely possible to make any improvement upon it, until farther discoveries shall have arisen: I therefore confine myself to such objects as he has not taken notice of, and to such as have presented themselves since he wrote, occasionally making some strictures and animadversions upon his opinions and information.

I have observed that the climate of this country is various. But, as climate is frequently different in the same parallels of latitude, I will endeavour to give you some idea of the difference between the climate on the upper parts of the Ohio, Pennsylvania, and Maryland, of Kentucky and Virginia, and of Cumberland and North Carolina, which lie in nearly the same parallels one with another.

It is well known that the climate upon the Atlantic coast of America is in the extreme of heat and cold, and that it is more variable than when it was first settled by Europeans; but the winters are milder. The extremes proceed no doubt from the immense continent that lies to the north-west, and which is interspersed with fresh-water lakes. The rarefied air of the torrid zone, rushing in currents through the upper regions to the arctic circle, leaves a vacancy for the cold air, which, in supplying its place, causes those fre-

* This you will find mentioned in a note extracted from his book, in the preceding part of this work.

† I never saw any native chalk either in the western country, or in the Atlantic states.—Edit.

quent

quent chills or variations in the ſpring and autumn, an alternate froſt, rain, and mild weather in winter, which are ſo common in the middle part of that country. The cold is more ſteady to the north of Hudſon's river; but the power of the ſun to the ſouth of 41°, by counteracting the influence of the northern winds, occaſions thoſe ſudden changes from heat to cold *. Opening the country has greatly

* The following remarks and facts relative to the climate and ſeaſons in America and Europe, are extracted from a late publication of the ingenious Dr. Holyoke, of Salem (Maſſachuſetts). They are altogether new, and muſt be very intereſting, not only to the lovers of ſcience, but to men of common curioſity.

The following table exhibits the mean of greateſt heat and cold, by Fahrenheit's thermometer, for 3, 4, and 5 years, in the places mentioned.

	Lat. north.	Mean of gr. heat.	Mean of gr. cold.
	° ′	°	°
Stockholm -	59 20	83.98	10.19b
Copenhagen	55 40	81.77	2.98a
Berlin -	52 32	89.37	0.62b
Mons - -	50 25	89.15	1.18a
Prague - -	50 4	92. 7	12.77b
Wurtzburg -	49 46	93.87	4. b
Manheim - -	49 27	89. 6	1. 2a
Ratiſbon - -	48 56	79. 7	2.42b
Buda - -	47 40	90. 7	4.26a
Geneva - -	46 12	88. 9	10. 2a
Rochelle - -	46 0	90. 5	16.93a
Padua - -	45 22	91. 4	16.93a
Marſeilles - -	43 17	89. 6	27. 5a
Rome - -	41 53	85.43	33 46a
Salem in Maſſachuſetts	42 31	97. 2	2.42b

Theſe european cities, except Rome, are all north of the latitude of Salem. But in the whole middle region of Europe, which is from 7 to 10 degrees north of Salem, the heat in ſummer and cold in winter, is, on an average, leſs than at Salem by a difference of 5, 8, and 10 degrees. Comparing the temperature of the european atmoſphere under nearly the ſame parallel of latitude with Salem, viz. at Rome, Padua, and Marſeilles, it is found that the mean of greateſt heat in Europe falls ſhort of ours by 8 degrees; and the mean of greateſt cold by more than 30 degrees. It is alſo found by obſervations made at different times and places, that in America

greatly tended already to leſſen the cold, by conſequence of the greater power of the ſun upon the earth; and a general culti-

America there falls a greater quantity of rain annually than in Europe; we have notwithſtanding more fair weather and fewer cloudy, foggy, and rainy days. The medium quantity of rain that falls yearly in Europe does not exceed 30 inches of water, whereas in America the medium quantity is at leaſt 50 inches.

The mean number of fair days, according to obſervations made in 20 cities of Europe, amounts only to 64. Several obſervations in America make the mean number of fair days to be about 130. The mean number of cloudy days in the ſame cities of Europe (all which are upon the continent) was, in 1785, 113; in America there are about 80 or 90. The number of rainy days in the ſame cities was, on a mean, 122; the number in America is 85 or 90. Theſe facts ſeem to prove that the atmoſphere of Europe is more humid than that in America; and this may be one cauſe why the european climate is more temperate under the ſame parallels of latitude, and leſs ſubject to extremes of heat and cold

The following facts reſpecting the temperature of our own climate are extremely curious. From obſervations made at four different hours in the day for 7 years, Dr. Holyoke found that the mercury in Fahrenheit roſe to 80° and upwards.

In 1786.	In 1787.	In 1788.
Days.	Days.	Days.
June 13.	June 10.	June 5.
July 11.	July 13.	July 13.
Aug. 8.	Aug 13.	Aug. 8.
Sept. 2.	Sept. 2.	Sept. 1.
Oct. 1.		
35*.	38.	27.

In 1789.	In 1790.	In 1791.	In 1792.
Days.	Days.	Days.	Days.
May 1.	May 1.	May 7.	May 7.
June 12.	June 5.	June 15.	June 10.
July 13.	July 14.	July 16.	July 15.
Aug. 11.	Aug. 7.	Aug. 15.	Aug. 10.
Sept. 1.	Sept. 2.	Sept. 1.	Sept. 2.
		Oct. 1.	
38.	29.	55.	44.

* It appears from Mr. Rittenhouſe's obſervations in Philadelphia, that, the ſummer paſt, the thermometer was at and above 80°, 26 days in Auguſt and 9 in September; which makes 35 days in thoſe two months only. I have not ſeen any obſervations for May, June, and July laſt; but probably the heat was at and above 80°, 80 or 90 days in the whole ſeaſon: an inſtance without precedent in America.

The

cultivation, by producing a warmer atmoſphere, through which the north wind paſſes, muſt tend to moderate the climate generally upon the Atlantic ſea.

The

The thermometer was at and above 90°,

In 1786,	4 days.	1790,	2 days.
1787,	2 do.	1791,	12 do.
1788,	1 do.	1792,	8 do.
1789,	4 do.		

During the ſame years in winter, the thermometer was at and below 32° the freezing point,

In 1786,	108 days,	and below	0. 4 days.
1787,	111 do.	and do.	0. 4 do.
1788,	108 do.	and do.	0. 6 do.
1789,	105 do.	and do.	0. 3 do.
1790,	119 do.	and do.	0. 5 do.
1791,	111 do.	and do.	0. 1 do.
1792,	102 do.	and do.	0. 3 do.

The mean of the mean temperature of each month during the 7 years is as follows:

Jan.	24.8-tenths.	July	71.
Feb.	25.	Auguſt	69.7.
March	36.	Sept.	61.
April	45.	Oct.	49.5.
May	56.8.	Nov.	40.
June	67.	Dec.	27.

Mean temperature of each ſeaſon.

	Winter.	Spring.	Summer.	Autumn.
1786.	25°7.	45°9.	70°6.	50°9.
1787.	25.8.	45.7.	68.1.	50.3.
1788.	25.5.	45.2.	68.9.	52.1.
1789.	24.9.	43.9.	70.2.	49.5.
1790.	29.2.	43.6.	67.9.	49.5.
1791.	28.3.	48.6.	71.0.	49.0.
1792.	25.5.	49.4.	68.7.	51.3.

Total mean temperature of each year.

1786.	48°53	1790.	46°43.
1787.	47.88.	1791.	48.96.
1788.	47.67.	1792.	48.44.
1789.	47.68.		

Total mean temperature of the 7 years 47.94. As the obſervations in the morning were not made at ſunriſe, but at 8 o'clock, Dr. Holyoke ſuppoſes a ſmall abatement muſt be made, and the mean temperature of the 7 years fixed at 47.5.

Mean

The greateſt part of Pennſylvania lies between latitude 41° and 39° 40′, and ſhould, from its ſituation upon the globe, be a very excellent climate; and no doubt in time it will. At preſent it is too ſubject to extremes; and by the too frequent and violent bracing, and ſudden relaxation of the animal ſyſtem, the elaſticity of the nerves is injured; and thus the marks of age are viſible at an earlier period in ſome parts of America than in others.

Farther ſouthward the cold is leſs; but as the heat is proportionally greater, the extremes are much the ſame quite to South Carolina. As you approach the ridge of mountains that run through America from north to ſouth, the inhabitants look more healthy, which is the conſequence of the climate being more temperate and ſteady.

The country on the upper parts of the Ohio, and between Pittſburg and lake Erie, is conſiderably colder than Pennſylvania and Maryland, which no doubt is occaſioned, in a great degree, in the former, from its proximity to the mountains; but in a greater degree in both, from the country around them being a continual foreſt.

When you arrive in Kentucky you experience a greater temperature of air than in any country in which I ever travelled; Fahrenheit's thermometer ſeldom falling below 35 deg. in winter, nor riſing above 80 in ſummer *. The

Mean temperature at the time of each obſervation.

At 8 o'clock A. M. - -	46°55.
At noon - - - -	54.15.
Sun-ſet - - - -	47.60.
At 10 o'clock P. M. - -	43. 7.

Whence it appears that the mean temperature of the day is at ſun-ſet; and that the temperature of the month of April is very little below the mean temperature of the year.

* At the forks of Sandy, in the ſame ſituation (viz. a north aſpect), the ſame thermometer at 6 P. M. in the middle of Auguſt, that would indicate a heat of 94° of Fahrenheit's ſcale, would at 6 P. M. in the January following, have the mercury condenſed conſiderably within the bulb. Both obſervations were made on remarkably ſtill evenings.—EDIT.

approach

approach of the ſeaſons is gradual. The ſummer continues moſtly to the middle of October. The autumn, or mild weather, generally continues until Chriſtmas, when we have ſome cold and froſt until February; when ſpring approaches; and by the beginning of March ſeveral ſhrubs and trees begin to ſhoot forth their buds; by the middle of the month, the buck-eye or horſe-cheſnut is clad in its ſummer's livery; and by the middle of April the foliage of the foreſts is completely expanded; which is a fortnight earlier than the leaves are ſhot in Virginia and Maryland. Cumberland is proportionally more temperate than North Carolina, as Kentucky is to Virginia.

The rarefied air from the ſouthern regions muſt be more conſiderable from that tract or ſpace of the globe covered by ſalt water, than from the countries covered with foreſts. Now, as almoſt all America may be conſidered as one foreſt, it appears to me that the vacancy occaſioned by rarefaction in ſouthern latitudes muſt be greater in the regions of air, both over the Pacific and Atlantic oceans, than upon the continent; and that the cold air from the polar circle ruſhes both to the ſouth-eaſt and ſouth-weſt, and conſequently the middle parts of our continent muſt be leſs ſubject to cold and variation, by being more out of the courſe of the cold winds, than the countries either upon the Atlantic or Pacific ſea-coaſts.

How far this theory may prove ſatisfactory, I can form no idea. If it be unphiloſophical, I hope you will treat it accordingly; it is the only way that I can account for the very great difference between the climate of this country, and that of Virginia.

Another cauſe for our greater temperature in ſummer, is, doubtleſs, owing to our lying ſo much higher. It is one continual but gradual riſe from Richmond for 200 miles back. There are ſeveral riſings and fallings afterwards, and ſeveral mountains in the wilderneſs; but I have always obſerved

obſerved that the riſe from the eaſt to their ſummits, was greater than the deſcent weſt, to their baſe, which makes the elevation of Kentucky conſiderably above that of Virginia. Beſides, Kentucky has no marſhes or bogs, which are very conſiderable in the lower parts of Virginia, and the exhaled vapours from them produce deleterious air, which appears hotter than it really is.

Mr. Jefferſon's table of average heat and cold for the different months, made from the obſervations of 5 ſucceſſive years, though it furniſhed him with a datum to eſtimate theoretically the climate of Virginia, can afford you no idea of its temperature. Perhaps, in ſome of thoſe years, the mercury was below 0 during the winter. But when he has ſtated the leaſt and greateſt daily heat by Fahrenheit's thermometer for January to be from 38½° to 44°, you can have no conception that there can be any froſt in Virginia. I do not mean to ſay that it is common for the mercury to fall below 0 in that country; but I mean to be underſtood that froſt is very frequent there, and that by taking the average of the greateſt heat and greateſt cold, when the extremes are ſo great as they are in Virginia, it is impoſſible for a ſtranger to form a juſt idea of its climate. Mr. Jefferſon allows that the extremes are very conſiderable, and that the mercury has been known to deſcend from 92 deg. to 47 in 13 hours.

A journey to the Illinois will prevent me from writing to you again as ſoon as I could wiſh, but I ſhall ever remain

Yours, &c.

IN

IN addition to what has been ſaid in the note, p. 23, concerning the ſugar maple tree, we ſhall here gratify the reader by preſenting him with an ample detail on that ſubject, by the ſame learned and ingenious profeſſor, Dr. Benjamin Ruſh, in a letter to the american philoſophical ſociety.

THE ſugar maple-trees are generally found mixed with the beech *, hemlock †, white and water aſh ‡, the cucumber-tree §, linden ‖, aſpen **, butter nut ††, and wild cherry-trees ‡‡. They ſometimes appear in groves covering 5 or 6 acres in a body, but they are more commonly interſperſed with ſome or all of the foreſt trees which have been mentioned. From 30 to 50 trees are generally found upon an acre of ground. They grow chiefly in the richeſt ſoils, and frequently in ſtony ground. Springs of the pureſt water abound in their neighbourhood. They are, when fully grown, as tall as the white and black oaks, and from 2 to 3 feet in diameter §§. They put forth a beautiful white bloſſom in the ſpring, before they ſhew a ſingle leaf. The colour of the bloſſom diſtinguiſhes them from the acer rubrum, or the common maple, which affords a bloſſom of a red colour. The wood of the ſugar maple-tree is of an inflammable nature, and is preferred upon that account by hunters and ſurveyors for fire-wood. Its ſmall branches are ſo much impregnated with ſugar, as to afford ſupport to the cattle,

* Fagus ferruginea. † Pinus abies. ‡ Fraxinus americana. § Magnolia acuminata. ‖ Tilia americana. ** Populus tremula. †† Juglans alba (oblonga). ‡‡ Prunus virginiana, of Linnæus.

§§ Baron La Hontan, in his voyage to North America, gives the following account of the maple-tree in Canada. After deſcribing the black cherry-tree, ſome of which he ſays are as tall as the loftieſt oaks, and as big as a hogſhead, he adds, "The maple-tree is much of the ſame height and bulk. It bears no reſemblance to that ſort we have in Europe."

horſes,

horſes, and ſheep of the firſt ſettlers during the winter, before they are able to cultivate forage for that purpoſe. Its aſhes afford a great quantity of pot-aſh, exceeded by few, or perhaps by none of the trees that grow in the woods of the United States.

The tree is ſuppoſed to arrive at its full growth in the woods in 20 years.

It is not injured by tapping; on the contrary, the oftener it is tapped, the more ſyrup is obtained from it. In this reſpect it follows the law of animal ſecretion. A ſingle tree has not only ſurvived, but flouriſhed, after 42 tappings in the ſame number of years. The effect of a yearly diſcharge of ſap from the tree, in improving and increaſing the ſap, is demonſtrated from the ſuperior excellence of thoſe trees which have been perforated in an hundred places by a ſmall wood-pecker, which feeds upon the ſap. The trees, after having been wounded in this way, diſtil the remains of their juice on the ground, and afterwards acquire a black colour. The ſap of theſe trees is much ſweeter to the taſte than that which is obtained from trees which have not been previouſly wounded, and it affords more ſugar.

From 23 gallons and 1 quart of ſap, procured in 20 hours from only two of theſe dark-coloured trees, Arthur Noble, eſq. of the ſtate of New-York, obtained 4 pounds and 13 ounces of good grained ſugar.

A tree of an ordinary ſize yields in a good ſeaſon from 20 to 30 gallons of ſap, from which are made from 5 to 6 pounds of ſugar. To this, there are ſometimes remarkable exceptions. Samuel Low, eſq. a juſtice of peace in Montgomery county, in the ſtate of New-York, informed Arthur Noble, eſq. that he had made 20 pounds and 1 ounce of ſugar, between the 14th and 23d of April, in the year 1789, from a ſingle tree that had been tapped for ſeveral ſucceſſive years before.

From the influence which culture has upon foreſt and

other trees, it has been ſuppoſed, that by tranſplanting the ſugar maple-tree into a garden, or by deſtroying ſuch other trees as ſhelter it from the rays of the ſun, the quantity of the ſap might be increaſed, and its quality much improved. I have heard of one fact which favours this opinion. A farmer in Northampton county, in the ſtate of Pennſylvania, planted a number of theſe trees above 20 years ago in his meadow, from 3 gallons of the ſap of which he obtains every year a pound of ſugar. It was obſerved formerly, that it required 5 or 6 gallons of the ſap of the trees which grow in the woods to produce the ſame quantity of ſugar.

The ſap diſtils from the wood of the tree. Trees which have been cut down in the winter, for the ſupport of the domeſtic animals of the new ſettlers, yield a conſiderable quantity of ſap, as ſoon as their trunks and limbs feel the rays of the ſun in the ſpring of the year.

It is in conſequence of the ſap of theſe trees being equally diffuſed through every part of them, that they live 3 years after they are girdled; that is, after a circular inciſion is made through the bark, into the ſubſtance of the tree, for the purpoſe of deſtroying it.

It is remarkable that graſs thrives better under this tree, in a meadow, than in ſituations expoſed to the conſtant action of the ſun.

The ſeaſon for tapping the trees is in February, March, and April, according to the weather which occurs in theſe months.

Warm days and froſty nights are moſt favourable to a plentiful diſcharge of ſap *. The quantity obtained in a day

* The influence of the weather, in increaſing and leſſening the diſcharge of the ſap from trees, is very remarkable.

Dr. Tonge ſuppoſed long ago (Philoſophical Tranſactions, No. 68.) that changes in the weather of every kind, might be better aſcertained from the diſcharge of ſap from trees, than by weather-glaſſes. I have ſeen a journal of the effects of heat, cold, moiſture, drought, and thunder, upon the diſcharges from the ſugar-trees, which diſpoſes me to admit Dr. Tonge's opinion.

from

from a tree, is from 5 gallons to a pint, according to the greater or leſs heat of the air. Mr. Low informed Arthur Noble, eſq. that he obtained near 23 gallons of ſap, in one day (April 14, 1789), from the ſingle tree which was before mentioned. Such inſtances of a profuſion of ſap, in ſingle trees, are however not very common.

There is always a ſuſpenſion of the diſcharge of ſap in the night, if a froſt ſucceed a warm day. The perforation in the tree is made with an axe or an augre. The latter is preferred from experience of its advantages. The augre is introduced about ¼ of an inch, and in an aſcending direction (that the ſap may not be frozen in a ſlow current in the mornings or evenings), and is afterwards deepened gradually to the extent of 2 inches. A ſpout is introduced about half an inch into the hole made by this augre, and projects from 3 to 12 inches from the tree. The ſpout is generally made of the ſhumach * or elder †, which generally grow in the neighbourhood of the ſugar-trees. The tree is firſt tapped on the ſouth ſide; when the diſcharge of its ſap begins to leſſen, an opening is made on its north ſide, from which an increaſed diſcharge takes place. The ſap flows from 4 to 6 weeks, according to the temperature of the weather. Troughs large enough to contain 3 or 4 gallons, made of white pine, or white aſh, or of dried water aſh, aſpen, linden, poplar ‡, or common maple, are placed under the ſpout, to receive the ſap, which is carried every day to a large receiver, made of either of the trees before mentioned. From this receiver it is conveyed, after being ſtrained, to the boiler.

To preſerve the ſap from rain, and impurities of all kinds, it is a good practice to cover the troughs with a concave board, with a hole in the middle of it.

It remains yet to be determined, whether ſome artificial

* Rhus. † Sambucus canadenſis. ‡ Liriodendrum tulipifera.

heat may not be applied, ſo as to increaſe the quantity and improve the quality of the ſap. Mr. Noble informed me, that he ſaw a tree, under which a farmer had accidentally burnt ſome bruſh, which dropped a thick heavy ſyrup, reſembling molaſſes. This fact may probably lead to ſomething uſeful hereafter.

During the remaining part of the ſpring months, as alſo in the ſummer, and in the beginning of autumn, the maple-tree yields a thin ſap, but not fit for the manufactory of ſugar. It affords a pleaſant drink in harveſt, and has been uſed inſtead of rum, in ſome inſtances, by thoſe farmers in Connecticut, whoſe anceſtors have left to them, here and there, a ſugar maple-tree (probably to ſhade their cattle), in all their fields. Mr. Bruce deſcribes a drink of the ſame kind, prepared by the inhabitants of Egypt, by infuſing the ſugar-cane in water, which he declares to be "the moſt refreſhing drink in the world*."

There are three methods of reducing the ſap to ſugar. 1. By freezing it. This method has been tried for many years, by Mr. Obadiah Scott, a farmer in Luzerne county,

* Baron La Hontan gives the following account of the ſap of the ſugar maple-tree, when uſed as a drink, and of the manner of obtaining it:—The tree yields a ſap, which has a much pleaſanter taſte than the beſt lemonade or cherry-water, and makes the wholeſomeſt drink in the world. This liquor is drawn by cutting the tree 2 inches deep in the wood, the cut being made ſloping to the length of 10 or 12 inches; at the lower end of this gaſh a knife is thruſt into the tree ſlopingly, ſo that the water runs along the cut or gaſh, as through a gutter, and falls upon the knife, which has ſome veſſels placed underneath to receive it. Some trees will yield 5 or 6 bottles of this water in a day; and ſome inhabitants of Canada might draw 20 hogſheads of it in one day, if they would thus cut and notch all the maple-trees of their reſpective plantations. The gaſh does no harm to the tree. Of this ſap they make ſugar and ſyrup, which is ſo valuable, that there can be no better remedy for fortifying the ſtomach—but few of the inhabitants have the patience to make them, for, as common things are ſlighted, ſo there are ſcarce any but children that give themſelves the trouble of gaſhing theſe trees.

in

in this ſtate, with great ſucceſs. He ſays, that one half of a given quantity of ſap reduced in this way, is better than one third of the ſame quantity reduced by boiling. If the froſt ſhould not be intenſe enough to reduce the ſap to the graining point, it may afterwards be expoſed to the action of the fire for that purpoſe.

2. By ſpontaneous evaporation. The hollow ſtump of a maple ſugar-tree, which had been cut down in the ſpring, and which was found ſome time afterwards filled with ſugar, firſt ſuggeſted this method of obtaining ſugar to our farmers. So many circumſtances of cold and dry weather, large and flat veſſels, and, above all, ſo much time, are neceſſary to obtain ſugar, by either of the above methods, that the moſt general method among our farmers is to obtain it, 3. By *boiling*. For this purpoſe the following facts, which have been aſcertained by many experiments, deſerve attention.

1. The ſooner the ſap is boiled, after it is collected from the tree, the better. It ſhould never be kept longer than 24 hours before it is put over the fire.

2. The larger the veſſel in which the ſap is boiled, the more ſugar is obtained from it.

3. A copper veſſel affords a ſugar of a fairer colour than an iron veſſel.

The ſap flows into wooden troughs, from which it is carried and poured into ſtore troughs, or large ciſterns, in the ſhape of a canoe, or large manger, made of white aſh, linden, baſs wood, or white pine, from which it is conveyed to the kettle in which it is to be boiled. Theſe ciſterns, as well as the kettle, are generally covered by a ſhed, to defend the ſap from the rain. The ſugar is improved by ſtraining the ſap through a blanket, or cloth, either before or after it is half boiled. Butter, hogs lard, or tallow, are added to the ſap in the kettle, to prevent its boiling over; and lime, eggs, or new milk, are mixed with it, in order to clarify it. I have ſeen clear ſugar made without

the addition of either of them. A ſpoonful of ſlacked lime, the white of one egg, and a pint of new milk, are the uſual proportions of theſe articles, which are mixed with 15 gallons of ſap. In ſome ſamples which I have lately ſeen, of maple-ſugar clarified with each of the above articles, that in which milk alone was uſed, had an evident ſuperiority in point of colour.

The ſugar, after being ſufficiently boiled, is grained and clayed, and afterwards refined, or converted into loaf ſugar. The methods of conducting each of theſe proceſſes is ſo nearly the ſame with thoſe which are uſed in the manufactory of Weſt India ſugar, and are ſo generally known, that I need not ſpend any time in deſcribing them.

It has been a ſubject of inquiry, whether the maple-ſugar might not be improved in its quality, and increaſed in its quantity, by the eſtabliſhment of boiling-houſes in the ſugar-maple country, to be conducted by aſſociated labour. From the ſcattered ſituation of the trees, the difficulty of carrying the ſap to a great diſtance, and from the many expences which muſt accrue from ſupporting labourers and horſes in the woods in a ſeaſon of the year in which nature affords no ſuſtenance to man or beaſt, I am diſpoſed to believe that the moſt productive method, both in quantity and profit, of obtaining this ſugar, will be by the labour of private families. For a great number of years many hundred private families in New-York and Pennſylvania have ſupplied themſelves plentifully with this ſugar during the whole year. I have heard of many families who have made from 2 to 400 pounds in a year; and of one man who ſold 600 pounds, all made by his own hands in one ſeaſon *.

Not

* The following receipt publiſhed by William Cooper, eſq. in the Albany Gazette, fully eſtabliſhes this fact:

"Received, Cooper's town, April 30th, 1790, of William Cooper, 16 pounds, for 640 pounds of ſugar, made with my own hands, without any aſſiſtance, in leſs than 4 weeks, beſides attending

Not more knowledge is neceſſary for making this ſugar than ſoap, cider, beer, ſour krout, &c. and yet one, or all of theſe, are made in moſt of the farm-houſes of the United States. The kettles, and other utenſils of a farmer's kitchen, will ſerve moſt of the purpoſes of making ſugar; and the time required for the labour (if it deſerves that name) is at a ſeaſon when it is impoſſible for the farmer to employ himſelf in any ſpecies of agriculture. His wife, and all his children above ten years of age, moreover may aſſiſt him in this buſineſs, for the profit of the weakeſt of them is nearly equal to that of a man when hired for that purpoſe.

A comparative view of this ſugar has been frequently made with the ſugar which is obtained from the Weſt India ſugar-cane, with reſpect to its quality, price, and the poſſible or probable quantity that can be made of it in the United States; each of which I ſhall conſider in order.

1. The quality of this ſugar is neceſſarily better than that which is made in the Weſt Indies. It is prepared in a ſeaſon when not a ſingle inſect exiſts to feed upon it, or to mix its excrements with it, and before a particle of duſt, or of the pollen of plants, can float in the air. The ſame obſervation cannot be applied to the Weſt India ſugar. The inſects and worms which prey upon it, and of courſe mix with it, compoſe a page in a nomenclature of natural hiſtory. I ſhall ſay nothing of the hands which are employed in making ſugar in the Weſt Indies, but that men who work for the excluſive benefit of others, are not under the ſame obligations to keep their perſons clean while they are employed in this work, that men, women, and

ing to the other buſineſs of my farm, as providing fire-wood, taking care of the cattle, &c.——John Nicholls—Witneſs, R. Smith."

A ſingle family, conſiſting of a man and his two ſons, on the maple-ſugar lands, between the Delaware and Suſquehanna, made 1800 lbs. of maple-ſugar in one ſeaſon.

children are, who work excluſively for the benefit of themſelves, and who have been educated in the habits of cleanlineſs. The ſuperior purity of the maple-ſugar is farther proved by its leaving a leſs ſediment when diſſolved in water than the Weſt India ſugar.

It has been ſuppoſed, that the maple-ſugar is inferior to the Weſt India ſugar in ſtrength. The experiments which led to this opinion, I ſuſpect have been inaccurate, or have been made with maple-ſugar prepared in a ſlovenly manner. I have examined equal quantities by weight, of both the grained and the loaf ſugar, in hyſon tea, and in coffee, made in every reſpect equal by the minuteſt circumſtances that could affect the quality or taſte of each of them, and could perceive no inferiority in the ſtrength of the maple-ſugar. The liquors which decided this queſtion were examined at the ſame time, by Alexander Hamilton, eſq. ſecretary of the treaſury of the United States, Mr. Henry Drinker, and ſeveral ladies, who all concurred in the above opinion.

2. Whoever conſiders that the gift of the ſugar maple-trees is from a benevolent Providence, that we have many millions of acres in our country covered with them, that the tree is improved by repeated tappings, and that the ſugar is obtained by the frugal labour of a farmer's family, and at the ſame time conſiders the labour of cultivating the ſugar-cane, the capitals ſunk in ſugar-works, the firſt coſt of ſlaves and cattle, the expences of proviſions for both of them, and in ſome inſtances the additional expence of conveying the ſugar to a market, in all the Weſt India iſlands, will not heſitate in believing, that the maple-ſugar may be manufactured much cheaper, and ſold at a leſs price than that which is made in the Weſt Indies.

3. The reſources for making a ſufficient quantity of this ſugar not only for the conſumption of the United States, but for exportation, will appear from the following facts.

facts.—There are, in the ſtates of New-York and Pennſylvania alone, at leaſt 10 millions of acres of land, which produce the ſugar maple-tree in the proportion of 30 trees to 1 acre. Now, ſuppoſing all the perſons capable of labour in a family to conſiſt of 3, and each perſon to attend 150 trees, and each tree to yield 5lb. of ſugar in a ſeaſon, the product of the labour of 60,000 families would be 135,000,000 pounds of ſugar; and, allowing the inhabitants of the United States to compoſe 600,000 families, each of which conſumed 200 pounds of ſugar in a year, the whole conſumption would be 120,000,000 pounds in a year, which would leave a balance of 15,000,000 pounds for exportatton. Valuing the ſugar at $\frac{6}{90}$ of a dollar per pound, the ſum ſaved to the United States would be 8,000,000 dollars by home conſumption, and the ſum gained by exportation would be 1,000,000 dollars. The only part of this calculation that will appear improbable is, the number of families ſuppoſed to be employed in the manufactory of the ſugar; but the difficulty of admitting this ſuppoſition will vaniſh, when we conſider, that double that number of families are employed every year in making cider, the trouble, riſks, and expences of which are all much greater than thoſe of making maple-ſugar.

But the profit of the maple-tree is not confined to its ſugar. It affords an agreeable molaſſes, and an excellent vinegar. The ſap which is ſuitable for theſe purpoſes is obtained after the ſap which affords the ſugar has ceaſed to flow, ſo that the manufactories of theſe different products of the maple-tree, by ſucceeding, do not interfere with each other. The molaſſes may be made to compoſe the baſis of a pleaſant ſummer beer. The ſap of the maple is moreover capable of affording a ſpirit; but we hope this precious juice will never be proſtituted by our citizens to this ignoble purpoſe. Should the uſe of ſugar in diet become more general in our country, it may tend to leſſen the inclination

or

or ſuppoſed neceſſity for ſpirits; for I have obſerved a reliſh for ſugar in diet to be ſeldom accompanied by a love for ſtrong drink. It is the ſugar which is mixed with tea, which makes it ſo generally diſagreeable to drunkards. But a diet conſiſting of a plentiful mixture of ſugar has other advantages to recommend it, which I ſhall briefly enumerate.

1. Sugar affords the greateſt quantity of nouriſhment in a given quantity of matter of any ſubſtance in nature; of courſe it may be preſerved in leſs room in our houſes, and may be conſumed in leſs time, than more bulky and leſs nouriſhing aliment. It has this peculiar advantage over moſt kinds of aliment, that it is not liable to have its nutritious qualities affected by time or the weather; hence it is preferred by the Indians in their excurſions from home. They mix a certain quantity of maple-ſugar with an equal quantity of indian corn, dried and powdered, in its milky ſtate. This mixture is packed in little baſkets, which are frequently wetted in travelling, without injuring the ſugar. A few ſpoonfuls of it, mixed with half a pint of ſpring water, afford them a pleaſant and ſtrengthening meal. From the degrees of ſtrength and nouriſhment, which are conveyed into animal bodies by a ſmall bulk of ſugar, I conceive it might be given to horſes with great advantage, when they are uſed in places or under circumſtances which make it difficult or expenſive to ſupport them with more bulky or weighty aliment. A pound of ſugar with graſs or hay, I have been told, has ſupported the ſtrength and ſpirits of an horſe, during a whole day's labour in one of the Weſt India iſlands. A larger quantity given alone, has fattened horſes and cattle, during the war before laſt, in Hiſpaniola, for a period of ſeveral months, in which the exportation of ſugar, and the importation of grain, were prevented by the want of ſhips.

2. The plentiful uſe of ſugar in diet is one of the beſt prevent-

preventatives that has ever been diſcovered of the diſeaſes which are produced by worms. Nature ſeems to have implanted a love for this aliment in all children, as if it were on purpoſe to defend them from thoſe diſeaſes. I know a gentleman in Philadelphia, who early adopted this opinion, and who, by indulging a large family of children in the uſe of ſugar, has preſerved them all from the diſeaſes uſually occaſioned by worms.

3. Sir John Pringle has remarked, that the plague has never been known in any country where ſugar compoſes a material part of the diet of the inhabitants. I think it probable that the frequency of malignant fevers of all kinds has been leſſened by this diet, and that its more general uſe would defend that claſs of people who are moſt ſubject to malignant fevers from being ſo often affected by them.

4. In the numerous and frequent diſorders of the breaſt, which occur in all countries where the body is expoſed to a variable temperature of weather, ſugar affords the baſis of many agreeable remedies. It is uſeful in weakneſſes, and acrid defluxions upon other parts of the body. Many facts might be adduced in favour of this aſſertion. I ſhall mention only one, which from the venerable name of the perſon, whoſe caſe furniſhed it, cannot fail of commanding attention and credit. Upon my inquiring of Dr. Franklin, at the requeſt of a friend, about a year before he died, whether he had found any relief from the pain of the ſtone, from the blackberry jam, of which he took large quantities, he told me that he had, but that he believed the medicinal part of the jam reſided wholly in the ſugar; and as a reaſon for thinking ſo, he added, that he often found the ſame relief by taking about half a pint of a ſyrup, prepared by boiling a little brown ſugar in water, juſt before he went to bed, that he did from a doſe of opium. It has been ſuppoſed by ſome of the early phyſicians of our country, that the ſugar obtained from the maple-tree is more medicinal than

than that obtained from the Weſt India ſugar-cane; but this opinion I believe is without foundation. It is preferable in its qualities to the Weſt India ſugar only from its ſuperior cleanlineſs.

Caſes may occur in which ſugar may be required in medicine, or in diet, by perſons who refuſe to be benefited, even indirectly, by the labour of ſlaves. In ſuch caſes, the innocent maple-ſugar will always be preferred *.

It has been ſaid, that ſugar injures the teeth; but this opinion now has ſo few advocates, that it does not deſerve a ſerious refutation.

To tranſmit to future generations all the advantages which have been enumerated from the maple-tree, it will be neceſſary to protect it by law, or by a bounty upon the maple-ſugar, from being deſtroyed by the ſettlers in the maple country, or to tranſplant it from the woods, and cultivate it in the old and improved parts of the United States. An orchard conſiſting of 200 trees, planted upon a common farm, would yield more than the ſame number of apple-trees, at a diſtance from a market town. A full-grown tree in the woods yields 5 pounds of ſugar a year. If a greater expoſure of a tree to the action of the ſun has the ſame effects upon the maple that it has upon other trees, a larger quantity of ſugar might reaſonably be expected from each tree planted in an orchard. Allowing it to be only 7 pounds, then 200 trees will yield 1400 pounds of ſugar; and deducting 200 from the quantity for the conſumption of the family, there will remain for ſale 1200 pounds, which at $\frac{6}{90}$ of a dol. per pound will yield an annual

* Dr. Knowles, a phyſician of worthy character in London, had occaſion to recommend a diet to a patient, of which ſugar compoſed a material part. His patient refuſed to ſubmit to his preſcription, and gave as a reaſon for it, that he had witneſſed ſo much of the oppreſſion and cruelty which were exerciſed upon the ſlaves who made the ſugar, that he had made a vow never to taſte the product of their miſery as long as he lived.

profit

profit to the farmer of 80 dollars. But if it ſhould be found that the ſhade of the maple does not check the growth of grain any more than it does of graſs, double or treble that number of maple-trees may be planted on every farm, and a profit proportioned to the above calculation be derived from them. Should this mode of tranſplanting the means of obtaining ſugar be ſucceſsful, it will not be a new one. The ſugar-cane of the Weſt Indies was brought originally from the Eaſt Indies, by the Portugueſe, and cultivated at Madeira, from whence it was tranſplanted, directly or indirectly, to all the ſugar iſlands of the Weſt Indies.

It were to be wiſhed, that the ſettlers upon the ſugar maple lands would ſpare the ſugar-tree in clearing their lands. On a farm of 200 acres of land, according to our former calculation, there are uſually 6000 maple-trees. If only 2000 of thoſe original and ancient inhabitants of the woods were ſuffered to remain, and each tree were to afford only 5 pounds of ſugar, the annual profit of ſuch a farm, in ſugar alone, at the price formerly mentioned, would amount to 666 dollars, 150 dollars of which would probably more than defray all the expences of making it, and allow a plentiful deduction for family uſe.

According to the uſual annual profit of a ſugar maple-tree, each tree is worth to a farmer, 2 dollars and $\frac{1}{3}$ of a dollar; excluſive therefore of the value of his farm, the 2000 ſugar maple-trees alone confer a value upon it of 5333 dollars and $\frac{33}{100}$ of a dollar.

It is ſaid that the ſugar-trees, when deprived of the ſhelter and ſupport they derive from other foreſt trees, are liable to be blown down, occaſioned by their growing in a rich, and of courſe a looſe ſoil. To obviate this, it will only be neceſſary to cut off ſome of their branches, ſo as to alter its centre of gravity, and to allow the high winds to have an eaſy paſſage through them. Orchards of ſugar maple-trees, which grow with an original expoſure of all their

their parts to the action of the ſun, will not be liable to this inconvenience.

In contemplating the preſent opening proſpects in human affairs, I am led to expect that a material part of the general happineſs which Heaven ſeems to have prepared for mankind will be derived from the manufactory and general uſe of maple-ſugar; for the benefits which I flatter myſelf are to reſult from it, will not be confined to our own country. They will, I hope, extend themſelves to the intereſts of humanity in the Weſt Indies. With this view of the ſubject of this letter, I cannot help contemplating a ſugar maple-tree with a ſpecies of affection and even veneration; for I have perſuaded myſelf to behold in it the happy means of rendering the commerce and ſlavery of our african brethren in the ſugar iſlands as unneceſſary, as it has always been inhuman and unjuſt *.

I ſhall conclude this letter by wiſhing that the patronage which you have afforded to the maple-ſugar as well as the maple-tree, by your example † may produce an influence in our country as extenſive as your reputation for uſeful ſcience and genuine patriotiſm.

From, Dear Sir,

Your ſincere Friend and obedient Servant,

BENJAMIN RUSH.

P. S. Since writing the above letter, I have procured, through the friendſhip of Mr. Henry Drinker, a copy of Mr. Botham's account of the method of manufacturing ſugar in the Eaſt Indies. It is extracted from the report of the

* This letter was written before the account of the war which has lately taken place in Hiſpaniola between the white people and their ſlaves, had reached the city of Philadelphia.

† Mr. Jefferſon uſes no other ſugar in his family than that which is obtained from the ſugar maple-tree. He has lately planted an orchard of maple-trees on his farm in Virginia.

com-

committee of the britiſh privy council for trade on the ſubject of the ſlave trade. I ſhall infert in this poſtſcript only ſuch parts of it as will throw light upon the method of manufacturing the maple-ſugar which has been mentioned, and to ſhow how much it is to be preferred, in point of œconomy, to that which is uſed in the Weſt Indies.

Extract from the report of the committee of privy council for trade on the ſubject of the african ſlave trade, &c. to the king. Part III. No. 3.——Mr. Botham on the mode of cultivating a ſugar plantation in the Eaſt Indies, &c.

HAVING been for two years in the engliſh and french Weſt indian iſlands, and ſince conducted ſugar eſtates in the Eaſt Indies, before the abolition of the ſlave trade was agitated in parliament, it may be deſirable to know that ſugar of a ſuperior quality and inferior price, to that in our iſlands, is produced in the Eaſt Indies; that the culture of the cane, the manufacture of the ſugar and arrack, is, with theſe material advantages, carried on by free people. China, Bengal, the coaſt of Malabar, all produce quantities of ſugar and ſpirits; but as the moſt conſiderable growth of the cane is carried on near Batavia, I ſhall explain the improved manner in which ſugar eſtates are there conducted. The proprietor of the eſtate is generally a wealthy Dutchman who has erected on it ſubſtantial mills, boiling and curing houſes. He rents this eſtate to a Chineſe, who reſides on it as a ſuperintendant; and this renter (ſuppoſing the eſtate to conſiſt of 300 or more acres) re-lets it to freemen in parcels of 50 or 60, on theſe conditions:

That they ſhall plant it in canes, and receive ſo much per pecul of 133½ lbs. for every pecul of ſugar that the canes ſhall produce.

When crop time comes on, the ſuperintendant collects a ſufficient number of perſons from the adjacent towns or villages, and takes off his crop as follows:

To

To any ſet of tradeſmen who bring their carts and buffaloes he agrees to give ſuch a price per pecul to cut all his crop of canes, carry them to the mill, and grind them.

A ſecond, to boil them per pecul.

A third, to clay them and baſket them for market per pecul.

So that, by this method of conducting a ſugar eſtate, the renter knows to a certainty what the produce of it will coſt him per pecul. He has not any permanent or unneceſſary expence; for when the crop is taken off, the taſkmen return to their ſeveral purſuits in the towns and villages they came from; and there only remain the cane-planters who are preparing the next year's crop. This, like all other complex arts, by being divided into ſeveral branches, renders the labour cheaper and the work more perfectly done. Only clayed ſugars are made at Batavia: theſe are in quality equal to the beſt ſort from the Weſt Indies, and are ſold ſo low from the ſugar eſtates as 18 ſhillings ſterling per pecul of 133½ lbs. This is not the ſelling price to the trader at Batavia, as the government there is arbitrary, and ſugar ſubject to duties impoſed at will. The ſhabander exacts a dollar per pecul on all ſugar exported. The price of common labour is from 9d. to 10d. per day. By the method of carrying on the ſugar eſtates, the taſkmen gain conſiderably more than this, not only from working extraordinary hours, but from being conſidered artiſts in their ſeveral branches. They do not make ſpirits on the ſugar eſtates. The molaſſes is ſent for ſale to Batavia, where one diſtillery may purchaſe the produce of an hundred eſtates. Here is a vaſt ſaving and reduction of the price of ſpirits; not as in the Weſt Indies, a diſtillery for each eſtate; many centre in one; and arrack is ſold at Batavia from 21 to 25 rix-dollars per leaguer of 160 gallons; ſay 8d. per gallon.

The improvement in making the cane into ſugar at Batavia keeps

keeps pace with that in its culture. Evaporation being in proportion to the ſurface, their boilers are ſet with as much of it as poſſible; the cane juice with temper ſufficient to throw up its impurities is boiled down to the conſiſtence of a ſyrup; it is then thrown up into vats calculated to hold one boiling, then ſprinkled with 2 buckets of water to ſubſide its foul parts; after ſtanding 6 hours, it is let off by 3 pegs of different heights into a ſingle copper with one fire. It is there tempered again, boiled up and reduced to ſugar, by a gentle fire. It granulates, and the ſugar-boiler dipping a wand into the copper ſtrikes on the ſide, then drops the ſugar remaining on it into a cup of water, ſcrapes it up with his thumb-nail, and is by this means able to judge to the utmoſt nicety of the ſugar having its proper degree of boiling. The vats or receivers I mentioned are placed at the left hand of a ſet of coppers; after running off for boiling all that is clear, the remainder is paſſed through a ſtrainer, on the outſide of the boiling-houſe; what is fine is put into the copper for ſugar; the lees are reſerved for diſtilling.

THE eaſy and profitable practice of making ſugar from the ſap or juice of the maple-tree had prevailed for many years in the northern and eaſtern ſtates. The facility and advantages of this pleaſing branch of huſbandry had attracted little attention in Pennſylvania, though a few of its inhabitants were in the habit of manufacturing ſmall quantities of this kind of ſugar. In the year 1790, it became more generally known to the Pennſylvanians, that their brethren in the eaſtern and northern parts of the union had long made conſiderable quantities, with their family utenſils, and without the expence of hiring aſſiſtance; that the ſame tree might be carefully tapped without injury for many ſucceſſive years; that the proceſs was ſimple and very eaſy, and

only required to be carried on between the middle of February and the end of March, when the farmer has little to do; and that a very large proportion of the unſettled lands of the ſtate abound with this valuable tree. The great and increaſing diſlike to negro ſlavery, and to the african trade, among the people of that ſtate, occaſioned this new proſpect of obtaining a ſugar, not made by the unhappy blacks, to be particularly intereſting to them. The following eſtimate of the capacity of ſugar-maple lands of Pennſylvania and New-York to ſupply the demand of the United States for ſugar and molaſſes, which was founded on the beſt materials attainable at that time, was publiſhed, among other things, to elucidate the ſubject.

THE DEMAND.

By authentic documents obtained from the cuſtom-houſe of Philadelphia, it appears, that the medium importation of brown ſugar, for each year, from 1785 to 1789, was

	lbs.
	5,692,848
Of loaf ſugar, on a medium - - -	4,480
And of molaſſes 543,900 gallons, which at 10 lb. per gallon amount to 5,439,000 lbs. half of which weight in ſugar may be conſidered as equal to 543,900 gallons of molaſſes - - - - - - -	2,719,500
Total quantity of ſugar required - -	8,416,828

THE CAPACITY OF SUPPLY.

The information of William Cooper, eſq. of Cooper's-town, one of the judges of the court of common pleas, in the county of Otſego, and ſtate of New-York, is, that there are uſually made from a tree 5 lbs. weight of ſugar, and that there are 50 trees on an acre at a medium. But ſuppoſe only 4 lbs. to be produced by a tree, and 40 trees on an acre, then

then 52,605 acres will yield 8,416,828 lbs; and ſuppoſing the whole demand of the union 42,034,140 lbs. or 5 times the importation into Philadelphia, then 263,000 acres will yield a ſupply for the United States. It need not be obſerved, that there are very many more than 263,000 acres of ſugar-maple lands in each of the 8 following counties: Albany, Montgomery, Otſego, Tyoga, Ontario, in New-York; Northampton, Luzerne, Northumberland, in Pennſylvania; alſo, that the ſugar-maple-tree is found in many other parts of thoſe two ſtates, and of the United States.

It will be frankly admitted, that the reſult of the foregoing eſtimate has a wild and viſionary appearance; but, as it is made upon facts very carefully aſcertained, and as the whole calculation is expoſed to examination, it will not be unreaſonable to give ſome faith to it, until exaggeration of fact or error ſhall be pointed out.

Philadelphia, 1790.

In the ſpring of the year 1793, the following letter was received from judge Cooper, and ſeveral other perſons who had emigrated from Pennſylvania, New-Jerſey, and France, into the preſent county of Otſego, at the heads of the rivers Delaware and Suſquehanna, which is diſtant from Philadelphia about 137 miles, and from the city of New-York about 100 miles, in direct lines.

" GENTLEMEN, *Cooper's-town, April* 9, 1793.

" Being convinced that you feel an intereſt in the manufactory of maple-ſugar, and that your wiſhes and exertions to prevent the deſtruction of the trees from whence it is produced have been of public utility, we are encouraged to tranſmit to you the ſtatement we have been able to make from actual obſervation, of the quantity of ſugar which has been made this ſeaſon in the former townſhip of Otſego, and which was an entire wilderneſs in 1786. We find, upon a moderate calculation, that there has been made at

leaſt 160,000 lbs. weight; which, at 9d. per lb. is equal in value to 15,000 dollars. This plain demonſtration of the importance of this article will, we hope, induce you to continue your endeavours to promote and encourage it; and we would ſubmit to your conſideration, whether it is not an object of ſufficient conſequence to claim the encouragement of the legiſlature of your ſtate.

WILLIAM COOPER.
RICHARD R. SMITH.
RENSSEL WILLIAMS, jun.
CHARLES FRANCIS.
LEWIS DE VILLERS.
EBBAL."

To Henry Drinker.
Benjamin Ruſh.
Tench Coxe.
Philadelphia.

Since the publication of the above calculation, it has been aſcertained, that the balance of the medium imports and exports of foreign ſugar, that is, the conſumption of that article in the United States, is about 20,000,000 lbs. weight per annum. The quantity of molaſſes uſed in ſubſtance, and excluſively of diſtillation, probably does not exceed 1,500,000 gallons, which may be deemed equal to about half their weight in ſugar, or 6,000,000 of lbs. The total ſum of theſe, being the whole conſumption of ſugar and molaſſes in ſubſtance, is 26,000,000 of lbs. It is certain, that every farmer having 100 acres of ſugar-maple land, in a ſtate of ordinary american improvement, that is, one-third covered with judicious reſerves of wood and timber, and two-thirds cleared for the culture of graſs and grain, can make 1000 lbs. weight of ſugar with only his neceſſary farming and kitchen utenſils, if his family conſiſt of a man, a woman, and a child of 10 years, including himſelf. It would therefore require the attention of 26,000 of ſuch ſmall families, occupying, at 100 acres each, 2,600,000 acres of thoſe lands, to make, at 1000 lbs. each, 26,000,000 of lbs. or a quantity of ſugar equal to all the molaſſes and

ſugar

ſugar annually conſumed in ſubſtance, in the United States. The operation in a family is as eaſy as to make houſehold ſoap or cheeſe, or to brew ale or beer; and as there is in this country much more than twice the above quantity of ſugar-maple lands, in ſituations not too ſouthern, the only object that requires attention, is to give, as faſt as poſſible, generality to this ſimple, profitable, and comfortable manufacture.

LETTER VII.

MY DEAR FRIEND, *Kentucky.*

IT is natural, I think, that you ſhould expect by this time ſome account of the inhabitants, their manner of living, the mode of ſettling the country, the routes, diſtance, and mode of travelling to it, with ſome information reſpecting religion and political ſentiments, and the ſocial pleaſures of the people; all of which, I am afraid, will require too much time for a letter, and therefore I beg that you will be content to receive the information in the deſultory manner I ſhall be enabled to ſend it.

In ſome of my firſt letters I gave you an account of the firſt ſettlement of this country. The perturbed ſtate of that period, and the ſavage condition of the country, which was one entire wilderneſs, made the object of the firſt emigrants that of ſecurity and ſuſtenance, and produced the ſcheme of ſeveral families living together in what were called ſtations. Theſe ſtations were a kind of quadrangular or ſometimes oblong forts, formed by building log-houſes connectedly, only leaving openings for gate ways to paſs as they might have occaſion. They were generally fixed in a favourable ſituation for water, and in a body of good land. Frequently

the head of ſome party of connexions, who had a ſettlement and pre-emption right, ſeized upon theſe opportunities to have his land cleared, which was neceſſary for the ſupport of the ſtation; for, it was not only prudent to keep cloſe in their forts at times, but it was alſo neceſſary to keep their horſes and cows up, otherwiſe the Indians would carry off the horſes, and ſhoot and deſtroy the cattle.

Under ſuch circumſtances, the firſt ſettlement of Kentucky was formed, which ſoon opened a conſiderable quantity of land in the county of Lincoln, which lies in the upper part of the ſtate, and contiguous to the wilderneſs that ends in this delectable region.

As the country gained ſtrength, the ſtations began to break up in that part of the country, and their inhabitants to ſpread themſelves, and ſettle upon their reſpective eſtates. But the embarraſſment they were in for moſt of the conveniences of life, did not admit of their building any other houſes but of logs, and of opening fields in the moſt expeditious way for planting the indian corn; the only grain which was cultivated at that time.

A log-houſe is very ſoon erected *, and in conſequence of the friendly diſpoſition which exiſts among thoſe hoſpitable people, every neighbour flew to the aſſiſtance of each other upon occaſions of emergency. Sometimes they were built of round logs entirely, covered with rived aſh ſhingles, and the interſtices ſtopped with clay, or lime and ſand, to keep out the weather. The next object was to open the land for cultivation. There is very little underwood in any part of this country, ſo that by cutting up the cane, and girdling the trees, you are ſure of a crop of corn. The fertility of the ſoil amply repays the labourer for his toil; for if the

* A houſe of this ſort may be made as comfortable and elegant as any other kind of building; and is therefore the moſt convenient, as it may be erected in ſuch a manner as to anſwer the circumſtances of all deſcriptions of perſons.

large

large trees are not very numerous, and a large proportion of them the ſugar-maple, it is very likely, from this imperfect cultivation, that the ground will yield from 50 to 60 buſhels of corn to the acre. The ſecond crop will be more ample; and as the ſhade is removed by cutting the timber away, great part of our land will produce from 70 to 100 buſhels of corn from an acre. This extraordinary fertility enables the farmer, who has but a ſmall capital, to increaſe his wealth in a moſt rapid manner (I mean by wealth the comforts of life). His cattle and hogs will find ſufficient food in the woods, not only for them to ſubſiſt upon, but to fatten them. His horſes want no provender the greateſt part of the year, except cane and wild clover; but he may afford to feed them with corn the ſecond year. His garden, with little attention, produces him all the culinary roots and vegetables neceſſary for his table; and the prolific increaſe of his hogs and poultry will furniſh him the ſecond year, without fearing to injure his ſtock, with a plenty of animal food; and in 3 or 4 years his ſtock of cattle and ſheep will prove ſufficient to ſupply him with both beef and mutton; and he may continue his plan at the ſame time of increaſing his ſtock of thoſe uſeful animals. By the fourth year, provided he is induſtrious, he may have his plantation in ſufficient good order to build a better houſe, which he can do either of ſtone, brick, or a framed wooden building, the principal articles of which will coſt him little more than the labour of himſelf and domeſtics; and he may readily barter or ſell ſome part of the ſuperfluous productions of his farm, which it will by this time afford, and procure ſuch things as he may ſtand in need of for the completion of his building. Apples, peaches, pears, &c. &c. he ought to plant when he finds a ſoil or eligible ſituation to place them in, as that will not hinder, or in any degree divert, him from the object of his aggrandizement. I have taken no notice of the game he

might kill, as it is more a ſacrifice of time to an induſtrious man than any real advantage.

Such has been the progreſs of the ſettlement of this country, from dirty ſtations or forts, and ſmoky huts, that it has expanded into fertile fields, bluſhing orchards, pleaſant gardens, luxuriant ſugar groves, neat and commodious houſes, riſing villages, and trading towns. Ten years have produced a difference in the population and comforts of this country, which to be pourtrayed in juſt colours would appear marvellous. To have implicit faith or belief that ſuch things have happened, it is firſt neceſſary to be (as I have been) a ſpectator of ſuch events.

Emigrations to this country were moſtly from the back parts of Virginia, Maryland, Pennſylvania, and North Carolina, until 1784: in which years many officers, who had ſerved in the american army during the late war, came out with their families; ſeveral families came alſo from England, Philadelphia, New-Jerſey, York, and the New-England ſtates. The country ſoon began to be chequered after that æra with genteel men, which operated both upon the minds and actions of the back woods people, who conſtituted the firſt emigrants. A taſte for the decorum and elegance of the table was ſoon cultivated; the pleaſures of gardening were conſidered not only as uſeful but amuſing. Theſe improvements in the comforts of living and manners, awakened a ſenſe of ambition to inſtruct their youth in uſeful and accompliſhed arts. Social pleaſures were regarded as the moſt ineſtimable of human poſſeſſions—the genius of friendſhip appeared to foſter the emanations of virtue; while the cordial regard, and ſincere deſire of pleaſing, produced the moſt harmonizing effects. Sympathy was regarded as the eſſence of the human ſoul, participating of celeſtial matter, and as a ſpark engendered to warm our benevolence, and lead to the raptures of love and rational felicity.

With

With ſuch ſentiments our amuſements flow from the interchange of civilities, and a reciprocal deſire of pleaſing. That ſameneſs may not cloy, and make us dull, we vary the ſcene as the nature of circumſtances will permit. The opening ſpring brings with it the proſpect of our ſummer's labour, and the brilliant ſun actively warms into life the vegetable world, which blooms and yields a profuſion of aromatic odours. A creation of beauty is now a feaſt of joy, and to look for amuſements beyond this genial torrent of ſweets, would be a perverſion of nature, and a ſacrilege againſt heaven.

The ſeaſon of ſugar-making occupies the women, whoſe mornings are cheered by the modulated buffoonery of the mocking-bird, the tuneful ſong of the thruſh, and the gaudy plumage of the parroquet.—Feſtive mirth crowns the evening.—The buſineſs of the day being over, the men join the women in the ſugar groves, where enchantment ſeems to dwell.—The lofty trees wave their ſpreading branches over a green turf, on whoſe ſoft down the mildneſs of the evening invites the neighbouring youth to ſportive play; while our rural Neſtors, with calculating minds, contemplate the boyiſh gambols of a growing progeny, they recount the exploits of their early age, and in their enthuſiaſm forget there are ſuch things as decrepitude and miſery. Perhaps a convivial ſong, or a pleaſant narration, cloſes the ſcene.

Rational pleaſures meliorate the ſoul; and it is by familiarizing man with uncontaminated felicity, that ſordid avarice and vicious habits are to be deſtroyed.

Gardening and fiſhing conſtitute ſome part of the amuſements of both ſexes. Flowers and their genera form one of the ſtudies of our ladies; and the embelliſhment of their houſes with thoſe which are known to be ſalutary, conſtitutes a part of their employment.—Domeſtic cares and muſic fill up the remainder of the day; and ſocial viſits, without ceremony or form, leave them without ennui or diſguſt. Our

young

young men are too gallant to permit the women to have ſeparate amuſements; and thus it is that we find that ſuavity and politeneſs of manners univerſal, which can only be effected by feminine poliſh.

The autumn and the winter produce not leſs pleaſure. Evening viſits moſtly end with dancing by the young people, while the more aged indulge their hilarity, or diſſeminate information in the diſquiſition of politics, or ſome uſeful art or ſcience.

Such are the amuſements of this country, which have for their baſis hoſpitality, and all the variety of good things that a luxuriant ſoil is capable of producing, without the alloy of that diſtreſs of miſery which is produced from penury or want. Malt liquor, and ſpirits diſtilled from corn and the juice of the ſugar-tree mixed with water, conſtitute the ordinary beverage of the country. Wine is too dear to be drank prodigally; but that is a fortunate circumſtance, as it will be an additional ſpur to us to cultivate the vine.

The routes from the different Atlantic ſtates to this country are various, as may be ſuppoſed. From the northern ſtates it is through the upper parts of Pennſylvania to Pittſburg, and then down the river Ohio. The diſtance from Philadelphia to Pittſburg is nearly 300 miles. From Lancaſter about 230. The route through Redſtone and by Pittſburg, both from Maryland and Virginia, is the moſt eligible, provided you have much baggage; except you go from the ſouthern and back counties of Virginia; then your beſt and moſt expeditious way is through the wilderneſs. From Baltimore, paſſing Old Town upon the Potowmac, and by Cumberland fort, Braddock's road, to Redſtone old fort on the Monongahala, is about 240 miles; and from Alexandria to the ſame place, by Wincheſter Old Town, and then the ſame route acroſs the mountain, is about 220 miles. This laſt muſt be the moſt eligible for all Europeans who may wiſh to travel to this country, as the diſtance

diſtance by land is ſhorter, the roads better, and the accommodations good; *i. e.* they are very good to Old Town, which is 140 miles from Alexandria, and from thence to Redſtone comfortable, and plentifully ſupplied with proviſions of all ſorts: the road over the mountain is rather rough, but no where in the leaſt difficult to paſs.

Travellers or emigrants take different methods of tranſporting their baggage, goods, or furniture, from the places they may be at to the Ohio, according to circumſtances, or their object in coming to the country. For inſtance, if a man is travelling only for curioſity, or has no family or goods to remove, his beſt way would be to purchaſe horſes, and take his route through the wilderneſs; but provided he has a family, or goods of any ſort to remove, his beſt way, then, would be to purchaſe a waggon and team of horſes to carry his property to Redſtone old fort, or to Pittſburg, according as he may come from the northern or ſouthern ſtates. A good waggon will coſt, at Philadelphia, about 10l. (I ſhall reckon every thing in ſterling money for your greater convenience), and the horſes about 12l. each; they would coſt ſomething more both at Baltimore and Alexandria. The waggon may be covered with canvaſs, and, if it is the choice of the people, they may ſleep in it at nights with the greateſt ſafety. But if they ſhould diſlike that, there are inns of accommodation the whole diſtance on the different roads. To allow the horſes a plenty of hay and corn would coſt about 1s. *per diem*, each horſe; ſuppoſing you purchaſe your forage in the moſt œconomical manner, *i. e.* of the farmers, as you paſs along, from time to time as you may want it, and carry it in your waggon; and not of inn-keepers, who muſt have their profits. The proviſions for the family I would purchaſe in the ſame manner; and by having 2 or 3 camp kettles, and ſtopping every evening when the weather is fine upon the brink of ſome rivulet,

and

and by kindling a fire, they may ſoon dreſs their food. There is no impediment to theſe kind of things, it is common, and may be done with the greateſt ſecurity; and I would recommend all perſons who wiſh to avoid expence, as much as poſſible to adopt this plan. True, the charges at inns on thoſe roads are remarkably reaſonable; but I have mentioned thoſe particulars, as there are many unfortunate people in the world to whom the ſaving of every ſhilling is an object; and as this manner of journeying is ſo far from being diſagreeable, that in a fine ſeaſon it is extremely pleaſant.

Proviſions in thoſe countries are very cheap; beef, mutton, and pork, are ſomething leſs than 2d. per lb; dunghill fowls are from 4d. to 6d. each; duck 8d; geeſe and turkies, 1s. 3d. butter, 3d; cheeſe I will ſay nothing about, as there is very little good until you arrive in Kentucky. Flour is about 12s. 6d. per cwt.

The beſt way is to carry their tea and coffee from the place they may ſet out at; good green tea will be from 4s. 6d. to 6s. per lb; ſouchong from 3s. to 5s; coffee will coſt from 1s 3d. to 1s. 6d. per lb; loaf ſugar from 7½ to 10½d. But I would not recommend their carrying much ſugar; for as the back country is approached, the maple-ſugar is in abundance, and may be bought from 3d. to 6d per lb. Such are the expences to be incurred in travelling to this country by Redſtone and Pittſburg.

The diſtance which one of thoſe waggons may travel one day with another is little ſhort of 20 miles. So that it will be a journey from Alexandria to Redſtone old fort of 11 or 12 days; from Baltimore a day or two longer; and from Philadelphia to Pittſburg, I ſhould ſuppoſe, it would require nearly 20 days, as the roads are not ſo good as from the two former places.

From theſe prices the expence of removing a family,

from

from either of the ſea-ports I have mentioned, to the Ohio, may be computed with tolerable exactitude *.

The beſt time for ſetting out for this country from any of the Atlantic ports, is the latter end of either September or April. The autumn is perhaps the moſt eligible of the two; as it is moſt likely that the roads acroſs the mountain will be drier, and proviſions and forage are then both more plentiful and cheap than in the ſpring.

If this mode ſhould not ſuit the convenience of the party, by reaſon of their not wanting a waggon or horſes when they arrive in this country, they may have their goods brought out to Redſtone old fort from Alexandria for 12s. per cwt. and in like proportion from Baltimore and Philadelphia.

At Redſtone old fort, or Pittſburg, they can either buy a boat, which will coſt them about 5s. per ton, or freight their goods to Kentucky for about 1s. per cwt. There is no regular buſineſs of this ſort; but as there are always boats coming down the river, 1s. per cwt. is the common charge for freight. But more frequently when there is boat-room to ſpare, it is given to ſuch as are not able to purchaſe a boat, or have not a knowledge of the navigation. However, that is a buſineſs which requires no ſkill, and there are always numbers of people coming down, who will readily conduct a boat for the ſake of a paſſage.

The diſtance from Philadelphia † by land to Kentucky is

* The editor is informed that, by a letter from the Rev. Mr. Toulmin, dated Lexington, February 14, 1795, it appears, that the emigrations to Kentucky the preceding autumn amounted to 14,000 people; that he himſelf rents a country-houſe, out-houſes, and 30 acres of land (including a peach-garden), for 18l. ſterling a year, about 1 mile diſtant from Lexington.

† The diſtances in the ſettled parts only can be computed with any degree of exactitude; but from the beſt information that can be collected, from the rapids of the Ohio to Santa Fé is about 1000 miles, and from thence to the city of Mexico about 1500.

The computed diſtance between New Orleans and Mexico is ſomething ſhort of 2000 miles, and about the ſame to Santa Fé.

between

between 7 and 800 miles; from Baltimore nearly 700; nearly 600 from Alexandria; and upwards of 500 from Richmond. The roads and accommodations are tolerably good to the borders of the wilderneſs; through which it is hardly poſſible for a carriage to paſs, great part of the way being over high and ſteep hills, upon the banks of the rivers, and along defiles, which in ſome places ſeem to threaten you at every ſtep with danger *. This is the only route the people coming from the upper parts of Virginia and North Carolina can take at preſent to get into the country; the gap of Cumberland mountain being the only place where it can be paſſed without the greateſt difficulty. The opening the Tenaſee will afford a convenient communication with the Miſſiſſippi. The wilderneſs, which was formerly 200 miles through, without a ſingle habitation, is reduced from the ſettlement of Powel's valley to nearly one half of that diſtance; and it is to be expected that, in a few years more, the remainder of the diſtance will afford ſettlements for the accommodation of people travelling that route; when a good road may be made quite to Kentucky. The canals I have ſpoken of, which are cutting on the Potowmac †, and the removal of the obſtructions in Cheat river, will render the paſſage from Alexandria, or the federal city, to the Ohio, both cheap and eaſy.

Upon the arrival of emigrants in the country, they generally take a view of that part in which it is their object to ſettle, and according to their circumſtances or calling, fix upon ſuch a ſituation as may appear eligible for their buſineſs. But as the greater proportion of the emigrants who

* This road has been conſiderably improved, and a poſt now paſſes weekly through it from Philadelphia to Kentucky.

† There are two conſiderable falls in the Potowmac, one about 12 miles above Alexandria, the other nearly 30; and when theſe canals are completed (which moſt probably was already done about the latter end of 1793), its navigation will be carried quite into the Allegany mountains.

come

come to this country are husbandmen, I shall only take notice of their manner of proceeding and settling a farm. Land is to be purchased in every part of the country: the prices are various, according to the improvements there may be upon it, its quality, and local situation; the general price of land, with some improvements, is from 12s. to 15s. per acre. Plantations, with orchards and other improvements, may be purchased from 1l. to 1l. 5s. per acre; good land, without improvements, may be purchased from 1s. 6d. to 8s. per ditto, which price will be according to its rate, or quality and situation.

Remember, I take notice only of the settled country, as I apprehend no European would be hardy enough to form a settlement in a wilderness, which will be left for the Americans, who, no doubt, from habit, are best qualified for that sort of business. Indeed, there is a number of people who have so long been in the custom of removing farther and farther back as the country becomes settled, for the sake of hunting, and what they call range for their cattle, which is that of their feeding upon the natural grass, that they seem unqualified for any other kind of life. This is favourable to the settling a wild and infant country; and no doubt this disposition will last (with some) as long as there is left a wilderness in America. It is, however, certain, this is advantageous to society, which will be bettered, and not injured, by such peculiar habits, so long as they have new countries to people: for this adventurous spirit tends to accelerate the propagation of domestic animals of every sort.

Persons of moderate fortune, upon taking possession of the land they intend to form into a plantation, procure such stock as their circumstances will admit, and the extent of their object requires.

Let us suppose an industrious man already provided with the necessary tools for his agricultural employment, and a little

little money to buy ſtock. In ſuch a ſituation, after building his houſe in the manner I have mentioned, which will coſt him little more than his labour, he ſhould procure ſome dunghill fowls, a cow, and a breeding ſow. The fowls will produce eggs for his family; the cow, milk and butter, if ſhe is well taken care of; and the ſow will produce 2, if not 3, litters of pigs within the year. Theſe animals are very prolific in this climate and ſoil; and it is not a ſanguine calculation to ſuppoſe the ſow will have 8 or 10 pigs at each litter; by which means the family will have pork ſufficient for the next year; and the year after they may barter bacon for beef and mutton, which I will conclude their circumſtances have not permitted them, as yet, to purchaſe. His labour will have provided him with corn before this time; and in the extenſion of his plantation, and the increaſe of his cow and hogs, his difficulties will be over; and a few years of induſtry and perſeverance will make him a man of property. The increaſing ratio of ſtock is prodigious, where proviſion for them coſts ſo little as it does here, and where the fertility of the ſoil is ſo wonderful. His fowls will coſt about 3d. each, his breeding ſow about 5 ſhillings, and his cow, if a very good one, of 4 cwt. and upwards, will coſt him from 30 to 40 ſhillings.

I have hitherto ſuppoſed this induſtrious man not in circumſtances to enable him to uſe horſes and plough, but obliged to hoe his corn; the only difficulty of which will be the preparing the ground for the ſeed. According to this imperfect cultivation, I will conclude that his crop of corn will not be more than 30 buſhels to the acre. Now an induſtrious man making a ſettlement in the autumn would be able to open 3 acres of land, in the manner I have related, before the time of planting, which will be in April or May; indeed, as late as June will anſwer; ſo that he may take advantage of this favourable circumſtance, and, by planting at different periods, he will be better enabled to cultivate his

crop,

crop, as it will not all require his attendance at the ſame time. Allowing half an acre for vegetables and pulſe, and the yield of his labour will be 75 buſhels of corn. Admitting then that he has a wife and 2 children, I will allow one half of this corn for their year's ſupport, which, with the animal food his ſtock will afford him, and vegetables, will conſtitute a comfortable living. The other half he may ſell, and purchaſe thoſe artificial neceſſaries his family may want. The ſecond autumn and winter he may open 2 acres more, and put the other 3 into better condition; one of which ſhould be ſown with flax or hemp ſeed, in order to give employment to his wife, and to provide linen for domeſtic uſes. His crop of corn the ſecond year, with the extended and improved cultivation, will not be ſhort of 125 buſhels. The ſurplus quantity of this year's crop will go a great way towards purchaſing a horſe and plough; and as the third crop will be more ample, he will then find himſelf comfortable and independent. I have all along ſuppoſed this farmer to have made prompt payment for every thing that he has wanted, which is ſeldom aſked from an induſtrious man who is anxious to provide for his family. Such a man may not only have credit for horſes and cattle, but even for the land; and in a very little time, with induſtry, he may pay the whole off. I have taken no notice of the taxes he will have to pay, as it is moſt likely they would not, all together, amount to 5 ſhillings.

Proviſions of every ſort are both plenty and cheap in this country. Flour is from 6s. to 9s. per cwt. according to its quality. Indian corn is from 9d. to 1s. per buſhel. Beef is from 1½d. to 2d. per lb. Veal, 2½d. per ditto. Mutton, 3d. ditto; which high price is owing to the general deſire the farmers have to increaſe their ſtocks. Pork is from 2d. to 2½d. per lb. Bacon, from 3½d. to 4d. Bacon hams, from 4d. to 5½d. Salt beef, 2d. Hung or dried

beef, 3d. Neat's tongues, 6d. each. Buffalo ditto, which are a moſt delicious morſel, 9d. Dunghill fowls, ducks, muſcovy ditto, geeſe, turkies, guinea fowls, and pigeons, are proportionally cheap. Butter is from 2½d. to 3½d. per lb. Cheeſe from 2d. to 3d. per ditto.

We have a variety of fiſh in our rivers; the moſt eſteemed of which are the perch, trout, buffalo fiſh, and ſoft turtle. The pearch is in ſize from 5 to 12 lb. is firm and fat in its ſeaſon, which is from February until July, and is equal to any ſalt-water fiſh I ever taſted. The trout is caught from 8 to 30 lb. weight. This fiſh is too univerſally known and admired to require any account of its excellence, particularly as the trout in England is the exact miniature of ours. The buffalo fiſh is in ſize from 4 to 8 lb. is a very fine fiſh, but inferior to the two former. But the ſoft turtle is, perhaps, the moſt delicious fiſh in the world, and amply compenſates for our having no other teſtaceous fiſh. This turtle is gelatinous, except a ſmall ſhell upon its back, about the bigneſs of the palm of the hand. The weight is from 6 to 10 lb.

Moſt people make their own ſugar; but when it is ſold, the price is from 3d. to 4½d. per lb. according to its fineneſs. The buſineſs of ſugar-refining is only commencing, which makes it impoſſible to ſay exactly what will be the general price of loaf or refined ſugar; but I conclude it will be proportionally low with raw ſugar, as the buſineſs can be carried on in this country at leſs expence than in Philadelphia and York, where the price of the neceſſaries of life is ſo much higher. Tea, coffee, chocolate, and ſpices, are ſomething higher here than in Philadelphia. Good green tea is from 5s. to 8s. per lb. Imperial or gunpowder, 10s. 6d. Pearl and ſchoulong, from 12s. to 16s. Good ſouchong, from 4s. 6d. to 7s. per ditto. Bohea, from 2s. to 3s. 6d. Coffee, from 1s. 9d. to 2s. Chocolate, from 1s. 6d.

to

to 1s. 8d. Spices are moſtly 25 per cent. higher than they are at Philadelphia or Baltimore.

I have entered into ſeveral minutiæ, in order that you may have a more clear idea of the people and ſituation of this country. I have not aimed ſo much at being agreeable, as to convey information.

In a country in the zenith of the perfection of arts, and one juſt removing the ſhade of ſavage wildneſs, the contraſt appears, I know, greater to an European than it really is. We have more of ſimplicity, and you more of art.—We have more of nature, and you more of the world. Nature formed our features and intellects very much alike; but while you have metamorphoſed the one, and contaminated the other, we preſerve the natural ſymbols of both. You have more hypocriſy—we are ſincere. You are more cunning and adroit, which your laws and habits have rendered part of your natures. We are not ſo ſtupid as not to ſee through the veil; but when an European does us the honour to viſit us, we have both too much hoſpitality and ſuavity of manners to inform him he has neither ſentiments nor religion. A few years reſidence with us teaches him that important truth, and ſelf-conviction is always the moſt laſting.

However, a delineation of the laws, and ſubſtance of the opinions, which our new code will contain, will give you a better conception of our moral and political ſentiments, and their probable duration; and with hopes that an early opportunity will preſent itſelf to forward my letter upon that ſubject, I ſhall take my leave of you for the preſent, my dear friend, with wiſhing you every poſſible felicity. Farewell.

I am,

With the utmoſt regard and eſteem,

Yours, &c.

MR. Thomas Cooper, late of Mancheſter, in anſwer to queſtions concerning the ſtate of ſociety in America, and whether european comforts and conveniences can be procured there?—and, whether proviſions are cheaper and more plentiful there, than in England? writes as follows:

AMERICA is a large place; and between the different ſtates, there are ſtrong ſhades of difference; nor does a large town furniſh the ſame anſwer to your queries as the country.

In Boſton, New-York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore, the ſtate of ſociety is much the ſame as in the large towns of Great Britain, ſuch as Birmingham, Briſtol, Liverpool, and Mancheſter. The american towns I have juſt enumerated, contain together about the ſame number of inhabitants as the engliſh towns juſt mentioned; that is, about 200,000. Boſton, in 1791, contained 18,038 inhabitants; New-York, 33,131; Philadelphia, 42,520; Baltimore, 13,503; Richmond, 3,761; Alexandria, 2,748; Lexington, in Kentucky, 834. Since that year the increaſe has been equivalent to make up the aggregate what I ſtate *. New-York, for inſtance, is a perfect counterpart of Liverpool: the ſituation of the docks, the form of ſtreets, the ſtate of the public buildings, the inſide as well as the outſide of the houſes, the manners, the amuſements, the mode of living among the expenſive part of the inhabitants—all theſe circumſtances are as nearly alike, in the towns laſt mentioned, as poſſible. In all the american towns above noticed, there are theatres and aſſemblies. They are, in ſhort, preciſely what the larger and more opulent provincial towns of Great Britain are. Hence alſo you may eaſily

* At preſent Philadelphia contains about 70,000, New-York about 40,000, Lexington 1,500 inhabitants.

conceive,

conceive, that european comforts and conveniences are not ſcarce. In fact, you may find in Philadelphia or New-York, every article of that deſcription uſually kept in the ſhops in the engliſh towns I have referred to, in equal plenty, but not indeed equally cheap. To the price of all articles of luxurious furniture (pictures, pier-glaſſes, carpets, &c.) add one-third to the engliſh price, and you have the full american price. Houſe-rent is alſo much the ſame as in the places hitherto compared: if any thing, ſomewhat dearer in America, for houſes of the ſame ſize and convenience. The houſes, in the one ſet of towns as in the other, are built of brick and ſtone. In the country ſituations of America, houſes of equal convenience are as cheap as in the country of Great Britain.

Proviſions (milk and butter excepted, at Philadelphia and ſouthward) are a full third cheaper than in ſimilar places of Great Britain. Butter, in Boſton and New-York, is cheaper than in Philadelphia, where it is from 15d. to 20d. per lb. Cheeſe about the ſame price as with you, but not ſo good. Firing in the great towns very dear, a cord of hiccory wood, 8 feet by 4 feet and 4 feet, ſelling in Philadelphia and New-York, in winter, at 7 dollars. Remote from the great towns it would be about 1 dollar and a half.

In the ſettled country, however, from 15 to 250 miles from the large towns, the ſtate of ſociety, and the ſtyle of living, is, in my opinion, preferable to the country life of Great Britain.

In the latter kingdom, the people are divided into, firſt, rich proprietors and great lords, who come occaſionally to viſit their country ſeats; ſecondly, gentlemen farmers, whom inclination, or too ſtrait an income, prevent from living in towns; and thirdly, farming tenantry, who cultivate the ground for a ſcanty livelihood. In America you have none of the firſt claſs: the maſs of in-

habitants (excluſive of ſervants) conſiſts of thoſe who poſſeſs in fee ſimple, from 100 to 500 acres of land, actually in cultivation: together with the tradeſmen immediately dependent on agriculture (all of whom are farmers), and the ſtore-keepers diſperſed in the ſmaller towns, almoſt all of whom are farmers alſo. But they are all ſlovenly farmers: their fences are not neat; they have few hedges, and thoſe few are rough and imperfect. The fence in the middle and ſouthern ſtates is uſually wood ſplit into lengths, of 5 or 6 feet, and 3 or 4 inches thick, of which the ends are placed one on the top of another, angular-wiſe. In New-England, ſtone fences are common. In Pennſylvania, about 20 years ago, there were many hedges of privet, but one ſevere winter killed them all. They have many indigenous thorny ſhrubs that would anſwer for hedges, but they do not give themſelves the trouble to try. For gardening they have much leſs taſte than the Engliſh; for orchards more. Every farm-houſe in the middle and ſouthern ſtates has its peach-orchard, and its apple-orchard; and with all their ſlovenlineſs, abundance and content are evident in every habitation. Theſe habitations are uſually of wood: more generally of logs, caſed or uncaſed with boards, than built of frame-work; all the windows are ſaſhed, and the inſides of the houſes, generally ſpeaking, are as creditable to the miſtreſs of the family, as the grounds around ſeem otherwiſe to the maſter; whoſe induſtry indeed is uſually exerted upon more important objects. Neatneſs, among the common farmers, and taſte, among the more opulent cultivators, have not yet found their way.

Hoſpitality is relative: from Maſſachuſetts to Maryland inns are plenty, and ſtrangers frequent them when they travel: from the ſouth boundary of Pennſylvania to South Carolina, taverns are more ſcarce and dear, and hoſpitality is on the moſt liberal ſcale. Nor are the people ignorant; newſpapers are as plentiful in America as they are now in France;

France; book ſocieties are everywhere to be found; and though learning, in the european acceptation of the word, is uncommon, good ſenſe, and ſome reading, are univerſal.

In the country, proviſions are from one-third to one-half leſs than in Great Britain: fiſh and game are in great plenty.

You aſk what appear to me to be the general inducements to people to quit England for America? In my mind, the firſt and principal feature is, "the total abſence of anxiety reſpecting the future ſucceſs of a family." There is little fault to find with the government of America, either in principle or in practice: we have very few taxes to pay, and thoſe are of acknowledged neceſſity, and moderate in amount: we have no animoſities concerning religion: it is a ſubject about which no queſtions are aſked: we have few reſpecting political men or political meaſures: the preſent irritation of men's minds in Great Britain, and the diſcordant ſtate of ſociety on political accounts, is not known there. The government is the government *of* the people, and *for* the people. There are no tithes nor game laws: and exciſe laws upon ſpirits only, and ſimilar to the britiſh exciſe only in name. There are no men of great rank, nor many of great riches. Nor have the rich there the power of oppreſſing the leſs rich (for poverty, ſuch as in Great Britain, is almoſt unknown). Nor are their ſtreets crowded with beggars. I ſaw but one only while I was there, and he was engliſh. You ſee no where in America the diſguſting and melancholy contraſt, ſo common in Europe, of vice, and filth, and rags, and wretchedneſs, in the immediate neighbourhood of the moſt wanton extravagance, and the moſt uſeleſs and luxurious parade. Nor are the common people ſo depraved as in Great Britain. Quarrels are uncommon, and boxing-matches unknown in our ſtreets. We have no military to keep the people in awe. Robberies are very rare. I heard of no burglary

in Philadelphia during the fever there, though no one ſtaid in the town who could afford to leave it. All theſe are real advantages: but great as they are, they do not weigh with me ſo much, as the ſingle conſideration firſt mentioned.

In England, the young man flies to proſtitution, for fear of the expence of a family eſtabliſhment, and the more than poſſible extravagance of a wife; celibacy is a part of prudence, it is openly commended, and as ſteadily practiſed, as the voice of nature will allow. The married man, whoſe paſſions have been ſtronger, whoſe morals have been leſs callous, or whoſe intereſt has furniſhed motives to matrimony, doubts whether each child be not a misfortune, and looks upon his offspring with a melancholy kind of affection, that embitters ſome of the moſt pleaſurable moments of life. There are exceptions to this from great ſucceſs in the purſuits of the father; there are exceptions from ſtronger degrees of parental affection; and the more ſanguine look forward with ſtronger hope: but I have ſeen too much not to be ſatisfied of the perfect truth of this general poſition. I do not care what may be the ſituation in life of the parents, or the rank to which they belong; from my own labour, when I lived among you, at 12s. a week, to lord S——, of 25,000l. a year, through many intermediate ranks, I have had too frequent occaſion to obſerve this melancholy fact.

In the former inſtance, the man I employed conſoled himſelf, with tears in his eyes, for the loſs of his eldeſt ſon (who was accidentally drowned), becauſe he had one leſs to provide for; and in the ſecond inſtance, his lordſhip laid down his fox-hounds, becauſe he had a large family.

In America, particularly out of the large towns, no man of moderate deſires feels anxious about a family. In the country, where dwells the maſs of the people, every man feels

feels the increaſe of his family to be the increaſe of his riches: and no farmer doubts about the facility of providing for his children as comfortably as they have lived, where land is ſo cheap and ſo fertile, where ſociety is ſo much on an equality, and where the prodigious increaſe of population, from natural and accidental cauſes, and the improving ſtate of every part of the country, furniſhes a market for whatever ſuperfluous produce he chuſes to raiſe, without preſenting inceſſantly that temptation to artificial expence, and extravagant competition, ſo common and ſo ruinous in your country.

In Great Britain, perpetual exertion, inceſſant, unremitting induſtry, daily deprivation of the comforts of life, and anxious attention to minute frugality, are almoſt incumbent on a man of moderate fortune, and in the middle claſs of life: and the probabilities of ultimate ſucceſs are certainly againſt a large family. In England, no man has a right (calculating upon the common chances) to expect that 5 or 6 children ſhall all ſucceed.

In America it is otherwiſe: you may reaſonably reckon upon a comfortable ſettlement, according to your ſituation in life, for every part of a family, however numerous. I declare I know nothing in your country equivalent to the taking off this weight upon the mind of a father of a family. It is felt in the occurrences of every day; and I have ſeen with pleaſure the countenance of an european emigrant, in America, brighten up on this very comfortable reflection; a reflection which conſoles even for loſs of friends, and exile from a native country.

To perſons in genteel life, and of the claſs which you call men of fortune, nearly the ſame difficulties occur: with you every rank treads ſo cloſe on the heels of the rank above it, that an exceſs of expence above income is general; and perhaps the difficulties of a family are ſtill greater in the claſs laſt mentioned. Temptations to unneceſſary

neceſſary expence, owing to the numerous gradations of rank in England, are perpetual, and almoſt unconquerable. With us, a man is more equitably appreciated: and in the country of America, he is eſtimated more at what he is, and leſs at what he ſeems. Something like european manners, and ſomething of the ill effect of inequality of riches, is to be found in the great towns of America, but nothing like what an inhabitant of the old country experiences; and the maſs of the people in America are nearly untainted. Hence the freedom from artificial poverty, and the univerſal diffuſion of the common comforts and conveniences of life.

In your country, moreover, if a man has been pecuniarily unfortunate, the eager crowd preſs on and trample over him, and once down he is kept down. In America, a falſe ſtep is not irretrievable; there is room to get up again: and the leſs unfortunate ſtumbler looks round at leiſure, and without diſmay, for ſome more profitable path to be purſued. With you, every employment is full, and you are preſſed and elbowed on all ſides: with us, every employment has room for induſtry, and for many years almoſt every ſpecies of induſtry muſt be ſucceſsful. In fine, ours is a riſing country.—I am ſorry to ſay it, but, I fear, yours is a falling country. A ſingle man, with you, may be buoyed up by his unfettered exertions; but a family is a mill-ſtone about the neck of many, very many, among you, whoſe anxious induſtry deſerves a better reward.

You aſk me what kind of people will find it their intereſt to go to America? Whether thoſe who have acted as merchants, or ſhopkeepers, or manufacturers, in England will ſucceed there? Whether a man of large income can pleaſantly ſpend it? Whether a gentleman of moderate fortune can improve it, or a man of large property increaſe it there? Whether the american continent holds out inducements

ducements to the profeſſions of law, phyſic, and divinity? What is a literary man to do there? Or whether a perſon of a literary turn will eaſily find ſociety there?

I cannot enter into details on all theſe inquiries; I have neither all the facts, nor the time, for this purpoſe. However, the reſult, the ſum and ſubſtance of my remarks on theſe queſtions, are as follow.—They will perhaps admit of exceptions, but they are generally true.

With reſpect to merchants, tradeſmen, and ſhopkeepers, they will of neceſſity have a kind of local apprenticeſhip to ſerve, whatever be the previous connexions which induce them to go thither: they muſt ſpend time there to acquire a ſufficient knowledge of the habits and manners of the people, of the characters and ſituations of thoſe with whom they are to deal, of the channels of commerce, the articles of barter, and the other details of buſineſs, which nothing but actual reſidence and local inveſtigation can ſupply. With this, no perſon of good character and recommendation (with credit on the old country), can fail to ſucceed in the new. Succeſs, however, will be much accelerated, by a knowledge of german and french, in Pennſylvania and New-York ſtates in particular. In Philadelphia, every ſtorekeeper has the name of his firm, and his trade, written in the german character and language, as well as in the engliſh.

With reſpect to manufactures, I think no one will as yet ſucceed in eſtabliſhing a profitable manufacture of woollen, linen, or of cotton goods (ſtockings perhaps excepted); neither does it appear to me, that the time is yet come for any branch of the pottery to ſucceed. There are more profitable means of employing the capital neceſſary to embark in thoſe manufactures, and there certainly is in this country a predilection, partly founded on prejudice, and partly on intereſt, in favour of articles manufactured in Great Britain. It is in the power of your country to keep

keep up this predilection; which the Americans will continue to entertain till your government compels them to relinquish it.

I have no doubt, however, of the success of a glass manufacture, a gunpowder manufacture, of a paper-maker, a paper-stainer, a letter-founder, a manufactory of all the heavy kinds of iron-work, such as castings from the ore, pig-iron, bar-iron, rolling-mills, slitting-mills, and the making of nails. I believe that no soapboiler, hatter, gunsmith, tallow-chandler, whitesmith, and blacksmith, brass-founder, wheel-wright, cabinet-maker, carpenter, mason, bricklayer, taylor, shoemaker, cooper, tanner, currier, maltster, brewer, distiller, sail maker, rope-maker, printer, and bookbinder, whether master or journeyman, can miss of employment there.—Even silversmiths and watch-makers will find the state of society not unfavourable to their trade. Of silversmiths (masters and journeymen), there are reckoned about 400 in Philadelphia alone. I cannot enumerate every trade, but all those of common use are now, and will long continue to be, in demand there. Those I have enumerated, I know to be so at this moment: the wages of journeymen are somewhat higher than with you, and the money of a poor man will certainly go farther.

You ask me, whether a man, of large income, can pleasantly spend it in America? A large income is not so easily spent there, as in Europe; there are not such variety of amusements, nor so expensive amusements; nor does an expensive style of living procure so much respect there, as with you *. I do not think it the place for a man of pleasure, in your acceptation of the word.

Can a man of moderate fortune improve it? Yes, by the purchase and improvement of land, the surest and the easiest way of improving a moderate fortune.

* I could not find, on inquiry, that the most expensive persons in Philadelphia and New-York, lived at an expence beyond 2000l. sterling a year.

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Can a man of large fortune increaſe it? Yes, in the ſame way—provided he does not purchaſe at random. Thoſe who buy land on the expectation of re-ſelling it at an advance of price, muſt not buy in the thickly ſettled part of the country; for there land is nearly at the maximum of price it will arrive at for many years: he muſt not buy large tracts, far from all preſent ſettlements, unleſs he can force the ſpeedy ſettlement of them by his own connexions and influence. If he can do that, he may buy indeed, any where, uſing common prudence in chuſing the ſituation: but if he cannot induce an emigration thither by his own exertions, he muſt buy where the current of population is evidently tending, but where it has not yet reached. Certainly, land ſpeculations in America, prudently entered upon, are extremely profitable: made at random, they are otherwiſe *. If theſe do not ſuit, part of the american ſtock pays above 6 per cent. per annum, and the deferred ſtock above 7 †.

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* Purchaſers in this country, and meaning to ſtay here, will not find it their intereſt in general, to embark a portion of property ſo ſmall as not to pay for an agent on the ſpot. In this caſe, it ſhould be a joint concern. But ſo much caution is requiſite to perſons not going themſelves to America, that I cannot recommend the inveſtiture of a fortune there, unleſs the principal, or ſome of the principals, act upon perſonal knowledge.

† The american debt, 16,000,000 ſterling, is funded in 3 kinds of ſtock, viz. the 3 per cent. ſtock, the 6 per cent. ſtock, and the deferred ſtock; this latter bearing no preſent intereſt, but intereſt at 6 per cent. will become payable upon it from and after the 1ſt of January, 1801.

In the beginning of June 1794, the prices of american ſtock were, in London,

	Per cent.	l.	s.	d.
6 per cent. ſtock, 90l. per cent. paying an intereſt of	6	13	4	
3 per cent. 50l. per cent. paying an intereſt of	—	6	0	0
Deferred ſtock 57l. per cent.; upon which, if compound intereſt be reckoned at 5 per cent. until 1801, the 57l. will amount to 80l. which therefore will yield		7	10	0
Shares in the american bank, which has hitherto paid 8l. per cent. are at 106l. per cent. paying an intereſt of	6	15	9	

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The profeſſion of the law is not ſo different, in any of the ſtates of America, from what it is England, as not to afford a fair chance of ſucceſs to any lawyer from the old country, who will ſpend a couple of years in attaining the practice, and the knowledge peculiar to, and neceſſary for, the particular ſtate in which he wiſhes to act. The fees are much the ſame as in England. The reports of caſes determined in England, are authority, but are not precedent. They have great weight, and are generally deciſive, but they are open to obſervation, to animadverſion, and to contradiction. The law, however, is a faſhionable, and therefore a full profeſſion, and I doubt whether an engliſh lawyer will, in general, mend his pecuniary ſituation by removing there; the lawyers of great practice (who all act as attornies) get from 500l. to 2000l. currency a year *. German and french, if not abſolutely neceſſary, are very convenient to an american lawyer.

The profeſſion of phyſic is well filled in America, but there are many foreigners who practiſe: the profeſſion I believe is open, but (unleſs in the caſe of a german or french practitioner among the inhabitants who ſpeak engliſh imperfectly) the american phyſicians have, and very juſtly, the preference. Surgeons are not ſo experienced as with you, nor indeed do ſurgical caſes ſo frequently occur. The poor are leſs expoſed to accidents and diſeaſe, and therefore hoſpital practice is not ſo inſtructive there as in England.

With reſpect to divinity, I doubt whether individuals of any claſs of that profeſſion, orthodox or heterodox, would be much in requeſt. If any, thoſe of the arian or ſocinian perſuaſion would be ſo in New-York and Philadelphia: there are many unitarians in the two laſt-men-

As the ſurplus revenue is about 1,200,000 dollars (270,000l. ſterling) per ann. this is laid out on the principle of a ſinking fund, to diſcharge the debt.

* I believe the profits of none exceed 3000l.

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tioned towns, and in Boſton; where I believe there is one congregation, which is the only one of that deſcription I know of in America. Were divines to emigrate, they would probably ſucceed beſt as ſchoolmaſters, who are much in requeſt everywhere on the american continent.

With reſpect to literary men, it is to be obſerved, that in America there is not as yet what may be called a claſs of ſociety, to whom that denomination will apply; ſuch, for inſtance, as is to be found in Great Britain, and indeed in moſt of the old countries of Europe: a claſs, whoſe profeſſion is literature; and among whom the branches of knowledge are divided and ſubdivided with great minuteneſs, each individual taking and purſuing his ſeparate department as regularly as the reſpective fabricators of a watch or a pin. Literature in America is an amuſement only—collateral to the occupation of the perſon who attends (and but occaſionally attends) to it. In Europe, it is trade—a means of livelihood. The making of books is there as much a buſineſs as the ſelling of books. No wonder therefore it is better done in Europe than in America; or that, with their uſual good ſenſe, the Americans ſhould permit you to be their manufacturers of literature, as well as of crockery or calicoes.

Certainly the Americans are not inferior in abilities to the Europeans; they are comparatively an infant ſociety, and their numbers are comparatively few; and yet, old as Great Britain is in experience, abounding in her eſtabliſhments for the promotion of learning, pre-eminent in reputation, and gigantic in her attainments of knowledge and ſcience of all kinds, the ſtripling of the new world has taught you war by Waſhington, and philoſophy by Franklin: Rittenhouſe ranks with your mathematicians and aſtronomers; your diplomatiſts have ſhrunk before the reaſonings of Jefferſon; and the lateſt and acuteſt of your political philoſophers are more than ſuſpected of being

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the diſciples only of Paine and Barlow, whoſe knowledge is notoriouſly the produce of the american ſchool;—but though not in abilities, the Americans are inferior to you in the opportunities of knowledge; their libraries are ſcanty, their collections are almoſt entirely of modern books; they do not contain the means of tracing the hiſtory of queſtions: this is a want which the literary people feel very much, and which it will take ſome years to remedy; but the convulſed ſtate of Europe, and the increaſing proſperity of America, will contribute rapidly to improve their ſituation in this reſpect.

There is another circumſtance alſo which has hitherto tended to keep back the progreſs of letters with us. The war brought on much individual as well as national poverty; neceſſity, therefore, as well as the habitual induſtry and frugality of the people, led every body to attend to commercial purſuits, and their attention was abſorbed in the improvement rather of their pockets than of their minds. But ere long, a new generation will ariſe, and it is riſing, who will be enabled by the accumulations of their parents to diſpenſe with the purſuits of buſineſs—they will begin to feel the want of employment;—they will imbibe a taſte for literature and philoſophy;—and the fine arts, and the uſeful ſciences, will find their votaries as numerous and ſucceſsful in America as in Europe: even at preſent the literati of the old continent will eaſily find congenial ſociety in the great towns of America, particularly at Philadelphia.

You aſk me how ſervants are to be procured? In the towns they are not very difficult to be found: the country itſelf furniſhes nearly enough, and the emigrations of all kinds from Germany, from Ireland, from Scotland, and from England, amount to about 10,000 a year; theſe, together with the liberated blacks, furniſh a ſufficient ſupply to the ſtates north of Maryland; ſouth of that ſtate

they

they depend on the labour of ſlaves. The wages of ſervants of all kinds in theſe ſtates, may be regarded at about one-fourth dearer than the ſame claſſes and deſcriptions in England. This rule will hold for the country, as well as the town. Few ſervants are kept for ſhew, owing to every perſon being of ſome oſtenſible profeſſion. For inſtance, I know of only one profeſſed "gentleman," i. e. idle, unoccupied, perſon of fortune in Philadelphia.—Their time is not yet come.

You inquire about the ſtate of politics in America, and the ſentiments of the people of that country toward Great Britain.

We have among us about half a dozen ſuſpected royaliſts, excluſive of ſome Engliſhmen ſettled in the great towns, whom the Americans regard as unreaſonably prejudiced againſt their government, and infected with a kind of *maladie du pays*.

The reſt of the Americans are republicans—but of two claſſes: the one leaning to an extenſion rather than a limitation of the powers of the legiſlative and executive government; rather leaning to britiſh than to french politics; inclining to introduce and extend the funding, the manufacturing, and the commercial ſyſtems. In this claſs, rank almoſt all the executive officers of government, with Mr. Waſhington at their head; the majority of the members of the ſenates, and the greateſt part of the opulent merchants of the large towns. This party is denominated the federaliſts, partly becauſe they were the chief introducers and ſupporters of the preſent federal government and the conſtitution of 1787; and partly from the very ingenious ſeries of letters in favour of that conſtitution, by Mr. Hamilton, termed "The Federaliſt."

The other party are called anti-federaliſts; not becauſe they are adverſe to a federal government, or wiſh, like

the French, for a republic, one and indiviſible, but in contradiſtinction rather to the denomination of the other claſs. The anti-federaliſts, at the time when the preſent american conſtitution was in agitation, were hoſtile to the extenſive powers given to government, and wiſhed for more frequent returns to the people, of the authority they were to delegate to their truſtees in office. This party objects to the large ſalaries given to the officers of government, to the ſtate and diſtance aſſumed by ſome among them, not even excluding the preſident Waſhington, whoſe manners, and mode of living, cold, reſerved, and ceremonious (as is ſaid), have tended, in ſome degree, to counteract the effect of his great abilities and eminent ſervices. The anti-federaliſts, alſo, rather lean to the french theory, though not to the french practice, of politics; and they are averſe to what they deem the monopolizing ſpirit, and inſulting arrogance, of ſuperiority in your nation. This ſpirit of animoſity againſt Great Britain has been prodigiouſly increaſed by the part your country is ſuppoſed to have taken in fomenting the indian war, in exciting the hoſtilities of the Algerines, in ſeizing the ſhips, and obſtructing the commerce, of the american merchants, in refuſing, or neglecting, to give up the poſts upon the lakes, or to make reparation for ſtolen negroes.—The conduct of your court has certainly given ſtrength to the anti-federal party, among whom may now be ranked the majority of the people, and the majority of the houſes of repreſentatives. It is ſincerely to be hoped, that ſome terms of amicable accommodation may ſpeedily be adopted. Perhaps Mr. Jay's being a reputed federaliſt, will rather aſſiſt than obſtruct this deſired event, under all the circumſtances of the two countries.

You will eaſily conjecture, from the preceding account, that the federaliſts are the *ins*, and the anti-federaliſts the

outs,

tuts, of the american government; and this is, in a great degree, but not univerſally true. We are more moderate than you are.

You have forgotten to inquire about wine, unleſs you included it under the head of european comforts and conveniences. The following prices I take from the Philadelphia price current of the 11th January 1794: American porter, in bottles, 8s. 3d. (ſterling) per dozen, bottles included—this is about the quality of your provincial porter; London porter, 7s. 4½d. excluſive of bottles; beſt cogniac brandy, 7s. 4½d. per gallon; arrack, 6s. 3d. per gallon; beſt Jamaica rum, 5s. 3d. per gallon; Madeira wine, 50l. 17s. per pipe; port wine, 25l. 11s. per pipe; Teneriffe wine, 3s. per gallon; Liſbon wine, 28l. 7s. per pipe; claret, 26s. per dozen; ſherry, beſt, 5s. 5d. per gallon.

In January 1793, when Great Britain was at peace, the London current price liſt gave port wine 48l. per pipe; Madeira, 68l; Liſbon, 45l; ſherry, 55l. per butt; brandy, 14s. 6d. per gallon; and rum, 5s. 5d. per gallon.

In New-York and Philadelphia, chocolate is ſold, retail, at 10d; roaſted coffee, 14d; beſt hyſon tea, 6s; beſt ſouchong, 4s. 4d. and 4s. 6d; ſugar, double-refined, at 1s. 6d. per lb; lump, 13d. and 14d. At preſent the cultivation of the vine is much in vogue in Pennſylvania; and good wine has been already made in that ſtate.

You aſk me which line of life is, upon the whole, the beſt for a man of middling fortune to adopt? As a general rule, I have no heſitation in ſaying, that perſons of from 250l. to 5000l. fortune, had better become farmers. I do not know that large fortunes are to be made by farming; but I am ſure that a moderate fortune will more certainly, more eaſily, and more pleaſantly, produce a common average profit in that line, than in any other I am acquainted with.

A hundred and fifty acres of land, with a tolerable houſe and

barn upon it, and ſufficient land cleared for a perſon immediately to begin as a farmer, may be purchaſed, in many parts, at 4l. currency an acre *, payable one-fifth, perhaps, down, and one-fifth every year, with intereſt. I doubt whether this is more profitable, than the purchaſe with the ſame money of a larger quantity of unimproved land, if the ſettler chooſe to encounter the difficulties of the firſt 12 months, which are difficulties in England only—to Americans they do not appear ſo much under that form.

The land thus purchaſed is a ſpecies of property that muſt of neceſſity receive an annual increaſe in value, from the natural population of the country, beſides that which the induſtry of the proprietor may confer upon it. I think I ſpeak within compaſs when I ſay, that an induſtrious cultivator, beſides making a plentiful livelihood and good intereſt of his capital, will find his farm quadrupled in value at the end of 10 years, if he bought it in any cheap part of the back country, which was at the time in the courſe of ſettling.

To perſons with a family, the advantages are much on the ſide of farming; the value of the produce in America is much higher than in England, when you conſider the lightneſs of the taxes, and the cheapneſs, and the fertility, of the land. Among farmers, there is not, as in great towns, a perpetual temptation to unneceſſary expence, or a ſtyle of living above income; and a man who has lived in the eaſe and plenty of middle life, need not give his ſon a better or a more certain eſtabliſhment at ſetting out in the world, than 500 acres of land, and 500l. to begin with; and this, 10 years hence, will eaſily be within the compaſs of men of moderate fortune who begin their american career now.

Nor is the term "farmer" ſynonimous with the ſame word in England. With you it means a tenant, holding

* Not quite 50s. ſterling.

of

of ſome lord, paying much in rent, and much in tithes, and much in taxes: an inferior rank in life, occupied by perſons of inferior manners and education. In America a farmer is a land-owner, paying no rent, no tithes, and few taxes, equal in rank to any other rank in the ſtate, having a voice in the appointment of his legiſlators, and a fair chance, if he deſerve it, of becoming one himſelf. In fact, nine-tenths of the legiſlators of America are farmers.

You aſk me what ſum is neceſſary to commence farmer upon a moderate ſcale, in ſome civilized, and tolerably well ſettled part of the back country?

A man may buy 300 acres of rich, but unimproved land, for inſtance, at preſent in ſuch a ſituation, for 30s. per acre, currency, payable by inſtalments. In the courſe of a ſummer, he may, with a couple of men to help him, clear ground enough to maintain ſome cattle through the winter, and may have a comfortable loghouſe built, which he may improve or enlarge at his leiſure. To do this, to put one-third of the whole into an arable ſtate, and to pay the firſt and ſecond inſtalments, will coſt him, with the wages of the men, the keep of himſelf and a moderate family for a twelvemonth, and the neceſſary cattle and implements of huſbandry to cultivate this quantity properly, about 450l. or 500l. ſterling.

You aſk me why I prefer the place * I mentioned to you for ſettling? Becauſe, firſt, the ſtate of Pennſylvania, for the reaſons I have already given, ſeems, upon the whole, the moſt eligible of the american ſtates. Secondly, becauſe the place in queſtion is the higheſt part of the ſtate, therefore the climate is more ſettled, the air is more clear, and the danger of intermittents and the plague of inſects much leſs *(cæteris paribus)* than in any lower ſituation. Thirdly,

* This relates to a propoſed ſettlement in Pennſylvania on the Loyalſock creek; and extending between the eaſt and weſt branches of the Suſquehanna, about 40 or 50 miles from Sunbury, and about 170 from Philadelphia.

becauſe the heats of ſummer are not ſo intenſe, nor the alterations of ſnows and thaws in winter ſo frequent there, as in the more ſoutherly parts of the ſtate. Fourthly, becauſe, by common conſent, the land to be found there is of the beſt quality to be found in Pennſylvania. Nor have I any doubt but ſettlers * will be induced to go thither, by the healthy ſituation of the place fixed on, by the reputed fertility of the land, the ſociety already ſettling, and about to ſettle there, by the preſent cheapneſs of the land, by the probable rapidity of improvement from the ſum appropriated for that purpoſe, and by the expectation of ſeeing ſhortly a good place of education there. It is the only engliſh ſettlement I know of in America; and although american manners and ſociety approach nearer to engliſh than any other, they are not quite engliſh; and I have no doubt of the inclination of engliſh emigrants bending that way; in fact, I do not know what they can do better, or where upon the whole they can pitch their tents ſo eligibly.

You aſk me whether, in my opinion, the eſtabliſhment of peace in Europe will not render France a more eligible country than the United States? To this I anſwer without heſitation, No. Highly as I approve of many alterations in the theory and practice of government adopted by the French, it is impoſſible for me to approve the ferocious injuſtice of many of their practices. The vague, looſe, declamatory, prejudging ſtyle of their accuſations; their denial of a full and fair hearing, by authoriſing the jury (the judges) to decide before the defendant has produced all his evidence; their total diſregard to paſt character and ſervices, to genius and learning; their evident accuſations from motives of robbery and plunder, againſt perſons whoſe only crime appears to be their poſſeſſion of property; the complete and abſolute deſpotiſm they have eſtabliſhed not only

* The emigrations from the ſettled to the unſettled parts of America are computed at 40 or 50 thouſand annually.

over

over the words, actions, and writings of men in France, but almoſt over their very thoughts; amounting to a perfect annihilation of the liberty of the preſs, and the liberty of ſpeech; their deteſtable want of private honour, in the breach of confidence between private friends; in their exciting every man to become a ſpy upon the words and actions of his acquaintance; in their even threatening with puniſhment wives who ſhould conceal the retreat of their huſbands, thus diſſolving all the paramount obligations of private life; their unneceſſary execution of females for mere political ſentiments; their execrable accuſation of the unfortunate Antoinette, whoſe crimes were the crimes of the age and the nation rather than the individual; their whole ſyſtem of proceeding againſt female delinquents, without allowing the political rights of females; their preſent habitual delight in contemplating the executions of their numerous delinquents; their preſent animoſity againſt the Engliſh in particular, which will take ſome time to wear off; all theſe circumſtances, much as I admire the many great qualities of the french nation, would excite me to ſhun the ſociety of the preſent generation of that country. They are a wonderful people; but in my opinion rather to be admired at a diſtance, than fit for a peaceable man to reſide among. It is true they are, according to their own expreſſion, *à la hauteur de leur ſituation*: but I look for happineſs amid the attachments of friends and kindred; where the obligations of private ſociety ſhall be inviolable; where I may talk folly and be forgiven; where I may differ from my neighbour in politics or religion with impunity; and where I may have time to correct erroneous opinions without the orthodox intervention of the halter or the guillotine. Such times may and will come in France, but I fear not before the preſent race ſhall die away.

Even in America, the cloſe of the war was a period extremely unpleaſant for a ſtranger to fix his reſidence. Vio-

lent political prejudices, impatience of differing opinions, private and perſonal animoſities, ferocious manners, inſecurity of rights, individual and national poverty, inceſſant political contentions, all men dividing into parties, even upon the ſubdiviſions of political queſtions, injuſtice in the taxation of emigrants, and all the evils of an unſettled government, were for ſome time prevalent there. At preſent little or nothing of this kind is perceived. But the Americans are a much cooler people than the French, and I fear a longer prevalence of theſe evils among the latter. Moreover, however ſettled the ſtate of France might be, however excellent its government, and amiable as well as admirable its inhabitants, yet for a man who looks forward to the future ſettlement of a family, France is not, and America in my opinion is, the country to be choſen.

The equality of conditions, and almoſt equality of fortunes among the French, will be great obſtacles to the eſtabliſhment of manufactures beyond thoſe of mere neceſſity. I do not think this an evil to the country, becauſe I deteſt the manufacturing ſyſtem; obſerving the fallacious proſperity it induces, its inſtability, and its evil effect on the happineſs and the morals of the bulk of the people. You muſt on this ſyſtem have a large portion of the people converted into mere machines, ignorant, debauched, and brutal, that the ſurplus value of their labour of 12 or 14 hours a day, may go into the pockets and ſupply the luxuries of the rich, commercial, and manufacturing capitaliſts. I am grieved to ſee that ſo ſenſible a man as Mr. Hamilton can urge, in his report on american manufactures, their furniſhing employment to children, as an argument for their being eſtabliſhed in America. I hope to ſee the time when not only the childhood, but the youth of the pooreſt inhabitant in this country, female as well as male, ſhall be employed in the improvement of their underſtanding, under ſome ſyſtem of national education; and in labour no further than

than is conducive to health and pleaſure. Let manhood labour; but in my opinion even manhood was not intended for inceſſant labour, nor is the ſyſtem of inceſſant induſtry conducive to human happineſs. The preſent imperfect ſtate of ſociety and of knowledge may make it neceſſary, but I hope the univerſal annihilation of abſolute ignorance among us will tend in time to material improvement in the means of promoting human happineſs. A ſmall quantity of labour will produce the comforts and conveniencies of life; and the old ſyſtems of government have hitherto been the chief ſupports of unproductive induſtry and luxurious and unneceſſary expenditure. Suppoſing, therefore, that the French do not become a manufacturing nation, I do think the country, on the agricultural plan, will ſoon be too highly populated to make the comfortable ſettlement of a family there ſo eaſy as in America. For inſtance, France, at 24,800,000 of inhabitants, contains 152 per ſquare mile, according to Zimmermann; whoſe calculation was certainly too low at the time. Dr. Jameſon, in his excellent tables of political geography, reckons 157 per ſquare mile in France; this was before the war. Perhaps Zimmermann's calculation will be true on the eſtabliſhment of peace. In a ſquare mile are 640 ſtatute acres, which gives little more than 4 acres per head. Land, therefore, in France, in the courſe of a few years, will probably become ſcarce and dear, and it muſt be conſidered that after all we live by the produce of land. America, on the contrary, has land which will be unoccupied for ages; and at preſent the higheſt population of the american ſtates is not above 65 per ſquare mile, which I take Connecticut to have. The people of this ſtate find themſelves too circumſcribed, and yearly emigrate to cheaper ſituations. Pennſylvania has now about 12 per ſquare mile.

Looking forward therefore to ſociety for my own life, and to the eaſy eſtabliſhment of a family hereafter, I chooſe

America

America and not France. I conjecture, if you remove at all, you will act upon my ideas.

You wish to know what hints I can give you respecting your voyage, should you resolve to venture upon a change of situation.

On a supposition that you have no preference, what part of America you land at, I should recommend your going to some place in Virginia, Maryland, or Philadelphia, if you set out in the spring, or any time from the latter end of February to the latter end of March. If you take your departure in the summer, I would advise you to go to Boston or to New-York, rather than land in the southern provinces during the period of the autumnal heats.

Cabin passengers pay from 25 to 30 guineas each, for which they are found in every accommodation, excepting bedding and linen. They have fresh provisions, wine, spirits, porter, &c. plentifully provided for their use. Steerage passengers, 8 to 10l. being found in ship's provisions.

Children in both cases, under 10 or 12, are accommodated at half price. Their bedding and linen, passengers of each kind find themselves. A spring passage will be cold, and therefore the best bedding is a feather-bed cut in halves, which supplies two births—In summer, a mattrass so treated will be pleasanter than a feather-bed. In spring, provide yourself with a cloth jacket and trowsers; in summer you should have 2 or 3 nankeen or other light jackets, and 3 or 4 pair of cotton or linen trowsers. A black cravat will be full as convenient on board ship, as a white one.

You should calculate upon a passage of 10 weeks from London (which is usually a week longer than from the western ports of Great Britain); and although you will most probably not be above 7 or 8 weeks from port to port, it will save you some trouble if you pack up your linen beforehand, upon this calculation; for you will have changes ready, without the necessity of opening your boxes immediately.

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Let your linen be put up in weekly parcels; for inſtance, 2 or 3 ſhirts, 2 or 3 pair of ſtockings, 2 or 3 handkerchiefs, and a towel or two. Of theſe parcels make 10, and you will find it readier than running to your trunk every time you want to dreſs yourſelf.

Take care that the captain has a filtering ſtone, or ſome other machine for the ſame purpoſe, for the uſe of the cabin paſſengers. Should your water notwithſtanding ſmell ſomewhat offenſively, which in ſummer time it will do, this may be remedied by ſome powder of charcoal. If there is no filtering ſtone, the mere particles of dirt will be eaſily thrown down and the water cleared, by putting about a teaſpoonful of a ſolution of alum into a pint of water, which in a quarter of an hour will be very clear, and its wholeſomeneſs not in the ſlighteſt degree impaired.

Take care to provide yourſelf with lemons, apples, or any other fruit that will keep; you will find them very grateful, eſpecially after ſickneſs. This latter complaint is not dangerous, and is better ſubmitted to than prevented. It goes off earlier by exerciſe upon deck in the open air than by ſtaying below in the cabin; and it is better cured by gentle dilution, than by loading your ſtomach with food, or by any preventative or curative medicines. On landing, your health will be better for having been ſick at ſea. This is, at leaſt, as true with reſpect to females, as the male ſex, generally ſpeaking.

Sickneſs and want of exerciſe are apt to induce coſtiveneſs: this ſhould be guarded againſt by the laxative medicines you are accuſtomed to uſe; ſena, lenitive electuary, jalap, rhubarb, or calomel. This tendency is increaſed by much animal food and porter, and even the uſual quantity of wine. Engliſhmen are too apt to live in hot weather and ſouthern climates, as they do in the cold and rainy winters of their own country.

You

You will ſoon get tired of ſhip biſcuit: therefore provide yourſelf with ruſks, or ſlices of bread baked over again, which you will be obliged to Dr. Franklin for having recommended.

A ſea voyage is very tireſome. Take, therefore, books, and cards, and chefs, and draughts, if you play at thoſe games.

With reſpect to the articles worth taking with you for your own uſe in America, I think the beſt general rule is to take whatever you can pack up in a box, or a cheſt, keeping an account of the contents. You may take even your glaſſes and your crockery. Stock yourſelf with linen, but you need not overſtock yourſelf with other wearing-apparel. Carry enough, however, for a twelvemonth at leaſt.

Omit not your library; get all your unbound books bound. Settle with ſome friend of yours an exchange of newſpapers, and concert regular exchanges of letters.

The culinary vegetables of America are upon the whole ſuperior to thoſe of England; but the fruits, peaches, melons, cherries, and currants excepted, are inferior. The walnut is rank, ſmall, and oily; the cheſnut, though ſweeter, is much ſmaller; nectarines are not much cultivated; of filberts, I ſaw none; gooſeberries are not plentiful ſouth of Long Iſland. The green gage, the orlean, and the magnum bonum plum, are not common: they have the damaſcene plum in more abundance. If, therefore, you mean to live in the country, you ſhould certainly collect the ſtones of theſe fruits, or procure them to be ſent out to you.

For the ſame reaſon, you ſhould carry with you ſome garden flower ſeeds. For the Americans prefer utility to ornament, ſo much as to make the articles of this kind that are common with you, not eaſy to be met with in the country ſituations there.

Perhaps to an agriculturiſt it may not be amiſs to mention, that

that they uſe the drill plough very little in America: they uſe few or no artificial graſſes, except timothy, upon which they depend a good deal in the middle provinces. And they have yet to aſcertain whether lucerne and ſaintfoin, vetches and chicory, will be of benefit to them.

I am, &c.

T. C.

LETTER VIII.

MY DEAR FRIEND, *Kentucky.*

OUR laws and government have for their baſis the natural and impreſcriptible rights of man. Liberty, ſecurity of perſon and property, reſiſtance againſt oppreſſion, doing whatever does not injure another, a right to concur, either perſonally or by our repreſentatives, in the formation of laws, and an equal chance of arriving to places of honour, reward, or employment, according to our virtues or talents, conſtitute thoſe rights. Theſe are the principles of our conſtitution; and laws grafted upon theſe ſimple but ſubſtantial principles, and a ſyſtem of legal juriſprudence organized, and acting accordingly, forms the eſſence of our government. Whenever the government ſwerves materially from theſe fundamental principles, the compact is diſſolved, and things revert to a co-equal ſtate. Thus, by this plain definition of the nature of laws and government, every capacity, and every individual of the community, can judge with preciſion of the purity of legiſlation; which produces the moſt entire conviction in the minds of all men, of the neceſſity there is of acting in every inſtance according to the code of reaſon and truth. Every man is equally concerned in

in the welfare and proſperity of his country; his own felicity can only be co-exiſtent with it; and to ſuffer his ambition to run counter to the general weal would be madneſs in an enlightened commonwealth, as it could only tend to produce his own eternal diſgrace or ruin, where the genius of freedom is enthroned in the heart of every citizen.

Europe has long been enſlaved by forms and authorities; and, while its multifarious laws and cuſtoms have ſerved only to perplex profeſſional men, the ſophiſtry employed in expounding them has completely bewildered the imaginations of its citizens, and produced an obſcurity of ideas upon the ſubject of juriſprudence and government, which is truly deplorable. There is an old adage which ſays, "that too much learning makes a man a fool." The pandects, and civil law, added to the barbarous codes of the anceſtors of men in your hemiſphere, have tended not a little to embarraſs the minds of men; for after a life devoted to the ſtudy and inveſtigation of abſurdity, the miſerable ſtudent has generally found one foot in the grave, before he has been able to diſcover the impoſſibility of obtaining the object of his purſuit.

Religion, or what you call an eſtabliſhment, has had its ſhare in rivetting the fetters of ignorance. The elucidation of truth has been retarded by the tyranny of the church; for while *prieſts have been the pedagogues of religion, morals, ſentiments, and politics*, their intereſted views have been the cauſe of their flattering that government, whoſe intereſt it was to keep the people ignorant, as it ſecured to them the undiſturbed diviſion of the ſpoils of the induſtry of the great bulk of your citizens, while they were offering an indignity as groſs to the Deity as their ſyſtem was unnatural and unjuſt. What can be a greater ſupererogation, than preſuming to arraign or judge of the ſentiments of men, the propriety of which is to be determined before a tribunal in heaven? It is an inſult too groſs to merit a comment. It has been ſubverſive

verſive of all good morals, by affording a veil to cover the hypocriſy of the moſt deſigning knaves.

You muſt excuſe this digreſſion; I have made it for a ſubject of reflection for you, that your mind may be prepared to judge impartially of a ſyſtem ſo very ſimple, as that upon which the fabric of our government acts. It was firſt neceſſary to ſhew the cauſe which has produced that myſtery you reverence as wiſdom; but which is abſolutely founded in perplexity of opinion and ignorance; or to give you a clue to reflections that may develope its fallacy.

Every man who is taxed or rated has a vote in the appointment of the repreſentatives of the ſtate; which conſiſt of two houſes, *i. e.* the houſe of delegates and the ſenate, who chooſe a preſident, or governor, for one year. The governor chooſes his own council to adviſe with him in all public matters. It is not immediately neceſſary that the legiſlature ſhould approve of his appointments; but to prevent the poſſibility of the exerciſe of prodigality and contumely, they have reſerved to themſelves the privilege of objecting to ſuch characters for his adviſers who have not the public approbation; which has the good effect of producing harmony between the government and the people—of obliging men who aſpire to the honours of their country to reſpect the public opinion; and it prevents the proſtitution of principle, by interdicting the pernicious conſequences of favouritiſm; while no ill can flow from this negative, as it is not to be preſumed that the collected ſentiments of a whole ſtate can ever be prejudiced againſt an individual; and it is impoſſible for the minds of the legiſlature to be warped againſt their preſident, without ſufficient grounds. The very idea is a ſoleciſm in reaſon.

Mr. Jefferſon, ſpeaking of the government of Virginia, complains, that the ſenate, by its conſtitution, is too homogeneous with the houſe of delegates (our ſenate is elected and conſtituted in the ſame manner as the ſenate of Virginia),

ginia), becauſe they are choſen by the ſame electors, at the ſame time, and out of the ſame citizens; and therefore he ſays, the choice falls upon the ſame deſcription of men. It is not exactly thus, though it is liable to be ſo. The manner of nominating the repreſentatives of every country ſhould be as general as poſſible. Government is a compact entered into by every community for the ſecurity of the happineſs and proſperity of the ſtate; every member of which is one of the aggregate body of that ſtate; therefore laws ought to emanate from the ſentiments of the people.

The wiſdom of having two houſes of repreſentatives is, that they may be a mutual check upon each other; and it is expected that the experience and collected wiſdom of the ſenate, who are a leſs active body than the houſe of delegates, will more maturely weigh the probable conſequences of any act, and prevent, by their ſuſpenſion, any pernicious effects that might reſult from its paſſing into a law; or, by giving time to the houſe of aſſembly, they may correct their own errors.

If the ſenate has not always been choſen of men of the greateſt experience, it has no doubt originated from the ignorance of its political inſtitution; but that is no argument againſt the policy of the ſyſtem. It requires time for every government to acquire its proper tone, and the people muſt become familiar with that tone, before they can make a proper uſe of the inſtrument. At any rate, Mr. Jefferſon's opinion appears to me premature; for if it is neceſſary to have two houſes of repreſentatives, clearly they ought to be elected by the people. As to their being elected at the ſame time, and from the ſame deſcription of men, this can ſignify very little, as it adds to the number of repreſentatives, and conſequently there is a more general conſent to the legiſlation. However, our ſenate will be choſen for three years, and the houſe of delegates will be elected annually; and it appears to me, that the people will not only ſoon

diſcover

diſcover the object of its political inſtitution, but will carry it into effect. They have only to diſcover the wiſdom of chooſing men of experience for the ſenate, to make it a general practice; and it moſt certainly is better to have the ſyſtem thus open, than by confining the eligibility of a ſenator to the reſtriction of a particular age, as that would not only be an encroachment upon the liberties of the citizens, but it would frequently deprive us of the exerciſe of uſeful and ſplendid talents, which might afford to a man an opportunity of obtaining a ſeat in the ſenate, when he could not in the houſe of delegates, by conſequence of the greater popularity of the delegates of the diſtrict or county to which he might belong.

The preſident of the ſtate is choſen annually, and eligible for 3 ſucceſſive years; after which he muſt remain out of office 3 years before he can become again eligible. He has a negative voice upon all acts, in conſequence of which every uſurpation is prevented from being ſurreptitiouſly practiſed upon the people by the two houſes of aſſembly; and thus a check is given to any inconſiderate ſtep or impetuoſity of the legiſlature, until the ſenſe of the people can be made known, and meaſures taken accordingly. The preſident is, beſides, the guardian of the police of the ſtate, has the power, with the advice of his council, to pardon criminals, and by proclamation governs or corrects the influence of all extraneous caſes.

Such is the organization of our legiſlative power, which originated from a convention of the people, and may be altered, improved, or amended, by another convention of the ſame kind, whenever its practice proves its imperfection or deficiency. Thus it is, that in the progreſſion of philoſophy and politics, as well as in arts, and the appropriation of experimental truths, the perfection of government is to be aſcertained.

All the powers of government revert to the people, and they ought to revert to them; the judiciary having been reſerved to them through the medium of juries. The legiſlative they entruſt to their repreſentatives, who are eſſentially the ſame; and the executive emanates from the legiſlature; ſo that the whole are ultimately reſponſible to the people: the executive to the repreſentatives, and the repreſentatives to their conſtituents.

Such is the influence of education and habit, that Mr. Jefferſon, who has given every poſſible proof of his attachment to liberty, although educated when ariſtocratical opinions were common, ſays, this is "preciſely the definition of deſpotic government;" and he adds, "that it can prove no alleviation that the powers will be exerciſed by a plurality of hands, and not by a ſingle one;" and then he triumphantly begs "thoſe who doubt it, to turn their eyes on the republic of Venice." When he wrote this part of his notes, he ſeems to have been of the opinion of Mr. Burke (whoſe paradoxical book has found its way out here), when he remarked "that government was a contrivance of human wiſdom." Otherwiſe I am at a loſs to conceive how he could compare a government acting upon the unalienable privileges, and the light of reaſon, to a dark ariſtocracy which has rivetted upon the minds of their citizens the moſt diabolical ſuperſtition, and who have no more chance of judging of the polity of their ſenate, than they have capacity: but ſpread the rays of philoſophy and truth among the Venetians, and then, if their tyrants practiſe the ſame deſpotiſm with impunity, I will allow that Mr. Jefferſon's parallel is juſt. Yet ſuch arguments would deſerve nothing but contempt, were not their author reſpectable for his cardinal virtues, as well as for the career he bore in the glorious ſtruggles for american independence. However, it is a lamentable conſideration that men of talents and genius,

nius, who have acquired celebrity among the friends of freedom, ſhould, by vainly circulating their crude ſentiments, retard the progreſs of reaſon.

What myſtery can there be either in politics or religion? Laws founded upon the rights of men, and executed with preciſion, of which every capacity is adequate to judge, conſtitute the perfection of the ſcience of government. It is the creation of a diſtinction of powers, with views to intereſt, which infallibly leads to the obſcurity of the human mind; a diſtinction to be avoided as much as poſſible, for the purpoſe of leaving in the hands of the people, or their agents, the whole powers of government. What fear of a bad adminiſtration is to be apprehended, when it is the intereſt of every individual to continue the guardian of his country's proſperity? It is promoting a diſtinction when there is none; and by creating a jealouſy of power, a real and growing evil is produced, when the danger was only imaginary. What intereſt, but that of the public, can a legiſlature have in making the executive part of the government reſponſible to them? What poſſible danger or inconvenience can flow from ſuch reſponſibility in an enlightened ſtate? The maxims of reaſon and ignorance are different.

The idea which Mr. Jefferſon makes uſe of in another part of his book, that the aſſembly may aſſume "all the powers legiſlative, executive, and judiciary, and that theſe may come to the ſmalleſt rag of delegation," is perfectly nugatory. The judiciary power the people never parted with entirely; and the executive by the agents of the repreſentatives, qualified to judge of the laws and nature of our particular conſtitution, is not only a cuſtom, but forms a part of the government. It is one of the ſprings by which the harmony of the ſyſtem is preſerved; and ſhould it at any time be deſtroyed, it is the people who are to rectify the abuſe. They are the potential fountain of all power; and it is only neceſſary for them and their agents to know this,

in order to prevent every danger of the wheels of government being clogged and impeded by the deſtruction of any one of its eſſential ſprings.

The legiſlature is not only unqualified for a tribunal to judge of its own laws from the plurality of its numbers, but it is impoſſible that it could have any object of tyranny in view, when men are familiar with their own rights. And I beg to know what motive, in common ſenſe, could ſuggeſt the idea of embarraſſing government by mutilating one of its branches? Or is it poſſible that Mr. Jefferſon, when he ſaid under this ſyſtem, the aſſembly might "aſſume all the powers of government," could mean, that as the executive power emanated from the legiſlature, it was liable to be ſuborned, or under the controul of the repreſentatives of the ſtate? This idea appears indeed too childiſh ever to have entered into the head of even an indifferent ſtateſman: the executive agents of a government being independent in their appointments of every power but the laws, are no more liable to be controuled by the legiſlature, than by any other power which might appoint them.

Kentucky is divided into counties in like manner as the other ſtates, which are ſimilar to the counties in England. It has been the crude practice hitherto, that each county ſhould have 2 delegates, and 1 ſenator, to repreſent them, without any regard to the number of ſuffrages they contained. This imperfect ſyſtem will be changed by our amended plan as ſoon as it can be finiſhed, and a *cenſus* taken of the inhabitants; and every county will then have its number of repreſentatives in proportion to its population—which ſeems to be the only conſiſtent delegation. However, our old ſyſtem as yet has not produced any bad effects; and as the fluctuations of the populations of the counties were very great, perhaps an attempt at a more exact equality would have been premature.

It is when the local intereſt of a ſtate becomes different

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or various, that this partial repreſentation is liable to abuſe of privileges; but for that reaſon it ought to be remedied in every ſtate as early as poſſible.

In every county magiſtrates, or juſtices of the peace, are appointed by the people, but commiſſioned by the governor or preſident: they act without reward. Their number is in proportion to the population of their diſtrict, and they are nominated from time to time as the inhabitants increaſe, or a vacancy happens from death, or any other cauſe; or as their miniſtry may be required. The moſt diſcreet and reſpectable men for integrity and knowledge are promoted to this office.

If it ſhould happen that an ignorant perſon were to acquire popularity ſufficient to ſecure his nomination to the office of a juſtice of the peace, the governor is not obliged to commiſſion him. Thus, if the people ſhould be ignorant, they are obliged to ſtand upon their guard; and from this vigilance ſprings the activity of inveſtigation.

Theſe magiſtrates have juriſdiction both criminal and civil. If the queſtion be of law only, they decide on it themſelves; but if it be of fact, or fact and law combined, it muſt be referred to a jury: the jurors decide the fact, and refer the law ariſing on it to the deciſion of the judges. However, this diviſion of the ſubject lies with their diſcretion only; and if the queſtion relate to a point of public liberty, or if the judges are ſuſpected of partiality, the jury undertake to decide both law and fact, which obliges judges to be regular, prompt, and juſt.

When laws are ſimple, and underſtood, it is certainly better to leave the deciſion of a legal queſtion to 12 upright men, than to the arbitrary fiat of intereſted or prejudiced judges. But it is by this poiſe, or balance of power, between the jurors and judges, that fair and equitable adminiſtration is ſecured.

The magiſtrates execute their proceſs by the ſheriff, or by

conſtables. If any perſon commit an offence againſt the ſtate, if it be below the degree of felony, he is bound by a magiſtrate to appear before their court to anſwer it on indictment or information. If the offence amount to felony, he is committed to priſon, a court of magiſtrates is called, and if, on examination, they find him guilty, he is ſent to the general court priſon, before which court he is to be tried by a jury of 24, 13 of whom muſt concur in opinion; if they find him guilty, he is then tried by a jury of 12 of his own county where he offended, and by their verdict (which muſt be unanimous) he is acquitted or condemned without appeal. The governor has the power to pardon, except in caſe of treaſon, in which caſe the right reſides in the general aſſembly. Such do we conceive to be the value of the life of every citizen, that we afford him every poſſible chance of proving his innocence.

In civil matters, if the value in diſpute be leſs than 20 ſhillings, a ſingle magiſtrate may try it at any time and place within his county, and may award execution on the goods of the party caſt. If it be of that, or greater value, it muſt be determined before the county court, when the quorum of magiſtrates muſt be 4 at leaſt; for which purpoſe, county courts muſt be holden ſome day in every month, in the court-houſe of the different counties. From theſe determinations, if the value be more than 10l. or concern the boundaries of land, there lies an appeal to one of the ſuperior courts. It is optional with the party who brings the action, if the demand is above 10l. to bring it either in the county or general court.

We have two ſuperior courts: the high court of chancery, and the general court. Both receive appeals from the county courts, and alſo have original juriſdiction, where the value is above 10l. or where the diſpute is concerning land. The high court of chancery is compoſed of 3 judges; the general court of 5. The chancery holds its ſeſſions twice a year,

year, at ſtated periods. The general court ſeſſions are quarterly; twice a year for civil and criminal, and twice for criminal only. There is alſo a ſupreme court called the court of appeals, compoſed of the judges of the two ſuperior courts, which aſſembles twice a year alſo, at ſtated times, at the capital of the ſtate. This court receives appeals in all caſes from each of the ſuperior courts, and determines them finally. This court has no original juriſdiction.——Thus far we have followed the model and practice of Virginia. We have no court of admiralty, nor have we completed our ſyſtem of juriſprudence; but I will endeavour to give you the outlines or principles which will conſtitute its baſis.

The firſt object of every free government is ſecurity of perſon and property, which is called freedom. Without ſuch a preſervation there can be no pure liberty. Under ſuch a government, every citizen has a right to do whatever does not injure another. The hinge of ſecurity in a civilized ſtate is the ſecurity of property; but, in the ſecurity given to property, it is neceſſary that care ſhould be taken not to endanger the liberty of even one of the citizens of a ſtate. For the preſervation of perſonal liberty, ſome ſafeguard ſhould be kept, provided by law, both upon the deſigning and unſuſpicious, in order to avoid the great inconveniences that have flowed from knavery and credulity, as well in moſt of the United States as in Europe. Priſons and dungeons have been perverted into both aſylums for rapine and fraud, and into cells of ſolitary miſery and wretchedneſs, which have in no degree checked the career of diſſipation and prodigality, or produced more induſtry or care; and while the reſentment of diſappointed avarice has been glutted in the fury of revenge, the world has loſt much of the talents and ingenuity of ſome of its moſt valuable citizens. Laws ſhould be calculated to prevent diſtreſs from intemperance and folly, and the commiſſion of crimes, as much as poſſible. Creditors ought to be made cautious

in their ſecurity, and when they have truſted beyond a certain ſum, or have not taken proper precautions, they ſhould be liable to loſe the debt. This would neceſſarily make the parties prudent, and ſo far from being injurious to trade, it would prevent many inconveniences which reſult from haſty dealings and inſufficient ſecurity. Habit and cuſtom act as powerfully in buſineſs as in any thing elſe. Men would ſoon acquire this ſure way of dealing, and thereby their property would be preſerved, and the liberty and talents of every citizen made uſeful to the ſtate. Every man who lives within his income, and makes prompt payment for what he purchaſes, is known to be a more valuable member of ſociety than a man who is irregular and uncertain in his payments; and it is the rapid circulation of money in the common affairs of life, which tends to lower the price of its neceſſaries as effectually, as the frequent returns in commerce tend to accumulate the capital employed. Laws may be made of this ſort, I am ſure, to regulate the tranſactions of men, without injuring commerce in the leaſt; on the contrary, it would render it more profitable, vigorous, and extenſive. Liberty, and the rights of men, have been ſhamefully profaned under the crude idea of the aggrandiſement of commerce. The fallacy of old errors will moulder away under the radiance of philoſophy, and man muſt look back with indignation at the ſacrilege which has ſullied his rank and dignity as a human being. Examine the catalogue of the poor and unfortunate debtors who have miſerably endured the tortures of cold, hunger, and ſickneſs, in a dungeon, loſt to their family and friends, prevented from a poſſibility of obtaining the neceſſary means to cancel their penal obligations, and left to brood over the calamities to which the follies of a ſanguine youth, bad education, and pernicious laws, have reduced them, and which had encouraged them in the career of vice, and puniſhed them in the hour of deſpair and mortification; and you muſt be inſenſible indeed

not

not to deprecate that degradation which indigeſted, inhuman, and impolitic inſtitutions have produced in every part of the world. Theſe are the ſentiments of many of our legiſlators; and from ſuch opinions, I flatter myſelf, we ſhall afford teſtimony ſufficient that priſons are unneceſſary, except for homicides and traitors, who ought to be tried as immediately as the nature of the caſe would admit. It is the certainty of puniſhment, and the terror of inſtantly ſuffering, that deter men from the commiſſion of thoſe crimes where the conſcience is concerned. It is our nature to look at every thing which is remote with indifference; but proximity excites ſome ſenſations of joy or fear in the hearts of the moſt callous.

It is a cruel mortification to the progeny or family of any man who has diſgraced his memory by murder, treaſon, or any other crime, againſt either the laws of God or the ſtate; and it is a lamentable conſideration in human affairs, that it ſhould be neceſſary to make examples which are ſo degrading to the dignity of our natures. Should we then offer inſult to misfortune, and reduce to beggary the innocent offſpring or connexions of an offending culprit? Surely not. The ſtate is the tutelary guardian of its citizens, the protector of innocence, the promoter of felicity and proſperity, the avenger of wrongs; and not the ſpoiler of comfort, and the tyrant of humanity. For theſe reaſons, neither murder, treaſon, or any other crime, ought to rob the family of the property of the offender by forfeiture of lands and goods to the ſtate.

Malefactors, ſuch as have been guilty of petty treaſon, manſlaughter, ſodomy, maiming, diſfiguring, counterfeiting money, robbery, burglary, houſe-breaking, horſe-ſtealing, grand larceny, petty larceny, &c. &c. ſhould be condemned to labour for the ſtate during ſuch a length of time as would be proportionable to the crimes they had committed, which ſhould be defined by law; and in caſe it ſhould be found, from

from experience, that this ſyſtem did not tend to deter from the commiſſion of crimes, and was productive of other bad effects, it would then be time enough to introduce more rigorous meaſures. It is however certain, that as yet the ſyſtem in queſtion has not had ſufficient time to be experienced in its full effects in thoſe ſtates that have introduced it in part. But ſo far as a judgment can be formed, it is reaſonable to expect the moſt ſalutary conſequences from ſuch humane meaſures. Our criminal code will be eſtabliſhed upon theſe lenient principles. Our laws reſpecting foreigners will be founded on the broad baſis of hoſpitality, and the friendly principle, that the world ought to be governed as one great family. Reſpecting marriage and ſucceſſion, more conformably to the laws of nature than the laws of Europe — women are permitted to enjoy all the privileges, and all that protection, to which reaſon and delicacy entitle them. It is upon ſimilar principles that property is diſtributed in an equal and conſiſtent manner; and that a father is not ſuffered to diſinherit a child, except he can make it appear to a court of juſtice that he is radically vicious; and even then, ſuch a dereliction muſt be coerced with conſiderations pointed out by the law.

Such are the collected ſentiments of the people upon the ſubject of law and government; and we have the ſatisfaction to know they are analogous to the opinions of a wiſe and judicious european author, whoſe virtues and ſuperior good ſenſe have given them a conſequence in your own nation, which does him the higheſt honour; and therefore I will quote from him to conclude this letter, which will ſhew that the ſentiments of enlightened men, upon the ſubject of freedom and government, differ in no reſpect from the ſimple ideas of men who have no guide but reaſon and common ſenſe.

" The true intereſt of the people, then, is to be ſubject to a legiſlation, which, while it reſpects the enjoyments of the

the rights of mankind, is ſolely intent upon procuring it; and which, faithful to the principles of an enlightened reaſon, ſeeks only the ſureſt and ſimpleſt means of obtaining this end.——Whatever be the form of government to which the people are ſubjected, a free commerce, an unreſtrained induſtry, civil laws diſtinguiſhed for their ſimplicity, criminal laws for their juſtice and humanity, founded upon the nature of man, and of ſociety, and deduced from theſe principles by reaſon, ought to be everywhere the ſame."—Farewell.

Yours, &c.

THE following obſervations are from that ingenious and judicious writer, Mr. Tench Coxe, of Philadelphia:

THE people of the principal european nations will find themſelves more at home in America than in any foreign country to which they can emigrate. The engliſh, german, and dutch languages are fluently ſpoken by large bodies of our citizens, who have emigrated from thoſe countries, or who are the deſcendants of emigrants. The french language is alſo ſpoken by many in our towns. There are many emigrants from other nations, and the deſcendants of ſuch emigrants. Our population has been derived from England, Scotland, Wales, Ireland, Germany, the United Netherlands, Sweden, and France, and a few from ſeveral other countries. It is computed to be above 3,000,000 at this time *: and the population of no country can increaſe ſo rapidly; becauſe living is no where ſo cheap, and we are conſtantly gaining people from the nations of the old world.

The ſtate of literature in the United States is reſpectable, and is rapidly advancing and extending. Seminaries of

* It was a matter of agreeable ſurpriſe, that our population in 1791 proved to be about 4,000,000.

learning

learning are ſpread from north to ſouth. There are 5 univerſities, no one of which, however, is on a very extenſive ſcale; 14 colleges, and 48 public academies, beſide very many eſtabliſhments of ſchools, in the townſhips or hundreds, and under the care of religious corporations and ſocieties. There is ſcarcely an inſtance of a ſtate conſtitution, which does not recognize the utility of public ſchools, and the neceſſity of ſupporting and increaſing them. Liberal grants of lands, and other real eſtates, and of monies, for theſe ſalutary purpoſes, have been and are continually made.

The ſituation of civil liberty in America is ſo univerſally known, that it is ſcarcely neceſſary to add any thing upon that head. Yet it may not be amiſs briefly to mention, that no man can be convicted of any crime in the United States, without the unanimous verdict of 12 jurymen; that he cannot be deprived of any money, lands, or other property, or puniſhed in his perſon, but by ſome known law, made and publiſhed before the circumſtance or act in queſtion took place; that all foreigners may freely exerciſe their trades and employments, on landing in our country, upon equal terms with our own natural-born citizens; that they may return at any time to their native country, without hindrance or moleſtation, and may take with them the property they brought hither, or what they may have afterwards acquired here; that if they chooſe to remain among us, they will become completely naturalized free citizens by only 2 years reſidence, but may purchaſe and hold lands on the day of their arrival; and that a free citizen of the United States has a right, directly or indirectly, to elect every officer of the ſtate in which he lives, and every officer of the United States.

The ſituation of religious rights in the american ſtates, though alſo well known, is too important, too precious a circumſtance, to be omitted. Almoſt every ſect and form of chriſtianity is known here—as alſo the hebrew church.

None

None are merely tolerated. All are admitted, aided by mutual charity and concord, and equally ſupported and cheriſhed by the laws. In this land of promiſe for the good men of all denominations, are actually to be found, the independent or congregational church from England, the proteſtant epiſcopal church, ſeparated by our revolution from the church of England, the quaker church, the engliſh, ſcotch, iriſh, and dutch preſbyterian or calviniſt churches, the roman catholic church, the german lutheran church, the german reformed church, the baptiſt and anabaptiſt churches, the hugonot or french proteſtant church, the moravian church, the ſwediſh epiſcopal church, the ſeceders from the ſcotch church, the menoniſt church, with other chriſtian ſects, and the hebrew church. Mere toleration is a doctrine exploded by our general conſtitution; inſtead of which have been ſubſtituted an unqualified admiſſion, and aſſertion, that their own modes of worſhip and of faith equally belong to all the worſhippers of God, of whatever church, ſect, or denomination.

LETTER IX.

MY DEAR FRIEND, *Kentucky.*

I HAD the pleaſure of receiving, within theſe two days, your favour, dated the 24th of Auguſt laſt, and admire the virtue and humanity of thoſe of your citizens you mention to have left off the uſe of Weſt India produce, in conſequence of your parliament not having adopted any mode of effecting the abolition of the ſlave trade*.

* The conſtitution of Kentucky expreſſly forbids the legiſlature to interfere in any way whatever in the abolition of ſlavery. – EDIT.

The

The little pamphlet you did me the favour to ſend with your packet, addreſſed to the people of Great Britain on that ſubject, with obſervations upon the ſituation of the unfortunate Africans enſlaved, contains the pureſt ſentiments of benevolence, and the moſt rational ideas, and it is written with a preciſion which does the higheſt honour to the author's head, as well as to his heart.

We have diſgraced the fair face of humanity, and trampled upon the ſacred privileges of man, at the very moment that we were exclaiming againſt the tyranny of your miniſtry; but in contending for the birthright of freedom, we have learned to feel for the bondage of others; and, in the libations we offer to the fair goddeſs of liberty, we contemplate an emancipation of the ſlaves of this country, as honourable to themſelves, as it will be glorious to us.

I have been aſhamed, in reading Mr. Jefferſon's book, to ſee, from one of the moſt enlightened and benevolent of my countrymen, the diſgraceful prejudices he entertains againſt the unfortunate negroes. But if he has given Europeans a flagrant proof of his prejudices, he has afforded common ſenſe an opportunity of judging from his paradoxes, that ſuch cannot be the general ſentiments of the people of America.

In the reviſion of a code of laws propoſed for the ſtate of Virginia, it was recommended to emancipate all ſlaves born after paſſing the act, who were to be brought up, at the public expence, to different vocations, until females ſhould be 18, and the males 21 years of age; when they ſhould be colonized to ſuch place as circumſtances ſhould render moſt proper, giving them arms, implements, &c. &c. to declare them a free and independent people, and extend to them their alliance and protection, until they ſhould have acquired ſtrength and power equal to ſelf-protection.

Concerning which meaſure, Mr. Jefferſon ſays, "It will probably

probably be aſked, Why not retain and incorporate the blacks?" He then attempts to give reaſons to prove why it would be impolitic; by alleging that the deep-rooted prejudices of the whites, and the recollection of paſt injuries by the blacks, would be productive of continual feuds, which would probably never end but in the extermination of one or the other race.

To ſuch objections, which he calls political, he ſays, "may be added others, which are moral and phyſical." I will obſerve upon his political opinions firſt. The great charge ſuch a buſineſs would be to that ſtate, would neceſſarily tend to procraſtinate its execution, and perhaps render abortive the whole deſign, by making it neceſſary to relinquiſh an object which the finances of the government would not admit of being carried into execution; and thus a moſt odious tyranny would be prolonged. Beſides, what could be ſo impolitic, in ſuch a country as Virginia, as baniſhing a numerous claſs of men who might be made uſeful citizens, riſking a depopulation of one colour, in order to ſupply their places with another? an undertaking which, independent of the great expence it would be attended with, would alſo prove ſurrounded by many other difficulties. From what country is the vacancy to be filled? Emigrations have been frequent from Europe to America: but it would require a length of time to recruit 250,000 inhabitants, which, I ſuppoſe, is nearly the amount of the ſlaves of Virginia.

There are in politics, as well as in phyſic, caſes which require irregular preſcriptions. There is no law in nature which binds one man to another; and laws, which are not founded in the principles of reaſon and truth, invalidate themſelves. There is no ſtatute which gives power to a white man to exerciſe deſpotiſm over a man becauſe he is black. It is contrary to our bill of rights, as well as repugnant to the code of nature. But the miſchief lies in the prejudices of the times. A complete emancipation, perhaps, would not

not be borne in Virginia; for which reaſon it muſt be gradual, as it has been in Pennſylvania. It would therefore be wiſe in that ſtate to attach their ſlaves to the land of their reſpective maſters for a certain term of years; after which they ſhould be at liberty to change their ſituations, as their circumſtances or pleaſure would direct, the ſame as any other tenants.

Such a ſyſtem, under ſalutary regulations, would not only afford the negro a conſiderable proportion of freedom, but would be highly advantageous to the ſtate; as, by parcelling out their immenſe waſte tracts of land into little farms, the low country, which has been impoveriſhed by the pernicious cultivation of tobacco, would become fertilized, and reſtored to its priſtine fecundity.

Let us ſuppoſe the preſent ſlaves of Virginia placed in ſuch a ſituation for their lives, and that all blacks, born after paſſing an act for this purpoſe, ſhould be free at 25 years of age. This would afford time not only to put theſe little farms in order, but it would reclaim the exhauſted land, and leave the proprietors in a better ſituation than they otherwiſe would have been in, from a ſyſtem which encourages indolence, promotes ignorance, tyranny, and every radical vice; but the blacks, by liberal conditions upon ſuch a plan, with induſtry, might be able to educate their children, and accumulate a ſmall property to encourage and ſupport their liberty and independence, and the ſtate would have time to acquire white emigrants, if the blacks did not anſwer the purpoſes of cultivation, and the end of the civil polity of an enlightened government; to ſuppoſe which would be as uncharitable as the remarks of Mr. Jefferſon.

It will, doubtleſs, require a length of time to generalize marriages between the whites and blacks; but that would not prove a material diſadvantage to the ſtate. There would always be ſome whites who would marry blacks for the

the ſake of property; and, no doubt, when prejudices are worn away, they would unite from more tender and delicate ſentiments.

A judicious author of this country, who has written on the complexion and figure of the human ſpecies, has ſaid, "A nation which migrates to a different climate will, in time, be impreſſed with the characters of its new ſtate. The dark colour of the natives of the Weſt India iſlands is well known to approach very near to a dark copper. The deſcendants of the Spaniards in South America are already become copper-coloured. The Portugueſe of Mitombo, in Sierra Leone, on the coaſt of Africa, have, by intermarrying with the natives, and by adopting their manners, become, in a few generations, perfectly aſſimilated in aſpect, figure, and complexion." And lord Kaims, who cannot be ſuſpected of partiality on this ſubject, ſays of another portugueſe ſettlement on the coaſt of Congo, "That the deſcendants of thoſe poliſhed Europeans have become, both in their perſons and in their manners, more like beaſts than like men. Theſe examples tend to ſtrengthen the inference from the changes that have happened in the Anglo-Americans; and they ſhew how eaſily climate would aſſimilate foreigners to natives, in the courſe of time, if they would adopt the ſame manners, and equally expoſe themſelves to its influence."

Whether the black of negroes reſides in the reticular membrane between the ſkin and ſcarf-ſkin, or in the ſcarf-ſkin itſelf—whether it proceeds from the colour of the blood, the colour of the bile, or from that of ſome other ſecretion, the difference is not fixed in nature, but is the mere effect of climate, which is proved by the daily teſtimony of the moſt enlightened philoſophers of the preſent age; who have for their ſupport the obſervations and remarks of travellers upon the effects of climate in every part of the globe.

Mr. Jefferſon ſays, it is fixed in nature; and aſks, "if

the difference is of no real importance ?" I anſwer, that it is of no real importance, when compared with the object of reſcuing ſome millions of miſerable human beings from the odious prejudices which have degraded a whole race of men to the rank of beaſts of burden, becauſe they had the misfortune not to have the tinge of *red and white*.

Were a man, who, with all the ardour of a youthful paſſion, had juſt been gazing upon the fair boſom of a loved and beautiful miſtreſs, and afterwards marked the contraſt of that paradiſe of ſublunary bliſs, to the african or indian hue, to exclaim in the terms which Mr. Jefferſon has uſed, he might be judged excuſable on account of the intoxication of his heated ſenſes: but when a grave philoſopher, who has paſſed the meridian of life, ſits down to meliorate, by his writings and opinions, the condition of the ſlaves of his country, whoſe fetters have fixed an obloquy upon the virtue and humanity of the ſouthern Americans, I confeſs it appears to me not a little inconſiſtent.

As to the whites being more elegantly formed, as aſſerted by Mr. Jefferſon, I muſt confeſs that it has never appeared ſo to me. On the contrary, I have often obſerved, in families which have been remarkable for feeding their blacks well, and treating them in other reſpects with humanity, that their negroes have been as finely formed as any whites I ever ſaw.—Indeed my admiration has often been arreſted in examining their proportion, muſcular ſtrength, and athletic powers.

If they ſecrete leſs by the kidneys, and more by the glands of the ſkin, which gives them a ſtrong and diſagreeable odour, it is alſo certain that white men, inhabiting ſouthern climates, do the ſame, more than in northern latitudes: by which means an evaporation takes place from the whole ſurface of the body, which produces that degree of cold which is requiſite to counteract the heat of the climate. As there is always a flow of bile proportionate to the degree

of

of heat, the perſpirable matter will be more or leſs ſaturated with that fluid, which, from an antiſeptic quality, produces that odour which is ſuppoſed to indicate an original difference; but which, in reality, may be diſcovered in a degree in all black-haired people in all countries.

No doubt, too, much of that odour is owing to their difference of living from that of the whites: for it is certain, that thoſe negroes who are cleanly, and live in the manner of their maſters, have leſs of it.

However, there can be no doubt but that the animal ſyſtem may be ſo materially affected by climate, as to require a length of time to reſtore it to its priſtine ſtate; and whether man was aboriginal to Aſia, or whether every continent has had its Adam, is of no conſequence to the argument:—it is certain we are eſſentially the ſame in ſhape and intellect.

"Comparing them by their faculties of memory, reaſon, and imagination, it appears to me," ſays Mr. Jefferſon, "that in memory they are equal to the whites, in reaſon much inferior, as I think one could ſcarcely be found capable of tracing and comprehending the inveſtigation of Euclid; and that in imagination they are dull, taſteleſs, and anomalous. It would be unfair to follow them to Africa for this inveſtigation; we will conſider them here on the ſame ſtage of the whites, and where the facts are not apocryphal on which a judgment is to be formed."

Can any poſition be more puerile and inconſiſtent? "We will conſider them on the ſame ſtage of the whites, and then a compariſon is not apocryphal." Now I beg to know what can be more uncertain and falſe than eſtimating or comparing the intellect or talents of two deſcriptions of men; one *enſlaved, degraded, and fettered in all their acts of volition, without a viſta through which the rays of light and ſcience could be ſhot to illumine their ignorant minds*—the other free, independent, and with the advantage of appropriating the reaſon and ſcience which have been the reſult of the ſtudy and

labours of the philoſophers and ſenſible men for centuries back. If there have been ſome ſolitary inſtances where negroes have had the advantage of education, they have ſhewn that they are in no degree inferior to whites, though they have always had in this country the very great diſadvantage of aſſociating only with their ignorant countrymen, which not only prevents that poliſh ſo eſſential to arreſt admiration, but which imperceptibly leads to ſervility from the prevalence of manners.

Mr. Jefferſon's own arguments invalidate themſelves. "Homer told us," he ſays, "nearly 3000 years ſince,

> "Jove fix'd it certain, that whatever day
> Makes man a ſlave, takes half his worth away."

Now it is moſt certain that the negroes in America have not only been enſlaved, but that they have exiſted under the moſt inhuman and nefarious tyranny, particularly in the ſouthern ſtates.

Baron de Tott, ſpeaking of the ignorance of the Turks, who are alſo ſlaves, but whites, ſaid, "that it was with difficulty that he could make them comprehend how two triangles could be equal to one right one." But it is only neceſſary, to prove the nullity of Mr. Jefferſon's arguments, to copy his own reflection. He aſks, "if the world has produced more than two poets acknowledged to be ſuch by all nations; how many mathematicians, how many great inventors in arts and ſciences had Europe, north of the Alps, when the Romans croſſed thoſe mountains?" and then he ſays, "it was ſixteen centuries before a Newton could be formed." And after aſking theſe queſtions, he abſurdly expects that black poets and mathematicians are to ſpring up like muſhrooms.

However, a black in New-England has compoſed an ephemeris, which I have ſeen, and which men, converſant in the ſcience of aſtronomy, declare exhibits marks of acute reaſon and genius.

To contend, however, that the world has produced but two poets, is rather the aſſertion of a pedant than a philoſopher; and to maintain that no perſons read Milton and Shakeſpear with delight but Engliſhmen, is not ſtrictly juſt: for every man of taſte and judgment who underſtands the engliſh language to perfection, muſt read them, and many other engliſh poets, with the moſt animated pleaſure. And if the Jeruſalem Delivered, the Henriade, and the Luſiad, have only been generally read by the countrymen of their reſpective authors, it is not becauſe they have neither genius nor excellence, but becauſe it has been more the ſyſtem of education in Europe to ſtudy the claſſics than the modern languages, which has given a predominant preference among the literati in every country to the greek and latin poets.

" Religion has produced a Phyllis Wheatly; but it could not produce a poet," is another of Mr. Jefferſon's dogmata. Phyllis was brought from Africa to America, between 7 and 8 years of age; and without any aſſiſtance from a ſchool education, and before ſhe was 15 years old, wrote many of her poems. This information is atteſted by her then maſter, John Wheatly, dated Boſton, November 14, 1772. I will tranſcribe part of her poem on Imagination, and leave you to judge whether it is poetical or not. It will afford you an opportunity, if you have never met with it, of eſtimating her genius and Mr. Jefferſon's judgment; and I think, without any diſparagement to him, that, by compariſon, Phyllis appears much the ſuperior. Indeed, I ſhould be glad to be informed what white upon this continent has written more beautiful lines.

" Imagination! who can ſing thy force?
Or who deſcribe the ſwiftneſs of thy courſe?
Soaring through air to find the bright abode,
Th' imperial palace of the thund'ring god,
We on thy pinions can ſurpaſs the wind,
And leave the rolling univerſe behind:

From ſtar to ſtar the mental optics rove,
Meaſure the ſkies, and range the realms above;
There in one view we graſp the mighty whole,
Or with new worlds amaze th' unbounded ſoul.
Though winter frowns, to fancy's raptur'd eyes
The fields may flouriſh, and gay ſcenes ariſe;
The frozen deeps may burſt their iron bands,
And bid their waters murmur o'er the ſands;
Fair Flora may reſume her fragrant reign,
And with her flow'ry riches deck the plain;
Sylvanus may diffuſe his honours round,
And all the foreſt may with leaves be crown'd;
Show'rs may deſcend, and dews their gems diſcloſe,
And nectar ſparkle on the blooming roſe."

Mr. Jefferſon has been equally ſevere upon Ignatius Sancho. But, as I have not the honour to be acquainted with Mr. Sancho's writings, I ſhall conclude that that criticiſm is equally marked with prejudice. His ſaying, "that Terence was a ſlave, but not black," is in contradiction to the teſtimony of every other authority; who all agree, that he was not only an African but a Numidian, who are all known to be black.

But, to complete his paradoxes, Mr. Jefferſon has remarked, "that the Indian, with no advantage of education, is eloquent and ingenious," without recollecting that the ſavage is free while the poor African is enſlaved; though he allows that ſervitude deſtroys half the worth of the human ſoul.

But to do juſtice to his candour and heart, I will give you his concluſion upon this ſubject: "The whole commerce between maſter and ſlave is a perpetual exerciſe of the moſt boiſterous paſſions, the moſt unremitting deſpotiſm on one part, and degrading ſubmiſſions on the other. Our children ſee this, and learn to imitate it. The parent ſtorms, the child looks on, catches the lineaments of wrath, puts on the ſame airs, gives a looſe to his worſt of paſſions;

and

and thus nurſed, educated, and daily exerciſed in tyranny, cannot but be ſtamped with odious peculiarities."

After making ſeveral moral reflections upon the ſubject of ſlavery, he finiſhes with theſe emphatical words: "Indeed, I tremble for my country, when I reflect that GOD is juſt: that his juſtice cannot ſleep for ever: that, conſidering numbers, nature, and natural means only, a revolution of the wheel of fortune, an exchange of ſituation, is among poſſible events: that it may become probable by ſupernatural interference! The ALMIGHTY has no attribute which can take ſide withus in ſuch a conteſt."

You ſee, my dear friend, how powerful is the effect of habit and prejudice; that with ideas and principles founded in reaſon and truth, ſufficient to demonſtrate that ſlavery deſtroys the energy of the human mind, and with a heart which does honour to Mr. Jefferſon as a man, his mind is ſo warped by education and the habit of thinking, that he has attempted to make it appear the African is a being between the human ſpecies and the oran-outang; and ridiculouſly ſuffered his imagination to be carried away with the idle tales of that animal's embracing the negro women, in preference to the females of its own ſpecies.

GREAT GOD! how long is the world to be tantalized with ſuch paltry ſophiſtry and nonſenſe! My pity and indignation have been alternately excited ſince I have been writing this letter. But, I hope thoſe dazzling rays of philanthropy which gleam in the flattering account you have given me of the diſpoſition of your countrymen, will give a ſtab to the principles of domeſtic tyranny, and fix an odium upon thoſe leachers of human blood, as flagrant as they are contemptible. Farewell. In the libations of this night, and appropriate hours of love and ſocial pleaſure, the object of uſing my feeble powers in attempting to alleviate the oppreſſions of the miſerable in every part of the world, ſhall not be forgotten.

I remain, moſt affectionately,

Yours, &c.

LETTER X.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

YOUR laſt favour gave me the moſt lively pleaſure; but, I fear, you have been too ſanguine in the expectation, that the degree of loſs to the revenue in conſequence of the increaſed number who have left off the uſe of ſugar, will compel your parliament to aboliſh the ſlave trade upon the principle of policy.

No doubt but the ſyſtem is impolitic under every conſideration; but when a government acts more upon principles of patronage, than upon a wiſe and liberal policy, little is to be expected from opinions ſo vitiated and controlled by bad habits of thinking.

Ignorant minds are always the moſt incorrigible; and the devaſtations which folly and contumely have produced in their perſeverance in error, ſhew, in the ſtrongeſt of all poſſible light, the advantage of philoſophy. While weak men dread what they call innovation, amendments will be very tardy; and until education with you is ameliorated, I expect your unnatural ſyſtem of ſlavery, chartered companies, &c. &c. will be continued. However, an æra will arrive when ſtates who are more wiſe than your nation appears to be in the appropriation of uſeful truths, will eclipſe the brilliancy of your commerce, and then the ſpirit of a people renowned for their magnanimity will tear from the fair face of reaſon, the odious maſk which has ſo long obſcured her luſtre.

It requires no oracular faculties to ſee that that period is rapidly advancing; and it is to be preſumed that the moſt conceited and ſtubborn ſteward would take ſome precaution againſt the dangers of an impending hurricane.

Previous to your laſt requeſt, I had interſperſed in my different letters ſome account of the natural hiſtory of this country,

country, and had referred you to Mr. Jefferſon for more full information; but as it is always with the greateſt pleaſure I write to you, I ſhall give you ſuch an account of it as the length of a letter and my knowledge of the ſubject will permit.

I am too proud to make any apology for being obliged to give you in many inſtances the popular names of our vegetables, &c. &c.; for I think it is high time that the linnæan deſignation was angliciſed.

Linnæus had great merit as firſt nomenclator in the ſcience of natural hiſtory, and no doubt did the world a great and eſſential good by preferring the latin to the ſwediſh language for his purpoſe. But from the perfection which botany and natural hiſtory have attained, I think the object of ſimplifying, or rendering into engliſh, the various terms in that ſcience, highly worthy the attention of ſome enlightened philoſopher.

True, the latin has hitherto been the moſt general language in Europe among ſcientific men, and thus far the infancy of the ſtudy has been rapidly matured by the happy adoption. But the engliſh language bids fair to ſuperſede it; and when we take a view of the different parts of the globe that are ſettled by people who ſpeak engliſh, and compare it with the perfection which that language has arrived at, I think it ſeems probable in the courſe of time that it will become univerſal.

We have a variety of ſpontaneous kinds of graſs, for many of which we have no name. I have ſpoken of the cane and its properties in a former letter, which the farmer may conſider as a graſs, ſince it will anſwer every purpoſe of graſs to him. I have alſo mentioned our clover and rye-graſs. Beſides which, we have, of the graſs kind, the pea-vine, which in a ſmall degree reſembles your pea-vine. It has the ſame kind of tendril, and runs up the cane, ſhrubs, and rye-graſs, which frequently grows interſperſed with it.

Its

Its bloſſoms are of a reddiſh hue, and it produces a ſmall and imperfect pea. In very rich ſoil, it grows from 3 to 5 feet high; but in general it does not exceed 18 inches or 2 feet, and is not of ſo luxuriant a growth as the vine of the cultivated pea, but has a much nearer reſemblance to graſs.

Our other principal ſorts of natural graſs are, the buffalo, orchard, ſpear, blue, and crab graſſes. The buffalo graſs is rather coarſe, grows from 9 to 18 inches high, and is generally found moſt plentiful in a middling ſoil. It has a broad leaf, and ſeems unworthy of cultivation. The latter kinds generally ſpring up after the land has been cultivated, and from excellent paſtures; and are alſo capable of being made into hay, particularly the ſpear and blue graſs.

Every part of the country abounds in a variety of natural flowers. The crocus, and a profuſion of daiſies, appear on the approach of ſpring, which are ſucceeded by the daffodil, jonquil, hyacinth, tulip, and a multitude of other flowers, ſuch as heart's-eaſe, lilies, red and white, hollyhocks, pinks, golden rod, cowſlips, may-flowers, jeſſamine, columbine, honeyſuckles, rock honeyſuckles, tuberoſe, ranunculas, marſh-mallows, violets, roſes of different ſorts, &c.

Of herbs, &c. we have of the wild ſort, marjoram, ſundew, ſage, thyme, indian-leaf, roſemary, angelica, fennel, lovage, mugwort, ox-eye, mother-wort, feverfew, cat's-mint, pennyroyal, rue, mint, yarrow, burnet, nettle, ſanicle, rupture-wort, cudweed, white and black maiden-hair, colewort, ground-pine, tooth-wort, ground-ivy, lung-wort, mountain-polly, winter-green, horehound, ladies-mantle, celandine, jew's-ear, horſe-mint, liver-wort, water-creſſes, ſcurvy-graſs, muſtard, hyſſop, tanſy, dock, aſmart, glaſs-wort, hellebore, wolf's-bane, ſpikenard, &c.

You will obſerve, that we have adopted names that are common in Europe, and preſume that it is the affinity between

tween your plants of the above names, and ours, which has produced theſe denominations. How far they are applicable, requires a better botaniſt to determine than I profeſs to be; and to relate their different minutiæ, would be both tedious and unſatisfactory, as it is impoſſible to give a juſt idea of their comparative ſimilarity by a deſcription *.

Farinaceous, Leguminous Plants, &c.

Indian corn, zea maiz, is a grain the ſize of a pea; ſome of it is as large as the ſugar-pea: it grows on a ſtamen in aſcending rows: ſome of theſe ſtamina bear upon them to the number of 700 grains, and they have even been counted to a greater amount. This ſtamen may be about 2 inches thick, by 7 or 8 inches and upwards in length: it is enfolded in ſeveral covers of thin leaves, which ſcreen it from the rapacity of the birds. Its foot or ſtalk is often of the ſame dimenſions; having leaves 2 inches broad and upwards, by 2 feet and a half in length, which are channeled or formed like gutters, by which they collect the dew that diſſolves at ſun-riſing, and trickles down to the ſtalk, ſometimes in ſuch abundance as to wet the earth around them for the breadth of 6 or 7 inches. Its flower is on the top of the ſtalk, which is ſometimes 8 feet high. Five or 6 ears are commonly found on each ſtalk; and, in order to procure a greater crop, the part of the ſtalk above the ears ſhould be cut away. For ſowing the maiz in a field already cleared and prepared, holes are made 4 feet aſunder every way, obſerving to make the rows as ſtraight as may be, in order the more eaſily to weed them. Into every hole are put 5 or 6 grains, previouſly ſteeped in water for 24 hours at leaſt, to make them ſpring up the quicker, and to prevent the fox and the birds from devouring ſuch quantities of them as they otherwiſe would. By day people are placed to guard them againſt

* However, as an account of the properties, culture, and uſes of the principal of them is indiſpenſable to new ſettlers, it is added by the preſent editor.

birds;

birds; by night fires are kept up at proper diſtances to frighten away the fox, who would otherwiſe turn up the ground and eat the corn of all the rows, one after another, without omitting one, till he has his fill, and is therefore the moſt pernicious animal to this production. The corn, as ſoon as ſhot out of the earth, is weeded: when it mounts up, and its ſtalks are an inch big, it is hilled, to ſecure it againſt the wind. Such as begin a plantation in woods thick ſet with cane, have an advantage in the maiz, that makes amends for clearing the ground; a labour always more fatiguing than cultivating a ſpot already cleared. The advantage is this: they begin with cutting down the canes for a great extent of ground; the trees they peel for 2 feet high quite round: this operation is performed in the beginning of March, as then the ſap is in motion in this country: about a fortnight after, the canes, being dry, are ſet on fire: the ſap of the trees is thereby made to deſcend, and the branches are burnt, which kills the trees. On the following day the corn is ſown in the manner already deſcribed: the roots of the cane, which are not quite dead, ſhoot freſh canes, which are very tender and brittle; and as no other canes grow in the field that year, it is eaſy to be weeded of theſe canes, and as much corn again may be produced as in a field already cultivated. This grain is eaten different ways: the moſt common method is to make it into ſagamity, which is a kind of gruel made with water, or ſtrong broth. Bread is alſo made of it, like cakes (by baking it over the fire on an iron plate, or on a board before the fire), which is far preferable to what is baked in the oven, at leaſt for preſent uſe: but it muſt be made every day; and even then it will be too heavy to ſoak in ſoup of any kind. A light and black ſoil agrees much better with the maiz than a ſtrong and rich one. This corn, it is well known, is very wholeſome both for man and other animals, eſpecially for poultry. The natives, that they may have change

change of diſhes, dreſs it in various ways. The beſt is to make it into what is called parched meal. As there is nobody who does not eat of this with pleaſure, even though not very hungry, it will be proper to give the manner of preparing it, that our own people, who rear this grain, may draw the ſame advantage from it.

The corn is firſt parboiled in water; then drained and well dried. When it is perfectly dry, it is then roaſted on a plate made for that purpoſe, aſhes being mixed with it, to prevent it from burning; and it is kept continually ſtirred, that it may take only the red colour which is wanted. When it has got that colour, the aſhes are removed, it is well rubbed, and then put into a mortar with the aſhes of dried ſtalks of kidney-beans, and a little water; it is then beat gently, which quickly breaks the huſk, and turns the whole into meal. This meal, after being pounded, is dried in the ſun; and, after this laſt operation, it may be carried anywhere, and will keep 6 months, if care be taken from time to time to expoſe it to the ſun. When wanted for conſumption, it is mixed in a veſſel two-thirds water with one-third meal, and in a few minutes the mixture ſwells greatly in bulk, and is fit to eat. It is a very nouriſhing food, and is an excellent proviſion for travellers, and thoſe who go to any diſtance to trade. This parched meal, mixed with milk and a little ſugar, may be ſerved up at the beſt tables. When mixed with chocolate, it makes a very laſting nouriſhment. From maiz is made a ſtrong and agreeable beer; and a brandy is likewiſe diſtilled from it.

Wild oat; zizania aquatica.

Wild rye. Lieutenant-governor Mercer, a native of Virginia, who has ſeen this plant growing, and eaten the ſeed of it, gives the following account: "The wild rye, which grows everywhere in the Ohio country, is a ſpecies of the rye cultivated by the Europeans. It has the ſame bearded ear, and produces a farinaceous grain. The ear and grain

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in the wild ſtate of this plant, are leſs, and the beard of the ear is longer than that of the cultivated rye, which makes this wild plant reſemble more the rye-graſs in its appearance; but it differs in no other reſpect from the rye, and it ſhoots in its ſpontaneous vegetation about the middle of November, as the cultivated rye does." The fact thus aſcertained, that there is, in this part of the world, a plant of ſpontaneous growth which produces bread-corn, led governor Pownall to inquire a little farther into the hiſtory of the plant called wheat; and he found in Diodorus Siculus a traditionary piece of hiſtory, in confirmation of what he had before held merely as a matter of opinion: he ſays, "that Iſis was the diſcoverer to mankind of the fruit of wheat and barley (growing perchance amongſt the other wild plants of the earth unknown to men), and that Oſiris taught them the manner of cultivating this to uſe." But Polyhiſtor, as quoted by Euſebius, giving an account, which he took from Beroſus, of the ancient natural ſtate of Meſopotamia, where Babylon was built, ſays, "that in the earlieſt times it abounded with wild wheat, πυρὸς ἀγρίους, amongſt the other indigenous plants." Theſe two facts, ariſing in places, though ſomewhat ſimilar in ſituation, yet in ſuch remote parts of the earth, and in ſuch diſtant periods of time, throw a kind of light upon each other.

Wheat, rye, barley, and oats, grow extremely well in theſe parts; but one precaution is to be added in regard to wheat. When it is ſown by itſelf, as in England, it grows at firſt ſurpriſingly; but when it is in flower, a great number of drops of red water are obſervable at the bottom of the ſtalk, within 6 inches of the ground, which are collected there during the night, and diſappear at ſun-riſing. This water is of ſuch an acrid nature, that in a ſhort time it conſumes the ſtalk, and the ear falls before the grain is formed. To prevent this diſaſter, which is owing to the too great richneſs of the ſoil, a method that has ſucceeded extremely well,

well, is, to mix with the wheat intended to be ſown, ſome rye and dry mould, in ſuch a proportion that the mould ſhall be equal to the rye and wheat together. This method M. le Page du Pratz ſaw practiſed in France; and, on his aſking the reaſon of it, was told by the farmer that, as the land was new, and had lately been a wood, it contained an acid that was prejudicial to the wheat; and that as the rye abſorbed that acid without being hurt, it thereby preſerved the other grain. Barley and oats are to be ſeen in this country 3 feet high.

Indian millet; holcus laxus.

The rice which is cultivated here was brought from Carolina. It ſucceeds ſurpriſingly well, and experience has proved, contrary to the common notion, that it does not require to have its foot always in the water. It has been ſown in the flat country without being flooded, and the grain that was reaped was full grown, and of a very delicate taſte. The fine flavour need not ſurpriſe us; for it is ſo with all plants and fruits that grow without being watered, and at a diſtance from watery places. Two crops may be reaped from the ſame plant; but the ſecond is poor if it be not flooded.

The firſt ſettlers found in the country french-beans of various colours, particularly red and black, and they have been denominated beans of 40 days, becauſe they require no longer time to grow and to be fit to eat green. The apallachian beans are ſo called becauſe they were obtained from a nation of the natives of that name. They probably had them from the Engliſh of Carolina, whither they had been brought from Guinea. Their ſtalks ſpread upon the ground to the length of 4 or 5 feet. They are like the other beans, only much ſmaller, and of a brown colour, having a black ring round the eye, by which they are joined to the ſhell. Theſe beans boil tender, are tolerably well taſted, but are ſweetiſh, and rather inſipid.

Lupine;

Lupine; lupinus perennis.

Jeruſalem artichoke; helianthus tuberoſus.

Cumlings; cucurbita verrucoſa.

Cuſhas; cucurbita melopepo; ſquaſhes, a kind of pumpkin, as cultivated here, being of an eaſy culture in the pooreſt ſoils, and yielding a great and beneficial increaſe of food, ought not to be forgotten, though, on account of their being chiefly uſed as a ſauce, they may be thought of inferior conſequence. Their culture is ſo eaſy as to require little or no attendance after the ſeed is in the ground; they overgrow every kind of graſs or weed, and are generally planted by dropping ſome ſeeds in the potatoe or corn-fields, and their increaſe is immenſe: was the ſhield-ſhaped ſquaſh from the north added to this, it would prove a beneficial addition. All theſe kinds are eagerly eaten by cattle and horſes of every ſort, and they increaſe milk.

Peaſe, as they are here called, but improperly, becauſe ſpecies of the phaſeolus and dolichos are meant, follow the maiz in point of utility. It is well known, that moſt people uſe them like european peaſe, either green or dry; and ſome kinds, ſuch as the ſmall white ſort, the bonaviſt, cuckolds-increaſe, the white black-eyed pea, the white crowder, and many others, are undoubtedly at leaſt as good. Add to this, that, while young, hull and all, they make a fine eſculent diſh for the table; and, when ſhelled, they are as good as green peaſe, and as much admired; the hulls, after threſhing, are eagerly ſought after by cattle, and increaſe milk: the hogs fattened with this pulſe, are the next beſt pork to thoſe fed with maiz. Thus they infinitely increaſe the quantity of food; their culture is eaſy; they are generally now planted between the corn at the ſecond time of hoeing; they want little or no attendance in that caſe, as the corn ſerves them for ſupport to climb up by; and the farther attendance on the corn alſo ſerves the crop of peaſe. This huſbandry ſeems to be a very good one, as by the time that the

the cirrhi take hold of the corn, it is ſufficiently filled to be out of all danger of hurt from this paraſitical nature of the peaſe. It is probable, alſo, that the haulm left behind may ſupply the land with ſufficient manure to recruit its vegetative vigour, which maiz is but too apt to exhauſt. The proper pea is not ſo fit for the field in this part of America, therefore only cultivated in gardens for the purpoſe of eating them green.

All kinds of melons ſucceed to admiration in this country. Thoſe of France, of Spain, of England, which laſt are called white melons, are here infinitely finer than in the countries from whence they have their name; but the beſt of all are the water-melons. As they are not generally known abroad, a deſcription of them will not be unwelcome to the reader: The ſtalk of this melon ſpreads like all others upon the ground, and extends to the length of 10 feet. It is ſo tender, that when it is any way bruiſed by treading upon it, the fruit dies; and if it is rubbed in the leaſt, it grows warm. The leaves are very much indented, as broad as the hand when they are ſpread out, and are ſomewhat of a ſea-green colour. The fruit is either round like a pompion, or oblong. There are ſome good melons of this laſt kind; but the firſt ſort are moſt eſteemed, and deſervedly ſo. The weight of the largeſt rarely exceeds 30 pounds, but that of the ſmalleſt is always above 10 pounds. Their rind is of a pale green colour, interſperſed with large white ſpots. The ſubſtance that adheres to the rind is white, crude, and of a diſagreeable tartneſs; and is therefore never eaten. The ſpace within that is filled with a light and ſparkling ſubſtance, that may be called, for its properties, a roſe-coloured ſnow. It melts in the mouth, as if it were actually ſnow, and leaves a taſte like that of the water prepared for ſick people from gooſeberry jelly. This fruit, therefore, cannot fail of being very refreſhing; and is ſo wholeſome, that perſons in all kinds of diſtempers may ſatisfy their appetite

with it, without any apprehenſion of being the worſe for it. The water-melons of Africa are not by far ſo grateful to the palate as theſe. The ſeeds of water-melons are placed like thoſe of the french melons. Their ſhape is oval and flat, being as thick at the ends as towards the middle; their length is about 6 lines, and their breadth 4. Some are black, and others red; but the black are the beſt, and it is thoſe you ought to chooſe for ſowing, if you wiſh to have good fruit; which you cannot fail of procuring, if they be not planted in ſtrong ground, where they would degenerate, and become red.

Panic; panicum, or guinea corn; differs from maiz in being more difficult to be reduced into food, and being of too hot a nature for brutes, eſpecially poultry, who will become blind by eating it often. It impoveriſhes land; but, when ſown at broad-caſt, will yield a fine and profitable crop of hay for ſuch as are inclined to keep horſes or milch cows near home; nor has it in this caſe ſo bad an effect on the ſoil.

Buck-wheat juſtly deſerves to be here enumerated, as the moſt fattening grain to all animals, but eſpecially hogs and poultry; which latter are always ſurpriſingly multiplied where this grain is raiſed. To man it is alſo an excellent food. It is well known, that in Philadelphia buck-wheat cakes are one of the articles of that city at their breakfaſts. It is alſo a noble crop near an apiary, and will multiply honey greatly. It requires a light loamy ſoil well broke, and to be ſowed very thin. It improves land wherever it is planted.

Purſlain; portulaca oleracea.

Lettuce; lactuca viroſa.

FIBROUS PLANTS, &c.

Wild hemp; acnida cannabina.

Wild flax; linum virginianum.

Hemp

Hemp and flax Great Britain imports from the Baltic annually to the value of 1,500,000l. ſterling. Neither Carolina nor Georgia have any lands comparable to our fine lands on the Miſſiſſippi, and yet they have already exported great quantities of hemp. The lands are ſo rich on the Miſſiſſippi, that neither of theſe two impoveriſhing plants will exhauſt them; and there is every encouragement to their cultivation, which is ſo univerſally underſtood that it needs no deſcription. Thoroughly pulverizing the earth, and not ſowing it too thick, are almoſt the only things to be attended to in its cultivation; and the proper criterion of rotting the ligneous parts of the plant, ſo that they may be eaſily ſeparated in the brake, is the only one of moment in preparing it for embarkation. Add to this, that ere long we ſhall have extenſive ſettlements, producing immenſe quantities of materials for exportation on and near the banks of that almoſt unbounded interior ocean the Miſſiſſippi, for 3000 miles up its courſe; not to mention the products of the river Ohio, the Shawaneſe, Ouabache, Hogoheegee, Yaſoo, Miſſouri, St. Peter, St. Francis, and the Red and Black rivers, with many others of inferior note, all emptying themſelves into it, where there is ſo much room for the increaſe of people, which always proceeds in proportion as there is more ſpace for them to ſit down in. This is beyond reply verified by ſo amazing a rapidity of increaſe as America has experienced within theſe 40 years, being no leſs than in triplicate proportion; and ſince the cruel war, carried on by Great Britain and her allies againſt France, is ſtill greater. Now it is evident, that to carry off the produce of this vaſt tract, it will be neceſſary to build ſhips in every part of it, which, together with their bulky commodities, muſt be ſold abroad, as a very few ſmall craft will be ſufficient to bring up the trifling returns the inhabitants of this happy country may ſtand in need of. This being the caſe, let us conſider that timber, iron, lead, &c. are found up

this river, but without rigging and ſails they cannot conſtitute a ſhip; likewiſe we muſt recollect, that rigging and ſails are bulky articles, and would coſt much for carrying up ſo immenſe a diſtance. A very ſtrong kind of fibre, called indian hemp, is found growing in theſe parts; it would be highly proper to ſet on foot an inquiry into its nature and properties: the ſavages uſe it, and it is extremely probable that it would be found worth improving. The uſe of flax is too well known, and its neceſſity ſo evident, that a deſcription or recommendation of its culture and preparation would be ſuperfluous. The north-american annona, the lime, and mahoe tree, all indigenous here, yield each a ſerviceable bark of great uſe if properly manufactured.

Hop; humulus cupulus. Hops grow ſpontaneouſly through all this country. In ſome of the provinces of Sweden, a ſtrong kind of cloth is ſaid to be prepared from hop ſtalks; and in the tranſactions of the ſwediſh academy for the year 1750, there is an account of an experiment made in conſequence of that report. Of the ſtalks, gathered in autumn, about as much was taken as equalled in bulk a quantity of flax that would have produced a pound after preparation. The ſtalks were put into water, and kept covered therewith during the winter: in March they were taken out, dried in a ſtove, and dreſſed as flax. The prepared filaments weighed very nearly a pound, and proved fine, ſoft, and white; they were ſpun and woven into 6 ells of fine ſtrong cloth. The author, Mr. Schiffler, obſerves, that hop ſtalks take much longer time to rot than flax; and that, if not fully rotted, the woody part will not ſeparate, and the cloth will prove neither white nor fine. Dr. Lewis's notes on Neumann's Chymiſtry, 4to, London, 1759, p. 429. Though the hop grows naturally, yet ſuch as have a deſire to make uſe of it for themſelves, or ſell them to others, cultivate this plant. It is planted in rows, diſtant aſunder 6 feet, in holes 2 feet and 1 foot deep, in which the root is lodged. When

ſhot

ſhot to a conſiderable height, a pole of the ſize of one's arm, and between 12 and 15 feet long, is fixed in the hole; care is had to direct the ſhoots to it, which fail not to run up the pole. When the flower is ripe and yellowiſh, the ſtem is cut quite cloſe to the earth, and the pole pulled out, in order to pick the flowers, which are ſaved.

Tobacco; nicotiana. Without diſparaging what is made in other countries, it may be affirmed, that the tobacco which grows in the country of the Natchez, is even preferable to that of Virginia, or St. Domingo: this country is mentioned, becauſe the ſoil at that poſt appears to be more ſuitable to this plant than any other; although it muſt be owned, that there is but very little difference betwixt the tobacco which grows there, and the adjacent parts, as at the Cut-point, at the Nachitoches, and even at New-Orleans; but whether it be owing to the expoſure, or to the goodneſs of the ſoil, it is allowed that the tobacco of the Natchez and Yaſous is preferable to the reſt.

The method of planting and curing tobacco in this country is as follows: They ſow it in beds well worked with the hoe or ſpade, in the months of December, January, or February; and, becauſe the ſeed is very ſmall, they mix it with aſhes, that it may be thinner ſowed; then they rake the beds, and trample them with their feet, or clap them with a plank, that the ſeed may take ſooner in the ground. The tobacco does not come up till a month afterwards, or even for a longer time; and then great care muſt be taken to cover the beds with ſtraw, or cypreſs bark, to preſerve the plants from the hoar froſts that are very common at that ſeaſon. There are, at preſent, but two ſorts of tobacco produced; the one, pointe coupée, with a long and ſharp-pointed leaf; the other, nanquitoche, has a round and hairy leaf: this latter is reckoned infinitely the beſt.

At the end of April, or towards St. George's day, the plants have about 4 leaves, of which the beſt and ſtrongeſt

are now plucked: theſe are planted out on the tobacco-ground by a line ſtretched acroſs it, and at 3 feet diſtance from one another: this is done either with a planting-ſtick, or with the finger, leaving a cavity on one ſide of the plant, to receive the water with which it muſt be watered. The tobacco being thus planted, it ſhould be looked over evening and morning, in order to deſtroy a black worm, which eats the bud of the plant, and afterwards buries itſelf in the ground. If any of the plants are eaten by this worm, others muſt be ſet cloſe by them. You muſt chooſe a rainy ſeaſon to plant your tobacco, and you ſhould water it 3 times to make it take root. But the ground is never laboured in this country for planting tobacco; it is reckoned ſufficient to ſtir the earth a little about 4 inches ſquare round the plant.

When the tobacco is about 4 or 5 inches high, they weed it, and clean the ground all about it, and hill up every plant. The ſame is done again when it is about a foot and a half high *. And when the plant has about 8 or 9 leaves, and is ready to put forth a ſtalk, they nip off the top, which is called topping the tobacco (reſerving a few with their heads on for ſeed): by this amputation the leaves grow longer and thicker. After this, you muſt look over every plant, and every leaf, in order to ſucker it, or to pull off the buds which grow at the joints of the leaves; and at the ſame time you muſt deſtroy the large green worms that are found on the tobacco, which are often as big as a man's finger, and would eat up the whole plant in a night's time.

This done, care muſt be taken to have ready a hanger (or tobacco-houſe), which is here made in the following man-

* The plants are at this period out of danger of being ſcratched out of the ground by a large flock of turkies which may now be turned into the field, who will not touch the plants, but carefully look for the worms that infect them, of which thoſe birds are very fond; and thus they will ſave a great deal of labour; but the ſuckers muſt be attended to by human labour, which is alſo required to keep the ground clear from weeds.

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ner: Several poſts are ſet in the ground, at equal diſtances from one another, with a beam at top of them, making thus the form of a houſe of an oblong ſquare. In the middle of this ſquare two forks are ſet up, about one-third higher than the poſts, with a pole acroſs them, for the ridge-pole of the building; upon which the rafters are nailed, and covered with cypreſs bark, or palmetto leaves. The firſt ſettlers likewiſe built their dwelling-houſes in this manner, which anſwered the purpoſe very well, and as well as the houſes their carpenters built for them, eſpecially for the curing of tobacco, which they hung in theſe houſes upon ſticks, or canes, laid acroſs the building, and about 4 feet and a half aſunder, one above another.

The tobacco-houſe being ready, you wait till your tobacco is ripe, and fit to be cut, which you may know by the leaves being brittle, and eaſily broke between the fingers, eſpecially in the morning before ſun-riſe; but thoſe verſed in this buſineſs know when the tobacco is fit to cut by the looks of it, and at firſt ſight. You cut your tobacco with a knife, as nigh the ground as you can; after which you lay it on the ground for ſome time, that the leaves may fall, or grow tender, and not break in carrying. On carrying your tobacco to the houſe, you hang it firſt at the top by pairs, or two plants together, thus continuing from ſtory to ſtory, taking care that the plants thus hung are about 2 inches aſunder, and that they do not touch one another, leſt they ſhould rot. In this manner the whole houſe is filled with tobacco, and left to ſweat and dry.

After the tobacco is cut, the ground on which it grew is weeded and cleaned: each root then puts out ſeveral ſuckers, which are all pulled off, and only one of the beſt is left to grow, of which the ſame care is taken as of the firſt crop. By this means a ſecond crop is procured on the ſame ground, and ſometimes a third. Theſe ſeconds, indeed, as they are

called, do not uſually grow ſo high as the firſt plant, but notwithſtanding they make very good tobacco.

If you have a mind to make your tobacco into rolls, there is no occaſion to wait till the leaves are perfectly dry; but as ſoon as they have acquired a yellowiſh brown colour, although the ſtem be green, you unhang your tobacco, and ſtrip the leaves from the ſtalks, lay them up in heaps, and cover them with woollen cloths, in order to ſweat them. This done, you ſtem the tobacco, or pull out the middle rib of the leaf, which you throw away with the ſtalks as good for nothing; laying by the largeſt and the longeſt of the leaves that are of a good blackiſh brown colour, and keep them for a covering to your rolls. After this you take a piece of coarſe linen cloth, at leaſt 8 inches broad, and a foot long, which you ſpread on the ground, and on it lay the large leaves you have picked out, and the others over them in handfuls, taking care always to have more in the middle than at the ends: then you roll the tobacco up in the cloth, tying it in the middle and at each end. When you have made a ſufficient number of theſe bundles, the negroes roll them up as hard as they can with a cord about as big as the little finger, which is commonly about 15 or 16 fathom long: you tighten them 3 times, ſo as to make them as hard as poſſible; and, to keep them ſo, you tie them up with a ſtring.

However, unleſs for domeſtic uſe, it is now cured in hands, or bundles of the leaves, which are packed up in hogſheads for exportation. In order to cure the tobacco in this manner, they wait till the leaves of the ſtem are perfectly dry; and, in moiſt giving weather, they ſtrip the leaves from the ſtalk, till they have a handful of them, called a hand, or bundle of tobacco, which they tie up with another leaf. Theſe bundles they lay in heaps, in order to ſweat them; for which purpoſe they cover thoſe heaps with blankets, and

and lay boards or planks over them. But you ſhould take care that the tobacco is not over-heated, and does not take fire, which may eaſily happen; accordingly, you uncover your heaps from time to time, and give the tobacco air, by ſpreading it abroad. This you continue to do till you find no more heat in the tobacco: then you pack it in hogſheads, and may tranſport it any where, without danger either of its heating or rotting.

Indigo, for its culture, requires a tolerably rich looſe ſoil, and the field ought to be as nearly as poſſible a perfect level. It will grow in any ſoil, from the heavieſt to the lighteſt; but rich hammoc, or oak land, of a moiſt nature, is the beſt adapted to this purpoſe. The ground ſhould be thoroughly cleaned, and reduced to a perfect garden mould: this is the moſt laborious part of the culture, and ſo abſolutely neceſſary that no crops can be expected without it.

Seed of the beſt kind abounds on the Miſſiſſippi; about 4 buſhels of ſeed are requiſite for an acre, and it muſt be ſown in drills about 2 feet apart; the time of approaching rain is always beſt; the ſeaſon for ſowing ſets in the beginning of March, and may be continued on till May: if the ſeaſon be any thing favourable, it will afford five cuttings between March and November; ſeven weeks being a long allowance between each two cuttings: great caution muſt be had about cutting, for, if that be done in dry weather, it will infallibly deſtroy the plant; but in rainy weather there is no manner of riſk. By this treatment and care the plant is continued for years together in the warmer climates. It ought to be cut as ſoon as there is any appearance of bloſſom; 10 weeks from planting will generally ripen the ſeed perfectly: when cut, it is tied in bundles and carried to the vats.

The vats are 3 in number, and ought to be, the firſt very large, the ſecond one-third leſs, and the third ſmaller ſtill. At the head of the large vat ſtands a pump to fill it with water.

water. Theſe vats, particularly the firſt, or ſteeping vat, ought to be made of very hard timber. In this ſteeping vat the weed is thrown together, and preſſed down with pieces of live oak or other ſolid and ponderous timber; it is then covered with water by means of the pump: here it remains to ferment. The criſis whereby to know the exact time it is to remain in this vat is when the liquor thickens, begins violently to effervesce, and aſſumes a purpliſh blue colour; this will be effected in a longer or ſhorter ſpace of time from 8 to 20 hours, according to the temperature of the atmoſphere.

The ſteeping vat projects with one edge about 3 feet over the ſecond, or beating vat; in this edge the bottom of the firſt has a hole with a plug; this plug muſt be drawn as ſoon as the above ſigns of the completion of fermentation appear, to draw off the liquor from the weed, which laſt is abſolutely uſeleſs: except perhaps it might be employed to good purpoſe in a ſaltpetre manufacture. In this ſecond or beating vat, as ſoon as the liquor is in, it muſt be beat or ſtirred by a proceſs ſimilar to churning. This is a laborious work, and uſed to be performed by negroes, who draw up and down a lever that has either one or two bottomleſs ſquare buckets at each end; but of late horſes have been employed in large works. This churning is continued till the dying particles are ſeparated from the liquor, or, as it were, ſufficiently congealed to form a body or maſs. Here lies the ſecret of the art; for, if the beating be ceaſed too ſoon, a part of the dying matter remains undiſſolved, and if beat too long, ſome part will again diſſolve: only experience can teach this criterion, and there is but one method to try it; which is by taking up ſome of the liquor in a phial or cup, and obſerving whether the dying matter is inclined to depoſe itſelf or not. All farther theoretical leſſons would be fruitleſs; the young planter muſt have recourſe to practice. Lime-water is uſed by the Engliſh to haſten the ſepa-

ration;

ration; but there is reaſon to think this ſpoils the indigo; neither the French, Dutch, nor Spaniards uſe any in their plantations.

The indigo being arrived at this criſis, the churning ceaſes, and it is left to ſubſide at the bottom of the vat. When the liquor begins to look of a faint green tranſparent colour, the water muſt be drawn off, firſt by a cock fixed at a certain height in the ſide of this ſecond vat, till you come near to the ſuperficies of the reſiduum, which is the indigo; then another cock, correſponding with the third vat, muſt be opened to let the reſiduum run into this laſt vat, where it remains to ſettle a little longer, in order that it may totally diſcharge itſelf of all the tinging matter *; it is then put into bags in the form of Hippocrates's ſleeve, to drain it from all ſuperfluous humidity: theſe bags muſt hang in the ſhade.

When all the water is drained from it, the remainder, which has all the appearance of mud, is put into very ſhallow boxes, where it is left to dry. When it begins to have the conſiſtence of clay fit for brick-making, it muſt be cut with a very thin bladed knife into ſquare pieces, and then farther left to become quite dry, which is the ſtate in which indigo comes to the conſumer.

This laſt proceſs muſt be all done under a ſhed where the air has free acceſs, but the ſun none. Should the ſun touch indigo in this ſtate, it would exhale all the tinging matter, and leave the maſs in a colourleſs ſtate, ſimilar to ſlate in appearance: beware alſo of moiſture, for that will keep it diſſolved, and incline it to putrefaction.

Some planters preſs their bags in a box of about 6 feet long, 3 feet wide, and 2 deep, having holes in the bottom to let the water off, and a ſtrong thick board fitting exactly in

* This will be completely depoſited in about 8 or 10 hours time; the reſiduum muſt be ſtrained through a horſe-hair ſieve, previouſly to its being put into bags, in order to have it entirely pure, and free from extraneous matter.

it.

it. In this box the indigo bags are laid, and the board with a number of weights on it; but whether this method is better than hanging them in a ſhed to dry is uncertain.

It ſhould have been obſerved, that in the drying ſhed the pieces muſt be carefully turned 3 or 4 times a day, and that 2 young negroes with a buſh, wing, or bunch of feathers, ought to be employed in fanning the flies out of the drying ſhed, as they are hurtful to indigo. Be cautious alſo, in packing it in barrels, not to put it in till it is thoroughly dried.

The dimenſions of a ſet of vats in Carolina are about 16 feet ſquare, and 3 feet deep in the clear, for the ſteeper; and the battery 12 feet ſquare and 4½ feet deep for every 7 acres of indigo. They make them of 2¾ inch plank of cypreſs, and the joints or ſtuds of live oak; to theſe the planks are well ſecured by 7 inch ſpikes: ſuch a ſet will laſt 7 or 8 years.

The beſt indigo is called flotant or flora; this is light, pure, and approaching to hard; it floats on water, is eaſily inflammable, and is almoſt totally conſumed by fire; the colour is a fine dark blue inclining to violet, and by rubbing it with the nail it aſſumes the colour of old copper. The next beſt is more ponderous, and is called violet, or gorge de pigeon, in alluſion to its colour: theſe two are the beſt for dying or ſtaining linen and cotton. The third kind is of a copper colour, deriving its name from the coppery appearance it exhibits on being broke; this is the weightieſt of all the merchantable indigo, therefore much deſired by the planters, and is moſt uſed for the woollen manufacture.

The inferior ſorts are not worth deſcribing, as they are unſaleable and not fit for uſe; they diſcover themſelves by flintineſs, or a muddy, ſoft, crumbling appearance, accompanied by a dull blue colour, often appearing even like ſlate.

An indigo work ſhould always be remote from the dwelling-houſe, on account of the diſagreeable effluvia of the rotten

rotten weed and the quantity of flies it attracts; by which means it is alſo ſcarce poſſible to keep any animal on an indigo plantation in any tolerable caſe, the fly being ſo troubleſome, that even poultry thrive but little where indigo is made: nor is there hardly a poſſibility to live in a houſe nearer than a quarter of a mile to the vats. The ſtench at the work is likewiſe horrid. This is certainly a great inconvenience; but it is the only one to which this profitable buſineſs is ſubject.

Cotton being ſo very uſeful a commodity as ſcarcely to be exceeded by any other, and an article of which we can never raiſe too much; for, like all other things, the more it is multiplied the more its conſumption increaſes; it is proper to be mentioned in this place. Cotton will grow in any ſoil, even the moſt meagre and barren ſand. The ſort to be cultivated here is the goſſypium anniverſarium, or xylon herbaceum; known alſo by the name of green-ſeeded cotton, which grows about 4 or 5 feet in height. Give this plant a dry ſoil, and farther it will coſt you but little trouble or attention. It muſt be planted in rows at regular diſtances about 6 feet apart. Plant the ſeed in rainy weather; and, in about 5 months time, the fibres will be completely formed and the pods fit to gather, which will be known by their being fully expanded. It muſt now be carried to the mill, of which take the following deſcription:

It is a ſtrong frame of 4 ſtuds, each about 4 feet high, and joined above and below by ſtrong tranſverſe pieces. Acroſs this are placed 2 round well-poliſhed iron ſpindles, having a ſmall groove through their whole length, and by means of treddles are by the workman's foot put in directly oppoſite motions to each other. The workman ſits before the frame, having a thin board of 7 or 8 inches wide, and the length of the frame, before him. This board is ſo fixed to the frame, that it may be moved over again, and near the ſpindle. He has the cotton in a baſket beſide him, which he ſpreads with his left hand on this board along the ſpindles,

ſpindles, which by their turning draw the cotton through them, being wide enough to admit the cotton, but too near to permit the ſeed to go through; which, being thus forced to leave the cotton in which it was contained, and by its rough coat entangled, falls on the ground, between the workman's legs, while the cotton drawn through falls on the other ſide into an open bag ſuſpended for that purpoſe under the ſpindles.

The French have much improved this machine by a large wheel which turns 2 of theſe mills at once, and with ſo much velocity as, by means of a boy who turns it, to employ 2 negroes at hard labour to ſhovel the ſeed from under the mill. One of theſe machines captain Bernard Romans, from whom we have this account, ſaw at Mr. Kreb's at Paſca Oocooloo; but, as it was partly taken down, he, claiming the invention, was very cautious in anſwering the queſtions put to him by the captain; he could not pretend to deſcribe it accurately; he was credibly informed, however, that one of thoſe improved mills will deliver 70 or 80 pounds of clean cotton per diem.

The packing is done in large canvaſs bags, which muſt be wetted as the cotton is put in, that it may not hang to the cloth, and may ſlide better down. The bag is ſuſpended between 2 trees, poſts, or beams, and a negro with his feet ſtamps it down. Theſe bags are made to contain from 350 to 400 weight. With about 20 ſlaves, moderately working, a very large piece of poor ground might be finely improved, ſo as to yield to its owner a large annual income by means of a ſtaple which is much in demand in England, and here is raiſed of a quality by no means inferior in whiteneſs and fineneſs, as well as length of fibres, to that of the Levant.

Roots, &c.

Sarſaparilla grows naturally in theſe parts, and it is not inferior in its qualities to that of Mexico. It is ſo well known, that it would be needleſs to enlarge upon it.

Indian

Indian phyſic; ſpiræa trifoliata.

Ipecacuanha; phycotria emetica; is found in almoſt every ſpot of oak-land in this country: it may deſerve to be manufactured from the ſpontaneous root, if not to be cultivated.

Pleuriſy root; aſclepias decumbens.

Virginia ſnake root; ariſtolochia ſerpentaria.

Black ſnake root: actæa racemoſa.

Senega rattleſnake root; polygala ſenega. A bulbous root, like that of the tuberoſe, but twice as large. The leaves of both have the ſame ſhape and the ſame colour, and on the under ſide have ſome flame-coloured ſpots; but thoſe of the rattleſnake plant are twice as large as the others, end in a very firm point, and are armed with hard prickles on both ſides. Its ſtalk grows to the height of about 3 feet, and from the head riſe 5 or 6 ſprigs in different directions, each bearing a purple flower an inch broad, with 5 leaves in the form of a cup. After theſe leaves are ſhed there remains a head about the bigneſs of a ſmall nut, but ſhaped like the head of a poppy. This head is ſeparated into 4 diviſions, each containing 4 black ſeeds, equally thick throughout, and about the ſize of a large lentil. When the head is ripe, it will, when ſhaken, give the ſame ſound as the tail of the rattleſnake, as if to indicate the property of the plant; for it is the ſpecific remedy againſt the bite of that dangerous reptile. The perſon who has been bit ſhould immediately take a root, bite off part of it, chew it for ſome time, and apply it to the wound; in 5 or 6 hours it will extract the poiſon, and no bad conſequences need be apprehended.

Valerian; valeriana locuſta radiata.

Ginſeng; phanax quinquefolium.

Caſſava; iatropha urens.

Granadillas; paſſiflora incarnata.

Flat root receives its name from the form of its root, which

which is thin, flat, pretty often indented, and ſometimes even pierced through: it is a line, or at times 2 lines in thickneſs; and its breadth is commonly a foot and a half. From this large root hang ſeveral other ſmall ſtraight roots which draw the nouriſhment from the earth. This plant, which grows in meadows that are not very rich, ſends up from the ſame root ſeveral ſtraight ſtalks about 18 inches high, that are as hard as wood; and on the top of the ſtalks it bears ſmall purpliſh flowers, in their figure greatly reſembling thoſe of heath; its ſeed is contained in a deep cup cloſed at the head, and in a manner crowned. Its leaves are about an inch broad, and about 2 long, without any indentions, of a dark green inclining to brown. It is ſo ſtrong a ſudorific, that the natives never uſe any other for promoting perſpiration, although they are perfectly well acquainted with ſaſſafras, ſarſaparilla, the eſquine, and others.

Eſquine. The eſquine partly reſembles a creeper and partly a bramble. It is furniſhed with hard ſpikes like prickles, and its oblong leaves reſemble thoſe of the common creeper. Its ſtalk is ſtraight, long, ſhining, and hard; and it runs up along the reeds. Its root is ſpungy, and ſometimes as large as one's head, but more long than round. Beſides the ſudorific virtue which the eſquine poſſeſſes in common with the ſarſaparilla, it has the property of making the hair to grow, and the women among the natives uſe it ſucceſsfully with this view. They cut the roots into ſmall bits, boil them in water, and waſh their heads with the decoction. Several of them are ſeen with their hair reaching below their knees, and even down to their ancles.

Madder; rubia tinctorum. This root is one of the moſt uſeful ingredients in dying wool and ſtuffs red, as alſo cotton of an agreeable bloom colour, and conſequently in general requeſt for the different manufactures at home and abroad. It is likewiſe ſaid, that madder is an excellent food for cattle, that it increaſes milk, and cauſes the butter to take

a pleaſant

a pleaſant colour and flavour; it is ſometimes cut for hay, and we are told that it makes an excellent fodder. This plant undoubtedly deſerves our attention, eſpecially as the many attempts to grow it to advantage in England ſeem for the moſt part unſucceſsful. Many different kinds of madder have been tried for this purpoſe; but none have yet proved of real uſe except the rubia tinctorum ſativa of C. Bauhine, which is the ſort cultivated in Zealand, and ſome part of Flanders.

The ground in which madder thrives beſt ſeems to be a deep black mould, in ſomething of a low ſituation, which ſhould not have a clay foundation, but rather ſand or gravel: the land in Zealand is, and that on the river Amite ſeems to be, in general of this kind. It is cultivated in Zealand by off-ſets, or ſhoots, which they take from an old plantation, and replant immediately in rows, about 18 inches apart; the young plants have each a diſtance of 4 inches allowed them, and the ground is divided into beds of 12 feet wide, leaving a ditch of about 20 inches between them: this is done in the beginning of May, and great care is taken that no off-ſet is planted, without it be furniſhed with fibres; it being thought that for want of fibres they would miſcarry, which they often do even in the moſt favourable ſeaſons. The greateſt labour the people in Holland ſeem to have in regard to this culture, is the covering the ſtalks, when they attain the height of about 16 inches, leaving only the tops bare, in order to promote the multiplication of roots, which is the part of the plant manufactured and ſold. When this covering is performed, there remains only the attention of weeding, which ought to be done often. The root is generally taken up the ſecond year, but it has been thought that three ſummers are neceſſary for this crop to come to full maturity: the roots that are ſaid to yield the moſt and beſt dye, have been taken up when they had attained about 3-tenths of an inch diameter in ſize. It is

thought that when they grow too large, they yield a dye more inclining to yellow than to red. The lateral fibrous vermicular roots are ſaid to yield a ſuperior dye, but not to pay for the expence neceſſary for gathering them.

From this general ſketch of the madder culture, as it is managed in Holland and Zealand, the reader may ſee, that it is not ſo very expenſive an affair as it is commonly deemed to be; but, like all other things, the cultivation of this plant may be carried on at too coſtly a rate, and it likewiſe may be attempted in too penurious a way. The cultivation by ſets or ſhoots being practiſed in countries where the ſeed does not at all, or very difficultly come to maturity, perhaps the ſeed ſhould be obtained from plants brought and tranſplanted hither; which if productive of ſeed, ought to be ſown in drills, like rice, as probably the moſt eligible method in the moderate climates of theſe provinces. This plant ſeems to be a great impoveriſher of the ſoil; for in Zealand they always allow ſome years between every two crops in the ſame ſpot.

It having lately been advanced, that there was no neceſſity for drying madder; and that, in uſing it green, there is, even in the evaporation of dying matter, a ſaving of one half, beſides the greater ſaving of the expences of a kiln, a mill, a drying-houſe, &c. the reader muſt be informed, that he will find all this to be true; but then it will be neceſſary for him to tranſport the dying-houſes from Europe to our madder-fields, and not the madder to the dyers, in order to enjoy the profits of all this great and œconomical frugality: for, perhaps there is not a plant on earth ſo ſoon inclining to fermentation and putrefaction, which is occaſioned by its ſucculency; yet for the planter's preſent family uſe it is certainly fit to uſe green. As ſoon as the roots have become ſpotted, or black, or loſt a ſtrong ſcent (ſimilar to that of liquorice), they are utterly unfit for any uſe. It will be proper therefore to make a few remarks, neceſſary to be known for the

drying

drying proceſs in theſe countries. A hot ſun-ſhiny day may be uſed to advantage, to dry the roots partially; but, if the weather be not favourable, when the roots are taken up, they muſt be ſpread within doors on a floor, taking care to ſpread them thinly, and ſtir them often: but this will never abſolutely preſerve them from changing, much leſs make them fit for tranſportation to any diſtance. If the crop be ſmall, a baker's oven may ſuffice; but beware of raiſing the heat above 180 degrees of Fahrenheit's thermometer in the place where the roots are put, which ſhould be over the oven: but for larger crops, kilns ſimilar to malt-kilns are neceſſary. Take care to make them roomy, keep an equal and moderate heat, and by all means prevent any the leaſt acceſs of ſmoke to the roots; for which reaſon large ovens would be adviſable, ſuch as the biſcuit-bakers in Holland uſe, as preferable to every other method. A building may be ſo artificially contrived as to contain 13 ovens, viz. 4 on each ſide, 3 at one end, and 2 at the end where the door is, with one general brick floor over all: one or two windows may be ſo contrived us to give acceſs to a ſufficient light. Let us ſuppoſe the oven 10 feet long, by 8 wide, and allow 2 feet for each partition; this will make an oblong apartment of 42 feet by 32 in the clear below, and on the upper floor 52 by 42, room enough for any crop. Provide good brick funnels to your chimnies, and there can be no danger of fire; the reſt of the building may be of timber. In this proceſs madder will loſe 5-ſixths of its weight. When the roots are ſufficiently dried, they muſt be pounded in wooden mortars; for this purpoſe a mill conſtructed exactly like the old-faſhioned rice-mills is very proper, only varying in the ſhape of the lower end of the peſtle or beetle; for in the rice-mills their lower end is in form of an inverted cone; but here the lower end ought not only to terminate in a ſquare, but the but end ought to be cut into ſmall ſquares, ſo as to render the peſtle toothed:

for this reaſon alſo the mortar ſhould be of a different form from the rice-mortar, which laſt is likewiſe an inverted cone, or ſhaped like the ſide of the top of a funnel; whereas this ought to be in form of a hollow globe, which has a neck like a decanter or bottle, in which neck the peſtle ought nearly to fit. To empty the mortars and ſupply them with freſh roots, is a neceſſary occupation during the pounding. The roots ſhould be cleared of their outer bark. It will then be fit for packing into caſks and exportation. Captain Bernard Romans remembers to have heard it ſaid in Holland, that poor people, in order not to be obliged to ſell their ſmall crops to the manufacturer, at his own price, preſerve the roots from fermentation, by burying them between layers of earth in the ground, and that by this means it may be preſerved for any length of time, without perceptible alteration.

Jalap, an article of conſequence in commerce, not only on account of its uſe in medicine, but likewiſe for its univerſal employment in the fermentation of liquors. Europe has hitherto been obliged to import this commodity from Mexico, in which kingdom is a place called Xaleppo or Yaleppo, from whence this drug has its name; the only place where it was ſuppoſed to grow. We have hitherto been at a loſs to know the genus to which it belongs, and many roots of purgative quality have been taken for it, and were ſubſtituted in its room. The late Dr. Houſton introduced it from Mexico into Jamaica; but while he was gone to England, the man whom he left it in care of, ſuffered hogs to deſtroy it: however, this gentleman brought a pencil drawing of it to Europe; but, as this did not ſhew the colour, and the ſeed having been ſown in the botanical garden at Chelſea, without ſucceſs, what it was remained ſtill a ſecret, until captain Bernard Romans found it growing wild near Penſacola; and, being led to think that a certain tuberous root made uſe of by the ſavages as a purgative, might be the

the ſame, he dried ſome ſlices of it, and found it to agree ſo nearly with that drug in appearance, that it induced him to examine all the convolvuli he could find in this country, as he was informed that to that genus the plant belonged. He ſucceeded; and ſamples which he ſent to divers parts of Europe and America, have proved it to be the ſame, and of a good quality. This plant is pretty plentiful in ſome ſpots on the higheſt and drieſt lands; and captain Romans ſuppoſes its cultivation muſt be ſomewhat analogous to that of carrots.

Potatoe. The following liſt will point out the varieties in an aſcending ſcale for goodneſs: 1. Spaniſh, or the original root. 2. Carolina, little ſuperior to the firſt. 3. Brimſtone, from its internal colour, with a red ſkin. 4. Purple potatoe, having that colour throughout, except a very little of the heart. 5. Bermudas, or round white potatoe. The firſt is ſcarce fit for the table, being very fibrous, therefore moſt proper to feed cattle; however, pork of hogs fed with them is but indifferent, and requires to be hardened a conſiderable time with corn. It is remarkable that in pork fed with them the fat always ſeparates wholly from the lean, which is likewiſe the caſe with that fed on the common peruvian potatoe, vulgarly called the iriſh. The fourth and fifth are excellent food, and deſerve a place on every table; the fourth, cut into longitudinal ſlices and fried, is a very good diſh; plainly boiled, they are an excellent ſuccedaneum for bread. The fifth, being leſs ſweet and more dry than the others, are beſt for ſtewing with meat, ſuch as fat pork or beef, or a fat gooſe or duck, to make what is called an haricot: their very mealy texture renders them the moſt proper in room of bread, or to mix with flour and made into bread.

They are a profitable crop, and require a light ſandy ſoil, which muſt be made very clean and mellow: they are planted in beds or hills, being propagated from pieces that have what

they call an eye in them; they require 2 or 3 hoeings, and with this management will produce from 300 to 500 buſhels per acre; even the laſt, if we reckon 10 hills neceſſary to make a buſhel. About July, in rainy weather, ſlips are taken from them, and planted in beds to procure a crop of ſmall ones for next year's ſeed. The very ſame treatment is here neceſſary for the peruvian potatoe, but it wants oftener covering, becauſe the heat of the ſummer ſun would ſtrengthen the poiſonous juices (with which this genus of nightſhade abounds), in thoſe that might be expoſed to the air; therefore they are unfit for the field in this climate: nor will they bear to be kept any time but in the garden. They will yield 6 or 8 crops yearly, of a very good kind for the table.

Fruits, &c.

Mulberry; morus. Capt. Romans, among his botanic articles, gives the deſcription of one of this claſs, which he believes to be the morus papyrifera, and which he diſtinguiſhes by the name of, morus foliis palmatis, cortice filamentoſa, fructu nigro, radice tinctoria; that is, with hand-ſhaped leaves, a thready bark, black fruit, and the root containing a dye. This tree is found in abundance in the north-weſtern parts of Florida. The Chactaws put its inner bark in hot water along with a quantity of aſhes, and obtain filaments, with which they weave a kind of cloth not unlike a coarſe hempen cloth. If the bark were boiled in a ſtrong alkaline lixivium, there is little doubt but a very fine and durable thread of the nature of cotton, flax, or hemp, might be obtained: the root of this ſame tree likewiſe yields an excellent yellow dye. But the article muſt be here treated of which is moſt commonly known to be produced by means of the mulberry-tree: this is ſilk. A very ſhort time, about 6 weeks in the year, will ſuffice for all the labour requiſite to acquire this valuable article; and that labour is ſo light

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as only needs children to attend it. The gathering of the leaves being the moſt laborious part of the buſineſs, it would be adviſable to ſow the ſeed as it were at broad-caſt, ſo that it may ſpring up in form of wide hedges of about 10 feet breadth, leaving a lane of 2 feet between each pair: by this management the leaves may be gathered by means of a pair of ſhears; or, if the hedges are narrower, the hand may do it, without the diſagreeable neceſſity of climbing trees, which is always more or leſs attended with ſome danger; and, as this is a female employment, is not ſo proper. Mulberry-buſhes will grow thus, and yield abundance of leaves; and therefore this method is preferable to groves or orchards, which take up much room, and have a dirty effect during the fruit ſeaſon.

All the ſpecies of mulberry-trees grow kindly in theſe latitudes, and ſome people pretend the white kind to be beſt; but on ſtrict inquiry it cannot be aſcertained in what manner this affects the worms; however, it would be highly adviſable for the ſilk-planter to be very cautious, if he has one in his nurſery, ſtrictly to baniſh the other; becauſe this change of leaves is doubtleſs the occaſion of ſome of the diſeaſes attending the worms. The remainder of the ſilk culture is no more than to keep the worms well fed, and the apartment where they are kept thoroughly clean. When they begin to acquire a certain tranſparency, the period of their ſpinning or reſolving themſelves into a chryſalis is at hand; then it is neceſſary to put up bundles of ſome ſlight thin twigs between the ſhelves. The wild or dog's fennel affords a ready and proper material for it: on this the worms will naturally enough mount, and pitch on a place where to metamorphoſe themſelves into a cocoon. In Georgia they have a filature, and likewiſe at Puryſburg; but it will be neceſſary here to ſubjoin the following account of its preparation for the manufactory: 1. The cocoons are to be put into an oven juſt hot enough to deprive

the chryſalis it involves of life, without hurting the fibres of the cocoon. A heat ſomething below boiling water on Fahrenheit's ſcale will effect this: without this precaution the inſect eats its way out, and deſtroys the thread of ſilk. 2. It muſt then be put into a copper with water juſt on the point of boiling, and kept ſo; this will diſcharge the glutinous matter from the cocoon, and diſcover the end of the clue: then, taking ſeveral of theſe ends together, they are to be gently reeled off, and afterwards ſpun and prepared for the loom. This proceſs is hurtful to the elaſticity and ſtrength of the ſilk, though it does not deprive it of its gloſs: therefore, if we could obtain the knowledge how the raw ſilk is managed in the Levant, it would be the moſt eligible way; all we know about this method is, that it is performed without hot water: this is called raw ſilk, and comes in bales to England and other manufacturing countries. The refuſe cocoons, either damaged by the inſect or otherwiſe, are carded in Europe, and are then improperly ſtyled raw ſilk; this ſhould not be confounded with the above-named from the Levant, being by no means equal to it. After the ſilk is reeled off, we find ſome irregular coarſer kind on the inner diviſion of the cocoon; damaged cocoons are mixed with this, as alſo the inner diviſion next over the chryſalis, after being ſteeped in warm water to diſſipate its gelatinous parts; this mixture is carded, and called floretting. All theſe carded ſilks loſe their luſtre by that proceſs.

Green river plum.

Barren, or red plum.

Cherokee plum; prunus ſylveſtris fructu minori.

Wild cherry; prunus virginiana.

Wild crab-apple; pyrus coronaria. Apples and pears are here of very good quality, but are never likely to become an object of attention by growing in quantities ſufficient to make cider and perry; but peaches grow here of the fineſt flavour,

flavour, and in the higheſt perfection, on ſtandard trees, and therefore are fit to be planted in orchards. It is well known that hogs fattened with them make an excellent pork; the ſuperfluous quantity would not be ill employed that way: but, as in Virginia they have ſet us the example, why can we not alſo diſtil their juices; and, by means of that ſpirit which becomes excellent by age, at leaſt partially baniſh the money-draining uſeleſs article rum? This tree ſhould be grafted, not ſo much on account of the choice of fruit (this country produces no indifferent ones), as becauſe the tree in this climate, eſpecially in ſandy ſoils, is not ſo laſting when raiſed from the nut, as when grafted on its own or any other proper ſtock.

Perſimmon; dioſpyros virginiana. The perſimmon, which the French call placminier, very much reſembles the medlar tree in its leaf and wood: its flower, which is about an inch and a half broad, is white, and is compoſed of 5 petals; its fruit is about the ſize of a large hen's egg; it is ſhaped like the medlar, but its ſubſtance is ſweeter and more delicate. This fruit is aſtringent; when it is quite ripe, the natives make bread of it, which they keep from year to year; and the bread has this remarkable property, that it will ſtop the moſt violent looſeneſs or dyſentery; therefore it ought to be uſed with caution, and only after phyſic. The natives, in order to make this bread, ſqueeze the fruit over fine ſieves, to ſeparate the pulp from the ſkin and the kernels. Of this pulp, which is like paſte or thick pap, they make cakes about a foot and a half long, a foot broad, and a finger's breadth in thickneſs: theſe they dry in an oven, upon gridirons, or elſe in the ſun; which laſt method of drying gives a greater reliſh to the bread.

There are various kinds of grapes. It were needleſs to attempt to deſcribe them all; as indeed it would be impoſſible to be ſufficiently acquainted with them all. I ſhall only ſpeak of three or four. The firſt ſort that I ſhall

mention

mention does not perhaps properly deſerve the name of a grape, although its wood and its leaf greatly reſemble the vine. This ſhrub bears no cluſters, and you hardly ever ſee upon it above two grapes together. The grape in ſubſtance and colour is very like a violet damaſk plum, and its ſtone, which is always ſingle, greatly reſembles a nut. Though not highly flavoured, it has not, however, that diſagreeable ſharpneſs of the grape that grows in the neighbourhood of New-Orleans.

On the edge of the ſavannahs or meadows we meet with a grape, the ſhoots of which reſemble thoſe of the burgundy grape. They make from this a tolerably good wine, if they take care to expoſe it to the ſun in ſummer, and to the cold in winter. This experiment has been made, but it never could be turned into vinegar. There is another kind of grape which may without heſitation be claſſed with the grapes of Corinth, commonly called currants. It reſembles them in the wood, the leaf, the tree, the ſize, and the ſweetneſs. Its tartneſs is owing to its being prevented from ripening by the thick ſhade of the large trees to which it twines. If it were planted and cultivated in an open field, there is not the leaſt doubt but it would equal the grape of Corinth, with which it has been claſſed. Muſcadine grapes, of an amber colour, of a very good kind, and very ſweet, have been found upon declivities of a good expoſure, even ſo far north as lat. 31. There is the greateſt probability that excellent wine might be made of theſe, as it cannot be doubted but the grapes are capable of being brought to great perfection in this country, ſince, in the moiſt ſoil of New-Orleans, the cuttings of the grape which ſome of the inhabitants of that city brought from France, have ſucceeded extremely well, and afforded good wine.

Scarlet ſtrawberries; fragaria virginiana; of an excellent flavour, and ſo plentiful, that from the beginning of April the ſavannahs appear quite red with them.

Whortle-

Whortleberries; vaccinium uliginoſum. The blue whortleberry is a ſhrub ſomewhat taller than the engliſh gooſeberry buſhes, which are left to grow at random. Its berries are of the ſhape of a gooſeberry, grow ſingle, and are of a blue colour: they taſte like a ſweetiſh gooſeberry, and when ſteeped in brandy make a good dram. Several virtues are attributed to this berry. It loves a poor gravelly ſoil.

Wild gooſeberries; ribes groſſularia.

Cranberries; vaccinium oxycoccos.

Black raſpberries; rubus occidentalis.

May-apple. This apple is produced from an annual plant which is among the firſt vegetables that come forward in the ſpring; it is about 10 or 12 inches high, advancing rapidly to maturity, and the apple grows much in the manner of the potatoe ſeed, and is nearly of the ſame ſize. When ripe it is of the colour of a pale orange. The pulp is of a ſucculent nature, without any ſeed, and its flavour very much like the pine-apple. It is ripe early in June.

Acimene. This fruit grows upon a ſhrub, and is from 4 to 5 inches in length, and from 1 to 1½ diameter. The pulp is ſweet and tender. It ripens in July.

Peakimine; a ſpecies of plum, nearly the ſize of the mogul-plum, but more delicious.

Papaw. This fruit grows upon a tree from 12 to 26 feet high. It is in ſhape more like a ſeed cucumber than any thing elſe. It is ripe about midſummer. Its pulp is yellow, and ſomewhat of the conſiſtence of an indifferent melon, and its flavour very much like a cuſtard; but it is too luſcious to be agreeable; though, when boiled green, it is good eating: but the rind, which is eaſily ſtripped off, leaves on the fingers ſo ſharp an acid, that if you touch your eye with them before you waſh them, it will be immediately inflamed, and itch inſupportably for 24 hours after.

NUT-TREES, &c.

Scaly bark hiccory; juglans alba cortice ſquamoſo.

Common

Common hiccory; juglans alba fructu minore rancido.

There are a variety of other kinds of hiccory which have not been designated. The hiccory bears a very small kind of nut, which at first sight one would take for filberts, as they have the same shape and colour, and their shell is as tender; but within they are formed like walnuts. They have such an excellent taste, that the French make fried cakes of them as good as those of almonds.

Black walnut; juglans nigra.

White walnut; juglans alba.

In this country are great numbers and a variety of kinds of walnut-trees. There is a very large kind, the wood of which is almost as black as ebony, but very porous. The fruit, with the outer shell, is of the size of a large hen's egg: the shell has no cleft, is very rough, and so hard as to require a hammer to break it. Though the fruit be very well tasted, yet it is covered with such a thick film, that few can bestow the pains of separating the one from the other. The natives make bread of it, by throwing the fruit into water, and rubbing it till the film and oil be separated from it. If these trees were grafted with the french walnut, their fruit would probably be improved. Other walnut-trees have a very white and flexible wood. Of this wood the natives make their crooked spades for hoeing their fields. The nut is smaller than the english, and the shell more tender; but the fruit is so bitter, that none but parroquets can put up with it.

Chesnut; fagus pumila. The large chesnuts are not to be met with but at the distance of 100 leagues from the sea, and far from rivers in the heart of the woods, between the country of the Chactaws and that of the Chicasaws. The common chesnuts succeed best upon high declivities, and their fruit is like the chesnuts that grow in the woods of France. There is another kind of chesnuts which are called the acorn chesnut, from its shape, and growing in a cup like the acorn. But they have the colour and taste of a chesnut;

cheſnut; and, if the firſt men lived upon acorns, as we are told, it was moſt probably theſe.

Hazel nut; corylus avellana. The Carolina ground-nut alſo grows low down on the Miſſiſſippi; and the peccane in the Illinois, in the county of Cumberland, and everywhere near the mouth of the Ohio. It is about two-thirds of the ſize of an engliſh walnut, and the ſhell is ſmooth and tender. Mr. Jefferſon deſignates it thus: juglans alba, foliolis lanceolatis, acuminatis, ſerratis, tomentoſis, fructu minore, ovato, compreſſo, vix inſculpto, dulci, putamine tenerrimo.

Poke; phytolacca decandra. Plane-tree; platanus occidentalis. Lime-tree; zilia americana. Poplar; lirioden-dron tulipifera. Black poplar; populus nigra. The cotton tree (a poplar) is a large tree which nowiſe deſerves the name it bears, unleſs for ſome beards that it throws out. Its fruit, which contains the grain, is about the ſize of a walnut, and of no uſe: its wood is yellow, ſmooth, ſomewhat hard, of a fine grain, and very proper for cabinet work. The bark of its root is a ſovereign remedy for cuts, and ſo red that it may even ſerve to dye that colour.

Red flowering maple; acer rubrum. Umbrella tree; magnolia tripetala. Buck-eye; æſculus. Aſpen; populus tremula. Reed, or cane; arundo phragmitis. Locuſt; robinia pſeudo acacia: the acacia is the ſame in Louiſiana as in France, much more common, and leſs ſtraight. The natives call it by a name that ſignifies hard wood; and they make their bows of it, becauſe it is very tough. They look upon it as an incorruptible wood, which induced the french ſettlers to build their houſes of it. The poſts fixed in the earth muſt be entirely ſtripped of their bark; for, notwithſtanding their hardneſs, if the leaſt bark be left upon them they will take root.

Honey locuſt; gleditſia. Barberry; berberis vulgaris. Dogwood; cornus florida. Snowdrop tree; chionanthus virgi-

virginiana. Holly; ilex aquifolium. Swamp laurel; magnolia acuminata. Portugal bay; laurus indica. Catalpa; bignonica catalpa. Wild pimento; laurus benzion. Red bud; cernis canadenſis. Saſſafras; laurus ſaſſafras. Common laurel of this country. Such numbers of lauri being found indigenous in America, it may not be amiſs to hint at the pimento or jamaica pepper, as very proper to be introduced wherever it will be found to thrive, which would prove a very profitable article. All the ſouth parts of Louiſiana abound with the wild laurel, which grows in the woods without any cultivation: the ſame may be ſaid of the ſtone laurel; but if a perſon be not on his guard, he may take for the laurel a tree natural to the country, which would communicate its bad ſmell to every thing it were applied to. Among the laurels the preference ſhould be given to the tulip laurel [magnolia], which is not known in Europe. This tree is of the height and bulk of one of the common engliſh walnut-trees. Its head is naturally very round, and ſo thick of leaves, that neither the ſun nor rain can penetrate it. Its leaves are full 4 inches long, near 3 inches broad, and very thick, of a beautiful ſea-green on the upper ſide, and reſembling white velvet on the under: its bark is ſmooth and of a grey colour; its wood is white, ſoft, and flexible, and the grain interwoven. It owes its name to its great white flowers, which are at leaſt 2 inches broad. Theſe appearing in the ſpring amidſt the gloſſy verdure of the leaves, have a moſt beautiful effect. As the top is naturally round, and the leaves are evergreen, avenues of this tree would doubtleſs be worthy of a royal garden. After it has ſhed its leaves, its fruit appears in the ſhape of a pine-apple; and, upon the firſt approach of the cold, its grain turns into a lively red. Its kernel is very bitter, and it is ſaid to be a ſpecific againſt fevers.—The ſaſſafras, the name of which is familiar to botaniſts on account of its medicinal qualities, is a large and tall tree. Its bark is thick, and

cracked

cracked here and there; its wood is ſomewhat of the colour of cinnamon, and has an agreeable ſmell. It will not burn in the fire without the mixture of other wood; and even in the fire, if it ſhould be ſeparated from the flaming wood, it is immediately extinguiſhed, as if it were dipped in water.

Cockſpur; cratœgus coccinea. Red bay; laurus borbonia. Dwarf roſe bay; rhododendron maximum. Spindle tree; euonymus americanus. Alder; ſambucus nigra. Candleberry myrtle; myrica cerifera. The myrtle wax tree is one of the greateſt bleſſings with which nature has enriched Louiſiana; as in this country the bees lodge their honey in the earth, to ſave it from the ravages of the bears, who are very fond of it, and do not regard their ſtings. One would be apt to take it at firſt ſight, both from its bark and its height, for that kind of laurel uſed in the kitchens. It riſes in ſeveral ſtems from the root; its leaf is like that of the laurel, but not ſo thick, nor of ſuch a lively green. It bears its fruit in bunches like a noſegay, riſing from the ſame place in various ſtalks about 2 inches long: at the end of each of theſe ſtalks is a little pea, containing a kernel in a nut, which laſt is wholly covered with wax. The fruit, which is very plentiful, is eaſily gathered, as the ſhrub is very flexible. The tree thrives as well in the ſhade of other trees as in the open air; in watry places and cold countries, as well as in dry grounds and hot climates; for it has been ſaid that ſome of them are to be found in Canada, a country as cold as Denmark. This tree yields two kinds of wax, one a whitiſh yellow and the other green. It was a long time before they learned to ſeparate them, and they were prepared at firſt in the following manner: They threw the grains and the ſtalks into a large kettle of boiling water, and when the wax was detached from them, they ſkimmed off the grains. When the water cooled, the wax floated in a cake at the top, and being cut ſmall, bleached in a ſhorter time than bees-wax. It is now prepared in this manner:

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They throw boiling water upon the ſtalks and grains, till they are entirely floated; and, when they have ſtood thus a few minutes, they pour off the water, which carries the fineſt wax with it. This wax, when cold, is of a pale yellow colour, and may be bleached in 6 or 7 days. Having ſeparated the beſt wax, they pour the water again upon the ſtalks and grains, and boil all together till they think they have ſeparated all the wax. This wax is ſo brittle and dry, that if it falls it breaks into ſeveral pieces; on this account, however, it is the more durable. It would be adviſable for thoſe who prepare this wax to ſeparate the grain from the ſhort ſtalk before they boil it, as the ſtalk is greener than the grain, and ſeems to part eaſily with its colour. The water which ſerves to melt and ſeparate the wax is far from being uſeleſs. The fruit communicates to it ſuch an aſtringent virtue, as to harden the tallow that is melted in it, to ſuch a degree, that the candles made of that tallow are as firm as the common wax candles uſed in London. This aſtringent quality likewiſe renders it an admirable ſpecific againſt the dyſentery or looſeneſs. From this brief account of the myrtle wax tree, it may well be believed that in Louiſiana it is carefully cultivated and grown in plantations. M. le Page du Pratz had ſome ſeeds of the wax-tree brought him to Fontenai le Comte in Poictou, ſome of which he gave to ſeveral of his friends; but not one of them came up. He began to reflect, that Poictou being by far not ſo warm as Louiſiana, theſe ſeeds would have difficulty to ſhoot; he therefore thought it might be neceſſary to ſupply by art the defect of nature: he procured horſe, cow, ſheep, and pigeon's dung, in equal quantities, all which he put in a veſſel of proportionable ſize, and poured water on them, almoſt boiling, in order to diſſolve their ſalts: this water he drew off, and ſteeped the grains in a ſufficient quantity thereof for 48 hours; after which he ſowed them in a box full of good earth. Seven of them came up, and made ſhoots between 7 and 8 inches high;

high; but they were all killed by the froſt, from the omiſſion of putting them into the green-houſe. This ſeed having ſuch difficulty to come up, he preſumes that the wax, in which it is wrapped up, hinders the moiſture from penetrating into, and making its kernel ſhoot; and therefore he thinks that thoſe who chooſe to ſow it, would do well if they previouſly rolled it lightly between two ſmall boards juſt rough from the ſaw; this friction would cauſe the pellicle of wax to ſcale off with ſo much the greater facility, as it is naturally very dry; and then it might be put to ſteep.

Sumach; rhus; highly neceſſary in dying and tanning, which is much uſed in preparing turkey leather. Several kinds grow in the ſouthern parts of America, and therefore it is worth our while to inquire into the matter, to know which kind is uſed for this purpoſe. The plant is alſo known in medicine. The large kind is employed to make into vinegar; and we are told by the French, that a piece of the wood put into a caſk of weak or faded vinegar, or even water, will produce an intenſely ſharp vinegar. As a hint to travellers in the ſouthern parts of America, where the diſtance between the ſettlements often obliges us to carry our proviſions with us, they may be aſſured, that the fruit of this ſpecies, ſteeped a very ſhort time in water, communicates to it a very agreeable acid flavour, which will render it very fit for making punch; which grateful beverage proves a great refreſhment on a hot day, in the woods. Another kind poſſeſſes a noxious quality: this grows in low grounds; beware therefore of making ſpits of this to roaſt meat on, and take it for a general rule not to employ any wood (unleſs you are well acquainted with it) growing in low grounds, for that purpoſe, as almoſt all the noxious plants, of this country, are found in ſuch ſituations. In high grounds you may indiſcriminately uſe any wood (which has no bad taſte) for that purpoſe.

Satin wood tree.

Coffee tree. Its culture throughout all the ſettlements where it is raiſed, is now by the young ſhoots obtained from the larger trees; but originally it was introduced by ſeed, which being ſoaked for about 24 hours, is then planted in tubs, pots, or beds, at about 3 inches diſtance, covered lightly with earth, and carefully watered when no rain happens to fall. The plant uſually appears in about a fortnight; when the young plants have attained the height of 8 or 10 inches, a rainy day is watched to tranſplant them into a walk, as it is here called, and anſwers to the engliſh orchards; the ground is here carefully cleared of all manner of roots and plants, and turned up at leaſt a ſpit deep. About 12 feet is the diſtance that ought to be left between every two plants. The growth of coffee is quick, provided the ground be kept clean; but perhaps no plant is ſooner hurt than this by too luxuriant a growth of weeds or plants round or near it. The ſecond year eddos or taniers *, or even potatoes, may be planted among them; which will be a means of raiſing proviſions by the ſame labour that is neceſſary to keep the ground clean. This plant bears fruit ſufficient to defray the yearly expences at the end of the third year; its produce will then increaſe until the ſeventh year, and after this it will continue to bear in a degree nearly equal, until about the fortieth year of its age, when it begins to decay. If any of the young plants ſhould fail, they ought immediately to be replaced by others. In the dutch colonies, when a coffee walk decays, they root out the trees, and let the ground lie fallow for 10 years, or upwards; during which time it affords paſture for cattle, and afterwards it is turned into a cocoa walk, or cotton plantation. The ordinary height of this tree is from 12 to 16 feet; in the dutch colonies they are lopped, to reduce them to a kind of eſpaliers, for the eaſier gathering of the fruit. When the coffee has attained to maturity, it is carried to drying ſheds,

* Eddo or tanier is a ſpecies of eſculent arum, well known in Eaſt Florida, and is good food for negroes.

which

which are conſtructed in the dutch colonies on the following plan: The area of the ground generally applied to this uſe is 70 feet by 30; a brick foundation of 4, 5, or 6 feet high, is firſt laid to raiſe the building from the ground; on this the ſuperſtructure is placed of timber, being of two ſtories; the upper floor being about 12 feet above the lower. In each ſide of the building are from 12 to 16 large windows, likewiſe 2 at each end, on either ſide of large doors; all which is neceſſary to give a free acceſs to the air, to prevent the coffee from heating or ſhooting. In the lower part of the building a kind of drawers, of about 6 feet ſquare, are ſo contrived, as to be drawn without-ſide the building, where they reſt in wooden rollers or blocks: theſe drawers receive the coffee after the drying floor, and in fine weather are drawn out, but puſhed back the moment it begins to rain. By this contrivance a large quantity is, as it were, inſtantly ſheltered from ruin; no other invention can be ſo expeditious. The building muſt be furniſhed with 2 pieces of ſquare timber, of the length of 25 or 30 feet, and about 18 or 24 inches thick, made of hard wood: in theſe a row of mortars is ſunk, to beat the coffee in, peſtles or beatles for the ſame, fanning mills to clean the coffee, ſhovels for turning it often while it lies on the upper floor; a competent number of baſkets, of different ſizes, and a pair of ſcales with weights. Before this building there are generally one or two platforms, from 40 to 50 feet ſquare, called drying floors, intended to take all benefit of the fine drying weather during the coffee harveſt. Adjoining to the building is generally a ſmaller one, containing a cooper's ſhop and a mill, called a breaking mill, through which the new-gathered coffee paſſes, to deprive the grain of its pulp or red outer ſkin; after coming from this mill, it is ſoaked during one night in water, and next day ſpread upon the drying floors, where it remains till the air and wind have

ſufficiently dried it; if rain ſhould happen to fall, it is quickly gathered into heaps, and covered with ſear-cloth. The coffee, being thus dried, is put into the drawers, where it is left till thoroughly dry; from hence it is carried into the loft (being now ſurrounded only with a thin ſemi-tranſparent huſk over each pair of ſeeds), where it is left till the whole crop is gathered; the harveſt laſting frequently 2 months. While it remains in the loft it muſt be daily turned, to prevent its heating, and in good weather all the air poſſible muſt be admitted. After harveſt it is again returned into the drawers, and left there for 3 or 4 days, in order to become totally dry; it is then pounded or beat in the above-mentioned mortars by hand, to deprive it of the thin inner huſk, which involves every pair of ſeeds: after this it is fanned, and when fanned, the broken grains are ſeparated from the whole; which laſt are put in bales, or caſks, for the market. With all this ſeeming trouble a coffee walk is more eaſily attended than a ſugar plantation, and is ſaid to be full as profitable.

Dwarf laurel; calmia latifolia. American aloe; agave virginica. Ivy; hedera quinquefolia. Hemlock fir; pinus canadenſis. Papaw; annona triloba. Trumpet honeyſuckle; lonicera ſemper virens. Upright honeyſuckle; azalea nudiflora. Juniper; juniperus virginica: grows only in the ſouthern parts of the weſtern country. Black oak; quercus nigra. White oak; quercus alba. Red oak; quercus rubra. Willow oak; quercus phellos. Cheſnut oak; quercus prinus. Black-jack oak; quercus aquatica. Ground oak; quercus pumila. Live oak; quercus virginiana. The live oak grows only low down on the Miſſiſſippi, on this ſide of the mountain. It is found in ſuch ſufficient quantity, between the Miſſiſſippi and the river St. Joſeph, as would be equal to build and ſupport a navy ſuperior to the maritime ſtrength of all Europe combined together; and which

is

is acknowledged to be the moſt laſting and beſt calculated for ſhips of war of any kind of timber that has been uſed for that purpoſe.

Sugar tree; acer ſaccharinum: which is the common name throughout this country for the ſugar maple.

Beech; fagus ſylvatica. White aſh; fraxinus alba. Black aſh; fraxinus nigra. Elm; ulmus americana. Slippery elm. Sweet elm; ulmus ſaccharina americana. The elm, beech, lime, and hornbeam, are exactly the ſame as in France; the laſt of theſe trees is very common here. The bark of the lime tree of this country is equally proper for the making of ropes, as the bark of the common lime; but its leaf is twice as large, and ſhaped like an oblong trefoil leaf with the point cut off.

Buttonwood tree. Black birch; betula nigra. White birch; betula alba. Sweet gum; liquidambar ſtyraciflua. The liquidambar, copalm, or maple-leaved ſtorax, is not only extremely common, but it affords a balm, the virtues of which are infinite. Its bark is black and hard, and its wood ſo tender and ſupple, that, when the tree is felled, you may draw from the middle of it rods of 5 or 6 feet in length. It cannot be employed in building or furniture, as it warps continually; nor is it fit for burning on account of its ſtrong ſmell: but a little of it in the fire yields an agreeable perfume. Its leaf is indented with 5 points like a ſtar. The ſtorax is produced by boiling the branches.

White pine; pinus ſtrobus; grows only in the mountainous country. Yellow pine; pinus virginica, grows alſo in the mountains. Spruce pine; pinus foliis ſingularibus; grows moſtly upon the precipices of river banks, upon the ſides of high hills, and never in the champaign country.

Cypreſs; cupreſſus diſticha. White cedar; cupreſſus thyoides; both grow in abundance in the country contiguous to the gulf of Mexico; but in the country high up the rivers, very few of them are to be found.

The beſt ſoil produces little timber but the locuſt, cherry, walnut, buck-eye, ſugar-tree, elm, beech, aſh, ſatin wood, and papaw: the middle rate land oaks, hiccory, dogwood, ſome ſugar trees, and beech. What we call indifferent land affords moſtly black and red oaks, ſome hiccory, gum, &c. and the more broken and hilly country (I mean the worſt land), black-jack oak, fir, &c.

There is a variety of ſhrubs in every part of the country, the principal of which are the myrtle and ſpice-berry; and a number of different kinds of graſs, &c. that I am unable to deſcribe; for indeed they have not all obtained popular names: and I am too ignorant of botany, as I have confeſſed, to attempt to claſs them; which, perhaps, is the fineſt field now open to a man of genius, in the ſcience of botany, upon the face of the globe.

Buffon, Kalm, d'Aubenton, Cateſby, and Pennant, have all touched upon the natural hiſtory of America. The firſt and laſt have confined themſelves chiefly to the deſcription of animals; and as they are juſtly admired for their talents, I ſhall confine myſelf merely to giving you a liſt of the wild animals which are common to the weſtern country; and refer you to their works for the natural hiſtory. Such errors as Buffon had been drawn into by prejudice, Mr. Jefferſon has ably confuted.

Buffalo, is common between lat. 42 and 37. Mooſe elk, to the north of lat. 43. Elk, round-horned, between lat. 40 and 36. Caribou, to the north of lat. 43. Red deer, to the ſouth of lat. 40. Roe, to the north of lat. 40. Fallow deer, to the north of lat. 42. Bear, wild cat, and wolf, in every part of this country. Glutton, to the north of lat. 42. Lynx, to the ſouth of lat. 40. Beaver, to the north of lat. 37. Otter, between lat. 45 and 36. Red fox, to the north of lat. 39. Grey fox, to the ſouth of lat. 40. Hedgehog, to the north of lat. 40. Martin, to the north of lat. 38. Weaſel, to the ſouth of the lakes.

Water-

Water-rat, between lat. 42 and 36. Marmotte and flying ſquirrel, to the ſouth of lat. 40. Fox ſquirrel, between lat. 39 and 36. Black ſquirrel, between lat. 39 and 42. Red ſquirrel, to the ſouth of lat. 40. Great grey ſquirrel, to the north of lat. 38. Little grey ſquirrel, between lat. 38 and 32. Ground ſquirrel, between lat. 40 and 36. Mink, to the ſouth of lat. 44. Shrew-mouſe, to the ſouth of lat. 43. Raccoon, to the ſouth of the lakes as far as lat. 37. Opoſſum, to the ſouth of lat. 41. Viſon and ſkunk, between lat. 43 and 36. Congar and rabbit, every part of this country; but no where ſo numerous as on the other ſide of the mountain.—[N B. There is not a wild hare in all America.] Mouffette ſquaſh, and mouffette chinche, between lat. 43 and 36. Panther, to the north of lat. 33. Wood-chuck, between lat. 39 and 44. Porcupine, to the north of lat. 42. Dormouſe, to the north of lat. 40. There are, beſides moles, mice, and bats, ſeveral other animals in the extreme parts of the country. I have omitted ſaying any thing reſpecting them, as I could not do it with ſufficient accuracy; but you will find in Mr. Jefferſon's liſt of the aboriginal animals of America, an account of the whole of them.

I have already taken notice of the great bones which have been found in this country; but, as I was not minute as to the eſtimate of their ſize, I ſhall juſt remark, that it was the opinion of your celebrated anatomiſt, the late Dr. Hunter, from an examination of the tuſks, that the mammouth was an animal entirely different from the elephant; and Mr. Jefferſon, who ſeems to have examined the ſkeleton with curious attention, ſays: "the bones beſpeak an animal of 5 or 6 times the cubic volume of the elephant, as M. de Buffon has admitted." And I have been informed by a gentleman who attended the lectures of Mr. Cline, in London, that this ingenious anatomiſt uſed to produce one

of the tuſks of the mammouth, when he was lecturing, and declared that the animal muſt have been carnivorous.

In my account of the birds of this country, I ſhall moſtly give you the Linnæan deſignation, in preference to Cateſby's, though this latter is moſt general.

Bald eagle; falco leucocephalus. Turkey buzzard; vultur aurea. Sparrow hawk; falco ſparverius. Forked-tail hawk; falco furcatus. Pigeon hawk; falco columbarius. Fiſhing hawk; accipiter piſcatorius. Field martin. Little owl; ſtrix aſio. Tyrant martin or king-bird; laninus tyrannus. Perroquet; pſittacus. Red-headed wood-pecker; picus erythrocephalus. Large red-creſted wood-pecker; picus pileatus. White-bill wood-pecker; picus principalis. Gold-winged wood-pecker; picus auratus. Red-bellied wood-pecker; picus carolinus. Small-ſpotted wood-pecker; picus pubeſcens. Yellow-bellied wood-pecker; picus varius. Hairy wood-pecker; picus villoſus. Blue jay; corvus criſtalus. Crow blackbird; gracula quiſcula. Baltimore bird; oriolis baltimore. Baſtard baltimore bird; oriolis ſpurius. Carolina cuckoo; cuculus americanus. Field lark. Red-winged blackbird; ſturnus niger alis ſuperne rubentibus: *Cateſby*. Robin red-breaſt; turdus migratorius. Red thruſh; turdus rufus. Mocking bird; turdus minor cinereo albus non maculatus: *Cateſby*. Little thruſh; turdus minimus: *Cateſby*. Purple finch; fringilla purpurea. Lettuce bird; carduelis americanus. Cowpen bird; paſſer fuſcus: *Cateſby*. Little ſparrow; paſſerculus: *Cateſby*. Towhe bird; fringilla erythrophthalma. Blue linnet; tanagra cyanea. Painted finch; emberiza biris. Rice-bird; emberiza oryzivora. Snow-bird; emberiza hyemalis. Red-bird; loxia cardinalis. Blue groſs beak; loxia cærulea. Creſted fly-catcher; muſcicapa crinita. Summer red-bird; muſcicapa rubra. Red-ſtart; muſcicapa ruticilla. Cat-bird; muſcicapa carolinienſis. Black cap fly-catcher; muſcicapa nigreſcens. Little

tle brown fly-catcher; muſcicapa fuſca. Red eyed fly-catcher; muſcicapa oculis rubris. Blue-bird; motecilla ſialis. Wren; motecilla regulus. Yellow-creſted chatterer; motecilla trochilus. Whip poor Will; caprimulgus minor americanus: *Cateſby*. Great bat, or goatſucker; caprimulgus: *Cateſby*. Houſe martin; hirundo purpurea. American ſwallow; hirundo pelaſgia. Yellow titmouſe; parus carolinienſis. Yellow-throated creeper; parus americanus gutture luteo: *Cateſby*. Hooded titmouſe; parus cucullo nigro. Yellow rump; parus virginianus. Finch creeper; parus americanus. Creſted titmouſe; parus bicolor. Nut-thatch; ſitta capite nigro: *Cateſby*. Small nut-thatch; ſitta capite fuſco: *Cateſby*. Humming-bird; trochilus colubris. Hanging bird. Pine-creeper; certhia pinus. King-fiſher; alcedo alcyon. Kildee; charadrius vociferus. Soree; rallus virginianus. Ground-dove; columba paſſerina. Wild pigeon; columba migratoria. Turtle-dove; columba carolinienſis. Lark; alauda alpeſtris. Night-hawk. Cat-owl. Screech-owl; ſtrix americana: *Booth*. Crow; corvus. Crane; ardea canadenſis. Whet-hawk. Great grey eagle. Feather-head turkey buzzard. Large pouch pelican. Raven. Houſe-ſwallow; hirundo ruſtica: *Jefferſon*. Ground-ſwallow; hirundo riparira: *Jefferſon*. Cormorant. Squatting ſnipe; Whiſtling plover. Woodcock, or mud-hen. Yellow-winged ſnipe. Red bird with black wings. Wagtail. Wild gooſe; anas canadenſis. Buffel-head duck; anas bucephala. Small brown duck; anas ruſtica. White-face teal; anas diſcros. Blue-winged teal. Green-winged teal. Summer duck; anas ſponſa. Blue-winged ſhovler; anas americanus chriſtalus elegans: *Cateſby*. Round-creſted duck; mergus cucullatus. Pied-bill dopchick; colymbus podiceps. Large creſted heron; ardea herodias. Creſted bittern; ardea violacea. Blue heron; ardea cœrulea. Small bittern; ardea vireſcens. Small white heron; ardea æquinoctialis. Indian hen; ardea ſtellaris americana: *Cateſby*. Wood pelican; tantalus

tantalus loculator. White curlew ; tantalus albus. Brown curlew ; tantalus fuſcus.

We have beſides, the duck and mallard, widgeon, canvaſs back, wood duck, black duck, ſprig tail, white-head duck, black-head duck, baldcoot, water pheaſant, mow bird, blue peter, ſwan, loon, mountain pheaſant, or grouſe, which I mentioned in a former letter, quail, wild turkey, &c.

I have now, my dear friend, complied with your wiſh as far as it is in my power. A country ſo new and extenſive requires more time, and more room, than a letter will admit of, to give you a complete idea of its natural hiſtory ; but, I flatter myſelf, it will afford you a general idea upon the ſubject ; and when the unfolding covers of a new creation, juſt burſting from the womb of nature, ſhall draw men of ſcience to trace and inveſtigate the various phænomena which this country exhibits, I have no doubt but the world will receive much pleaſure and inſtruction.

The moment I have been able to collect an accurate account of the preſent numbers of the different tribes of Indians, which have hitherto been conſiderably exaggerated, I will write to you upon the ſubject. In the mean time I ſhall remain,

Your true and affectionate friend.

THIS globe, the earth which we inhabit (ſays governor Pownall), is, in its natural ſtate, in a continued progreſs of exſiccation, and is univerſally, wherever the waters do not prevail, covered with woods ; ſo that, viewing this great continent America (as yet a new world to the land-workers of Europe), we ſee it a country of woods and lakes, or rivers. Except where the land is worn to the bone, and nothing remains on the ſurface but bare rocks, every ſoil, even the pooreſt, has its peculiar clothing of trees or ſhrubs.

There

There are ſpots here and there ſcattered over the face of this country, which, ſeen amongſt the woods from a diſtance, ſeem as though they were plains of cleared land; but theſe are covered with a ſpecies of dwarf or ſhrub oak, which grows about the height of a man's ſhoulder, and bears very good acorns. There are alſo in many, I might ſay moſt, places, between the banks of the rivers and the hills or mountains, through which theſe rivers run, margins of rich meadow land clear of trees: this peculiar ſtate is owing to the annual inundations that theſe meadows are covered with, and to a conſtant accretion of ſoil which is left on the ſurface after the waters retire; theſe the ſettlers call by a very expreſſive name, *interval lands*. In ſome parts, as on the Mohawk and Connecticut river, theſe interval lands are of a ſoil ſo rich, that they may be tilled; ſome have been tilled inceſſantly for a century or more, and yet continue as rich as the vale of Egypt itſelf. I know (continues he) but of one place which is totally without trees, and that is a tract of land upon Long-iſland, in New-York province, called Jamaica or Hampſtead plain, on which a ſhrubby kind of heath only grows.

The particular kind of tree that grows in each tract is always determined by the peculiar ſoil or nidus which is ſuited to produce it in preference to other ſpecies. This does not exclude other ſpecies alſo growing at the ſame time; but ſome one ſpecies always predominates in each tract: the ſoil, therefore, is beſt known, and always deſcribed, by the european ſettlers, from its peculiar vegetation, as, oak-land, birch, beech, or cheſnut-land; pine-barren, maple-ſwamps, cedar-ſwamps. Walnut or hickory, firs, white and red elm, magnolia, locuſts, ſaſſafras, and various other trees, are mixed with all theſe.

The fruits which grow wild, as far as Mr. Pownall's obſervations went, he gives us from his journals. The wild vine of different ſorts, which in general produce a very ſmall

ſmall, ſour, thick-ſkinned grape; but the vines are in their growth luxuriant beyond the conception of thoſe who have not ſeen them. The wild cherry, a tree of which I ſaw, ſays our author, near Seneƈtady, appeared to me one of the largeſt trees I ever ſaw. Mulberry, red and white; but theſe latter are ſcarce. Hickory, or walnuts of various kinds, hazel, wild prune or plum, cheſnuts of different ſorts, wild pear and crab, a kind of cervice or medlar, bilberry, gooſeberry, and ſtrawberry. The individual trees of thoſe woods grow up, have their youth, their old age, and a period to their life, and die as we men do: you will ſee many a ſapling growing up, many an old tree tottering to its fall, and many fallen and rotting away, while they are ſucceeded by others of their ſpecies, juſt as the race of man is: by this ſucceſſion of vegetation, this wilderneſs is kept clothed with woods juſt as the human ſpecies keeps the earth peopled by its continuing ſucceſſion of generations. As it happens to man in the courſe of fate, that ſometimes epidemic diſtempers, deluges, or famine, have ſwept whole nations off at once, ſo here, by a ſimilar fate, epidemic diſtempers, to which even the foreſts are liable, fire and hurricane, have deſtroyed whole tracts of woods at once. Wherever this at any time has happened, one ſees a new generation bearing all the appearance of an european new plantation growing up. If the ſoil has ſuffered no great change, woods of the ſame genus ariſe; if it has undergone any change, either for the better or for the worſe, then, as from a nidus, prepared from a new brood, from a new power of vegetation, we ſee woods of a different ſpecies, which before rarely appeared, and as aliens in the place, now ſpringing up, and poſſeſſing the land as the predominant wood.

If here (continues our ſagacious obſerver) I ſhould attempt to deſcribe the colouring of theſe woods, I ſhould be at a loſs what ſeaſon of the year to chooſe, whether the ſober harmony of greens that the woods in all their various tints diſplay

diſplay in ſummer, or whether the flaunting bluſh of ſpring, when the woods glow with a thouſand hues that the flowering trees and ſhrubs exhibit. If the painter would attempt the real and accurate portrait of theſe woods in autumn, he muſt mix in upon his canvas all the colours of the rainbow, in order to copy all the various and varied dyes which the leaves at the fall aſſume: the red, the ſcarlet, the bright and the deep yellow, the warm brown, the white, which he muſt uſe, would produce a priſmatic motley patchwork, from which the eye would turn away, and which the judgment would not bear; and yet the woods in this embroidered garb have in real nature a richneſs of appearance beyond conception. But this is not the only inſtance; there are many wherein nature will not bear a portrait, and wherein ſhe is never leſs imitated than when ſhe is attempted to be literally copied.

LETTER XI.

MY DEAR FRIEND, *Kentucky.*

YOU will, no doubt, have heard of the defeat of our army, with the particulars, before this will reach you. It is ſurpriſing, that the experience of upwards of 30 years warfare with the Indians, ſhould not have taught us before now, that our ſucceſs or loſs in theſe rencontres was to be expected alone from the abilities or talents of the commanding officer.

From the time of the defeat of general Braddock to the preſent period, the Americans have been ſucceſsful or unſucceſsful in theſe expeditions, in the exact proportion to the knowledge which our generals have had of indian dexterity and ſtratagem.

No

No man is more willing to allow to general St. Clair the merit of being an accompliſhed gentleman, a brave and judicious officer, than I am. But I cannot help lamenting, at the ſame time, that men are not employed upon theſe occaſions (when there are ſo many in the United States), who have from their infancy been accuſtomed to ſuch perils, and practiſed in the neceſſary vigilance, to ward off the effects of that ſingular proweſs of thoſe heroic people.

There is an error ſomewhere. I am afraid that our general confided too much in the comparative ſtrength and diſcipline of his army. It would have been better if he had recollected an expreſſion of the late king of Pruſſia: "However well founded any good opinion of ourſelves may be, ſecurity in war is always dangerous; and rather than be negligent, it is better to take ſuperfluous precaution." Our army certainly was taken by ſurpriſe. They had not time to form when the enemy commenced their attack, which proves the juſtneſs of that great ſoldier's reflection *.

Every

* Since this letter was written, I have been able to aſcertain more particularly the object of the expedition conducted by general St. Clair, and the cauſe of his being defeated.

By the treaty, in which Great Britain acknowledged the independence of the United States, it was ſtipulated and agreed to by Great Britain, that the fortreſſes of Niagara and Detroit ſhould be delivered up to the United States as immediately as it could be done with convenience. Whether it proceeded from the repreſentations made by the government of Canada to the miniſters of Great Britain, or not, I cannot preſume to determine; but it is certain thoſe places are properly conſidered of more importance than was at firſt imagined by the britiſh court; and it is an indubitable truth, the moment they are poſſeſſed by the Americans, that inſtant the engliſh fur trade of Canada will be reduced more than one half of what it is at preſent.

This declaration, as it comes from an American, may be conſidered as impolitic; but I have thrown it out purpoſely to ſhew how little the faith of treaties is to be depended upon, when they are found to claſh with the important intereſts of the contracting parties; and as I conſider every ſpecies of policy, which has not integrity for its baſis, mean and contemptible.

As the United States had waited more than 7 years in expectation that

Every man who engages in the perilous vocation of a ſoldier, ought to recollect beforehand, the ſacrifices he will be obliged

that the britiſh government would fulfil this engagement, and finding it was not then convenient for them to abandon thoſe forts, they determined to eſtabliſh a garriſon at the mouth of the Miami of the lake, which was to have been ſupported by a chain of communication with Pittſburg, and the acquiſition of this purpoſe was the object of this expedition.

Fort Waſhington, at the mouth of the Muſkingum, and fort Jefferſon, between the head waters of the Sciota and St. Mary's river, which empties into lake Erie, a ſhort diſtance from Sanduſky, had been previouſly eſtabliſhed; and the next object was to eſtabliſh a third, ſouth-eaſt of Sanduſky, upon thoſe ridges of hills where the waters of the lake, and thoſe of the Ohio, take different directions.

Had this plan been effected, though the Indians might at times have haraſſed thoſe poſts, ſtill the purpoſe for which they would have been created muſt have anſwered; as it is impoſſible for them to carry on their attacks regularly, or for any length of time, by reaſon of their deſultory manner of living; and thus, by our becoming permanently fixed upon the lake, we ſhould at once have given a decided blow to your trade in Canada; for it was the intention of the federal government, not to permit any perſon to trade within the limits of the United States in that quarter, without a written privilege for that purpoſe, ſigned by the preſident of congreſs.

The army of general St. Clair, which was to have achieved this arduous end, amounted to about 1400 men, great part of which were militia; and moſt of the others, inconceivable as it may appear, were recruited from the ſea-port towns upon the Atlantic; and of courſe were compoſed of men who were totally unacquainted with the indian manner of fighting;—indeed a large proportion of them were Europeans.

General St. Clair had advanced between 20 and 30 miles in front of fort Jefferſon in his courſe toward lake Erie, when about 60 of the militia deſerted, with an intention to return to their reſpective homes; after whom he diſpatched 300 of his men, they conſiſting of the only old troops he had in his army; and it was in the abſence of this detachment, that his army was attacked, juſt at the break of day; after the troops, moſt imprudently, had left the parade at which they had been ſome time before it was light, according to the cuſtom in indian war, though his out-poſts had been attacked inceſſantly during the whole night, and ſeveral of his centinels killed. The Indians, finding the army was thin of their guard, ruſhed upon them with ſuch impetuoſity, as to prevent their being able to form, or to act with any vigour or preciſion.

This

obliged to make of pleaſurable indulgence, and, in many inſtances, of his conſtitution. But when a ſervice of danger calls him to the defence of his country, or to avenge the inſults which tyranny or barbariſm has offered, it becomes ignominious, not cheerfully to forego every gratification which is incompatible with heroiſm. It is equally ignominious to put any conſideration in competition with the certainty of ſucceſs.

I know that it has been much the caſe with us to relax in diſcipline for fear of haraſſing our men. In indian wars it is neceſſary to obſerve this rule, which infallibly leads to victory when the combat otherwiſe is upon an equal footing. —Never be ſurpriſed. To prevent which, it is only neceſſary to move with ſtrong and active flanks, to keep powerful and vigilant guards, and to have your whole army under arms every morning at leaſt an hour before break of day; which will effectually prevent a ſurpriſe, as the Indians

This grand object has not been abandoned by the federal government; and for the purpoſe of carrying it into execution, by meaſures more wiſe, and means more certain, than had been purſued hitherto, 3000 federal troops, with a legion of 1200 horſe and foot, are to be kept in continual pay; and while the different garriſons are to overawe the Indians, the legion is to ſcour the country round, ſo as to ſecure the ſettlements on the weſt ſide of the Ohio from their attacks, and thus by progreſſive and permanent eſtabliſhments ward off the dangers of irregular and predatory warfare.

This ſyſtem has already produced a very important effect: —the more intelligent indian chiefs are ſo perfectly ſenſible, that it is now in vain for them to contend againſt a palladium, which is daily invigorated by the current of emigration, which, like a perennial plant, ſhews no ſigns of decay, that they have promiſed to puniſh thoſe audacious fugitives, who murdered our commiſſioners that were going to their nations for the purpoſe of offering them peace; and have alſo agreed to a ceſſation of hoſtilities while the preliminaries are ſettling; ſo that I have no heſitation in declaring it as my opinion, that, if the preſent meaſures are purſued with wiſdom and vigour, there will be a ſpeedy end to war and maſſacre in that quarter, and the whole weſtern country muſt then enjoy that repoſe, which has ſo often and ſo fatally been diſturbed by the incendiaries both of Canada and Louiſiana.

never

never attack when their enemy is in force during the night. Move in compact order, and though you may be harassed in a degree, yet with an army of 2000 men well appointed, it would be no difficult matter to pass through the whole western country.

I hope I have not appeared too strenuous in endeavouring to wipe away the stain which our recent defeat has brought upon the valour of my countrymen. There has appeared a languor in the execution of our measures respecting indian affairs, which has not only brought an obloquy upon the wisdom of our councils, but has subjected us to losses that are as baneful to our population, as they are affecting to our sympathy.

Many of us have cause to mourn the loss of some friend, or dear relation. Among the slain was a youth of the most promising hopes and splendid talents—talents which might have proved ornamental to his country, and useful to mankind.

I know you will excuse me for appropriating to the death of my young friend, with a slight alteration, those beautiful lines in the Iliad with which Homer describes the death of Euphorbus:

> As the young olive, in some sylvan scene,
> Crown'd by fresh fountains with eternal green,
> Lifts the gay head, in snowy flow'rets fair,
> And plays and dances to the gentle air;
> When, lo! a whirlwind from high heav'n invades
> The tender plant, and withers all its shades;
> It lies uprooted from its genial bed,
> A lovely ruin now defac'd and dead:
> Thus young, thus beautiful, "brave Marshal" lay,
> While the fierce "Indian" tore his life away.

The expedition conducted under the command of general Scott terminated with success. Indeed, from the first settlement of Kentucky, not one of our expeditions has

failed. The watchful Indians, who are always near us, and ſcarcely ever to be diſcovered but in force, obſerve the motions of our army, and readily determine from our vigilance, whether an attack will prove hazardous to them or not.

I ſhall begin my enumeration with the ſouthern Indians, and proceed with thoſe of the greateſt proximity; taking care to comprehend in the ſchedule the various tribes that we have any diſtinct knowledge of to the northward of the chain of lakes, which bounds our empire to the north, and thoſe to the weſt of the Miſſiſſippi, and ſouth of the Miſouri.

Cherokees; in the country between the great bend of the Tenaſee, and the ridges of hills which are called the Allegany mountains, the weſtern limits of Georgia, and the eaſtern branches of the Mobile, in number 2500.

Chactaws, between the ſaid great bend, the Miſſiſſippi, and Natchez, 6000.

Upper Creeks, between the head branches of the river Apalachies, Eaſt Florida, the Cherokee nation, and the Miſſiſſippi, 2500.

Lower Creeks, between the upper Creeks and the gulf of Mexico, 1000.

Natchez, a little to the eaſt of the Natchez, 100.

Alibamons, between the Natchez and New-Orleans, 400.

Chekaſaws, between the ſouthern limits of Cumberland, the Chactaw nation, and the head waters of the Mobile, 500.

Lezars, between the mouth of the Ohio and Wabaſh, 300.

Piankiſhas, Vermilions, and Maſcontins, between the Wabaſh and Illinois, 600.

Illinois, near Cahokia, 260.

Kaſkaſkias, near Kaſkaſkia, 250.

Pianrias, upon the Illinois river, 400.

Skakies, near fort Oniatonon, upon the Wabaſh, 170.

Upper

Upper Piankiſhas, near fort Oniatonon, upon the Wabaſh, 300.

Oniatonons, near fort Oniatonon, upon the Wabaſh, 260.

Miamis, near fort St. Joſeph, 200.

Twigtwees, upon the great Miami river, near fort Miami, 200.

Wyandots, between fort St. Joſeph and Detroit, 200.

Cohunewagas, near Sanduſky, 200.

Mingoes, on a ſouthern branch of the Scioto, 50.

Mohiccons, between the Scioto and Muſkingum, 40.

Shawnees, on the head branches of the Scioto, reduced by the late action to leſs than 250.

Delawares, in the country between lake Erie and the head branches of the Muſkingum, who have alſo ſuffered in the late different actions, and it is ſuppoſed they are reduced from 600 to 450.

Delawares, or Linnelinopies, at different villages upon the north branch of the Suſquehanna, 400.

Aughquagahs, upon an eaſtern branch of the Suſquehanna, 150.

Nanticocs, between Owegy and the moſt eaſtern branch of the Suſquehanna, 80.

Mohiccons, between Chagnet and Owegy, upon a branch of the Suſquehanna, 70.

Conoies, between Utſanango and Chagnet, to the eaſtward of the eaſternmoſt branch of the Suſquehanna, 40.

Saponies, upon a north branch of the Suſquehanna, 30.

Munſies, at Diahago, upon the north branch of the Suſquehanna, 120.

Senegas, upon the waters of the Ohio, lake Erie, lake Ontario, and Suſquehanna, 550.

Cayugas, upon the Cayuga, and near the north branch of the Suſquehanna, 180.

Onondagoes, near Onondago, 200.

Oneidas, on the eaſt ſide of Oneida, and head branches of the Suſquehanna, 250.

Tuſcaroras, between the Oneidas and Onondagoes, 170.

Mohocks, upon the weſtern branch of Mohock river, 140.

The laſt mentioned ſix tribes conſtitute what are known by the name of the Six Nations.

Orondoes, near the Three rivers, 100.

Abenakies, near the Three rivers, 150.

Little Algonkins, near the Three rivers, 100.

Pouteotamies, between St. Joſeph's and Detroit, 270.

Ottawas, near Detroit, 500.

Chippawas, on Saguinam bay of lake Huron, 200.

Ottawas (a different tribe), on Saguinam bay of lake Huron, 150.

Chippawas (ſeveral tribes of), near Michillimackinack, fort St. Mary's, on lake Superior, and upon the ſouthern ſhores of that lake, 5500.

Shakies, Pauns bay, on lake Michigan, 400.

Mynomamies, near Pauns bay, on lake Michigan, 300.

Ouiſconſings, Ouiſconſing river, 300.

Kickapous, upon the ſouthern head branches of the Miſſiſſippi, and the waters of lake Michigan, 200.

Otogamies, between the lake of the Wood and Miſſiſſippi, 300.

Maſcoutens, on lake Michigan, and between that and the Miſſiſſippi, 400.

Miſcothins, between lake Michigan and the Miſſiſſippi, 340.

Outimacs, between lake Michigan and lake St. Clair, 200.

Muſquakies, upon the ſouthern waters of lake Michigan, 200.

Sioux, on the eaſtern head branches of the Miſſiſſippi, and the iſlands of lake Superior, 500.

Otta-

Ottagaumies, on the head waters of the Miſſiſſippi, 300.

Winnabagoes, on the head waters of the Miſſiſſippi, 200.

Killiſtinoes, on lake Superior, 250.

Naudoweſies, between Michigan and lake Superior, 500.

Oſevegatchies, near Swagatchy, on the river St. Lawrence, 100.

Connaſedagoes, near Montreal, 90.

Cohunnewagoes, near Montreal, 150.

Michmacs, on the river St. Lawrence, 500.

Ameliſtis, on the river St. Lawrence, 400.

Chalas, on the river St. Lawrence, 100.

Nipiſſins, near the head waters of the Ottawas river, 300.

Algonquins, towards the head waters of the Ottawas river, 250.

Round-heads, on Rivière aux têtes boules, or Round-head river, 2000.

Meſſaſagues, between lake Superior and lake Huron, 1500.

Kris, upon lake Chriſtineaux, 1200.

Aſſinaboes, lake Aſſinaboes, 1200.

Barbus, or Blancs, between lake Aſſinaboes and the lake of the Wood, 1400.

Sioux of the meadows, on the head and weſtern branches of the Miſſiſſippi, 2500.

Sioux of the woods, on the head and weſtern branches of the Miſſiſſippi, 4000.

Sioux, between the head waters of the Miſſiſſippi and Miſouri, 3000.

Ajoues, north of the Padoucas, 1000.

White Panis, ſouth-eaſt of the Miſouri, 1500.

Speckled Panis, ſouth of the Miſouri, 1200.

Padoucas, ſouth of the Miſouri, 500.

Grandeſeaux, ſouth of the Miſouri, 800.

Canſes, ſouth of the Miſouri, 1000.

Oſages, ſouth of the Miſouri, 400.

Miſouris, on the Miſouri, 1500.

Arkanzas, on the river Arkanzas, 1000.

There are ſeveral other tribes, known by the name of Caouitas, Linways, Webings, Ouſaſoys, Les Puans, Folle Avoine, Mineamis, &c. But the different tribes have been ſo confounded one with another, that it is impoſſible to collect any diſtinct information reſpecting their ſituation or numbers; which I apprehend has proceeded from the imperfect knowledge travellers have had of the weſt of the Miſſiſſippi, and to the north of lake Michigan and lake Superior; and which has precluded the poſſibility of gaining any accurate intelligence from them. However, the above liſt has been corrected from the accounts of Croghan, Boquet, Carver, Hutchins, and Dodge, and by the comparative teſtimony of the beſt informed men I have been able to meet with; and whoſe knowledge upon this ſubject, though they have not written, I ſhould prefer to either of the above authorities, who were obliged to take the greateſt part of what they have related, from hearſay, or proceed upon conjecture.

There are ſeveral vagrant tribes, called Chiakaneſſou, Onanakina, Machecous, and Souikilas, from the Cherokees, Chactaws, and Creeks; but I ſhould ſuppoſe, theſe included, that my account of thoſe tribes is tolerably exact.

By this liſt, which I preſume will appear as accurate as the ſubject will admit of, the aggregate numbers of Indians will be found leſs than 60,000 who inhabit the country from the gulf of Mexico, on both ſides of the Miſſiſſippi, to the gulf of St. Lawrence, and as far weſt as the country has been explored; that is, to the head waters of the Miſſiſſippi, and from thence to the Miſouri (I do not mean the head of it), and between that river and Santa Fé.

I have been able to learn very little information reſpecting the Indians between Santa Fé and the gulf of Mexico, and ſtill leſs of thoſe who inhabit the country between the river

St.

St. Joſeph's and California. However, we are in no way affected by them at preſent; and it is not very likely that we ever ſhall: for it is to be preſumed, that the federal government, in the extenſion of its empire, will take ſuch precautions as muſt prevent the horrors of that ſanguinary warfare and maſſacre, which have hitherto marked the progreſs of its growth.

Certainly it is time that decided meaſures were taken; if poſſible, to civilize them; and if not, to confine them to particular diſtricts; that is, by the vigour of our meaſures, to ſhew them that we are not to be trifled with; and, whenever a tract of country is to be ſettled, let the demarkation be obvious, and the terms of ſettlement definitive; and by affording protection to the pacific, and chaſtiſing the licentious, it may be expected in time, that ſome amelioration will take place in their ſavage and ſanguinary diſpoſitions.

You will obſerve that the moſt numerous tribes are at the greateſt diſtance from us; and it is very certain, that in proportion to their diſtance from the whites, they are unacquainted with the uſe of fire-arms. All the nations north of lake Superior, and thoſe beyond the Miſſiſſippi, as well as thoſe on the Miſouri, uſe only bows and arrows: ſo that when you take a view of their ſcattered ſituation, the various cuſtoms and ſuperſtitions which it is neceſſary to reconcile, in order to produce perſeverance and unity of action, and what a ſmall proportion of them have the apparatus, or underſtand the uſe of muſquetry, or poſſeſs reſources ſufficient to enable them to carry on laſting hoſtilities againſt the power of our increaſing numbers, it muſt be obvious, that even our defeats will haſten their ruin.

Though we (or rather the federal troops) have been defeated ſeveral times, yet we ſhall ſoon eſtabliſh a permanent ſecurity againſt ſavage invaſions and maſſacres; for though we have not acted entirely like Hercules, who deſtroyed the ſerpents while an infant in his cradle, ſtill, I preſume, we ſhall do it in our approach to maturity.

The French, by conciliating the manners of the ſavages, and by their diffuſing a more general knowledge among them of the uſe of fire-arms, firſt rendered them formidable to the whites. The animoſity continued to exiſt until the commencement of the late war, *when that very policy was practiſed by the Engliſh, which they had formerly ſo ſeverely reprobated in the French.*

In the various ſkirmiſhes and actions which have been fought between us, they have acquired a moſt wonderful dexterity and heroic intrepidity; but, in theſe acquiſitions, they probably have laid the foundation of their own *extinction:* for our defeats but add to our ſtrength; and when you recollect their comparative numbers with ours, and the comparative fecundity of our women, I think the circumſtance does not appear problematical.

However, that is not our wiſh. We would gladly teach them the bleſſings of peace; and ſo far did the aſſembly of Virginia carry this diſpoſition, in the year 1784, that, the more effectually to accelerate ſo deſirable an end, they took it into conſideration to paſs an act offering bounties to ſuch men and women as would intermarry with the Indians. But as the animoſities which then exiſted between them and the back ſettlers had ariſen to ſuch a height, it was thought moſt adviſable to poſtpone it until there ſhould be a ſtable peace, and till the whites and they were reconciled; but that never will be the caſe until we are in poſſeſſion of Niagara and Detroit. Farewell.

A LETTER from major Jonathan Heart, to Benjamin Smith Barton, M. D. &c. containing obſervations on the ancient works, the native inhabitants, &c. of the weſtern country.

SIR, *Fort Harmar, Jan.* 5, 1791.

AGREEABLY to promiſe I now enter on the different ſubjects of inquiry contained in your favour of the 24th

24th of January laſt; but find myſelf unable to give that ſatisfactory information which the nature of your work may probably require: however, ſuch obſervations as opportunity has enabled me to make, I am happy in laying before you.

With reſpect to ancient works: thoſe at the mouth of the Muſkingum are the only veſtiges of any conſiderable works I have very particularly attended to, are publiſhed in the Columbian Magazine. Thoſe remarks not having been made under an expectation of their being publiſhed, were not ſo accurate as I could now wiſh they had been; but improvements having ſince been made over the whole extent of the works, no very conſiderable inveſtigation has taken place. We did at that time open the big mount and ſome of the graves, dig into the caves, on the walls, elevated ſquares, and at different places within the compaſs of the works; but nothing was found more than I mentioned in thoſe remarks.

The works at Grave creek I have carefully viewed, but never traced the lines with ſuch accuracy as to enable me to give you a plan. They are very extenſive, commencing about 4 miles below Grave creek, and continuing, at intermediate diſtances, for 10 or 12 miles, along the banks of the Ohio. The principal works are adjoining the big grave, which is about half a mile from the Ohio, and about the ſame diſtance north of the mouth of Grave creek. The works are very ſimilar to thoſe at the mouth of Muſkingum. The continuation of works each way conſiſts of ſquare and circular redoubts, ditches, walls, and mounts, ſcattered at unequal diſtances, in every direction, over extenſive flats. The big grave, ſo called, has been opened, and human bones found in it; but not of an extraordinary ſize; neither have I ever heard of bones of an extraordinary ſize being found in any of thoſe graves, many of which have been opened, and generally found to contain human bones.

Theſe are the only conſiderable remains which I have myſelf

myſelf examined. The common mounts, or indian graves, or monuments (for they are not always found to contain bones), are ſcattered over the whole country, particularly along the Ohio, and its main branches: indeed, I have ſcarcely ever ſeen a handſome ſituation on a high flat, adjoining any large ſtream, where there were not ſome of the above-mentioned veſtiges of antiquity.

Travellers, on whoſe authority I depend, inform me, that, on a branch of the Scioto, called Paint creek, are works much more conſiderable than thoſe at Grave creek, or Muſkingum, a mount much larger, a greater variety of walls, ditches, and enclоſures, and covering a much greater extent of country; that they continue for nearly 60 miles along the Scioto to its junction with the Ohio, oppoſite which, on the Virginia ſide, are extenſive works, which have been accurately traced by col. George Morgan; and I have been told that there are remains of chimnies, &c.

The next works of note are on the great Miami, about 20 miles from its junction with the Ohio. A Mr. Wells, a gentleman of very nice obſervation and philoſophical inquiry, who had viewed them, and had alſo examined the works at Muſkingum, informed me they were very ſimilar, though he thought theſe more extenſive, the walls higher, and the ditches deeper than thoſe of Muſkingum. He alſo obſerved, there were ſimilar works on the little Miami about 20 miles from its junction with the Ohio, which would be about the ſame diſtance from the remains laſt mentioned.

Theſe are the only traces of ancient works of which I have received ſuch authentic information as will juſtify me in reporting them as undoubted facts. Many other remarkable veſtiges of antiquity have been deſcribed to me, particularly on the eaſt ſide of a ſmall branch of the Big-black, a river which empties itſelf into the Miſſiſſippi, nearly in latitude 33 north, an elevation of earth about half a mile ſquare, 15 or 20 feet high, from the north-eaſt corner of which a wall

of

of equal height, with a deep ditch, extends for near half a mile to the high lands. This information I had from the Chactaw Indians, who inhabit that country, and it is confirmed by many white people, who reſided with the Chactaws, and had often been on the ſpot.

The tradition of the Chactaws with reſpect to this elevation is as follows: That in the midſt is a large cave, which is the houſe of the GREAT SPIRIT; that in that cave he made the Chactaws; that the country being then under water, the great ſpirit raiſed this wall above water, to ſet the Chactaws on to dry, after they were made.

The ſame perſons and others aſſured me, that on the low grounds of the Miſſiſſippi, which are ſubject to overflow, at a place called Bio-piere, is a very large mount, encompaſſed by a number of ſmaller ones, in a perfect circle, at equal diſtances from each other, and at about 200 yards from the centre, or grand mount. Theſe circumſtances I have the more reaſon to believe, as every information aſſures me that country is covered with veſtiges of ancient ſettlements: as far ſouth of the head waters of the Yazoo and Mobile, my own obſervations confirm it.

Who thoſe inhabitants were, who have left ſuch traces; from whence they came, and where they now are; are queries to which we never, perhaps, can find any other than conjectural anſwers. I can only give my opinion negatively, that they were not conſtructed by Ferdinando de Soto. He was not on the continent a ſufficient time to conſtruct even the works at Muſkingum; and from every circumſtance it appears that he was no farther north than Chattafallai, a Chickaſaw village on the Tombigbee branch of the Mobile. Secondly, theſe works were not conſtructed by any european, aſian, or african nation ſince the diſcovery of America by Chriſtopher Columbus: the ſtate of the works, the trees growing on them, &c. point to a much earlier date. Thirdly, they were not conſtructed by the preſent Indians, or their

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predeceſſors; or ſome traditions would have remained as to their uſes, and they would have retained ſome knowledge in conſtructing ſimilar works. Fourthly, they were not conſtructed by people who procured the neceſſaries of life by hunting: a number ſufficient to carry on ſuch works never could have ſubſiſted in that way. Fifthly, I may venture to add, the people who conſtructed them were not altogether in an uncivilized ſtate: they muſt have been under the ſubordination of law, a ſtrict and well-regulated police, or they could not have been kept together in ſuch numerous bodies, and made to contribute to the carrying on of ſuch ſtupendous undertakings. But my buſineſs is to give you facts, and not to form conjectures.

There are other matters with reſpect to this country worthy of attention; ſuch as, the quantities of ſhells, concretions, petrifactions, bones, &c. the marks of high water, and the natural meadows. On the head waters of the Mobile is the true oyſter-ſhell, of a monſtrous ſize, and in ſuch quantities that I cannot conceive them to have been tranſported from the ſea, which is 300 miles off. The Chickaſaws ſay theſe ſhells were there when they came into the country. They uſe theſe ſhells in making their earthen ware. The foſſile ſhells are found in great plenty in all parts of the country; and petrifactions are very frequent, particularly at the falls of the Ohio. Near the bottom of the falls there is a ſmall rocky iſland which is overflowed at high water. This iſland is remarkable for being the ſeat of petrifactions. I ſaw no petrifactions on it myſelf but wood, fiſh-bones, and the roots of ſhrubs which grow on the iſland: of theſe there was a great abundance. Gentlemen who have reſided near, and whoſe veracity is not to be doubted, aſſured me, that they had ſeen very different articles petrified, as part of a hornet's neſt, fiſhes, and in one inſtance an entire bird. But, what is more particularly to be remarked is, that this petrifying quality is confined to the iſland, and

does

does not ſo frequently afford ſamples of it on the oppoſite ſhores; yet there is no ſpring of running water, and ſcarcely a green thing on the iſland. Neither does this quality exiſt, in any remarkable degree, either above or below the falls. There is a like inſtance up the Tenaſee, of a particular ſpot, extraordinary for petrifactions, while nothing of the kind is obſervable either above or below.

The big bones, found at a place called Big bone lick, are now to be ſeen in the various muſeums of the ſtates. It is unneceſſary for me, therefore, to make any remarks on them. At port Lewis, on the Miſſiſſippi, I ſaw a number of gentlemen who had travelled up the Miſouri; they ſaid, there are many of theſe bones to the weſtward, and the Indians told them the animal was ſtill to be found farther weſt.

The natural meadows cannot be accounted for: ſome of them have, doubtleſs, emerged from the waters of the Miſſiſſippi; which I preſume was an arm of the ſea, ſome diſtance above the mouth of the Ohio. Other of theſe meadows appear to have been lakes, the waters of which, in proceſs of time, finding ſome outlet, have become dry lands. But ſome of theſe meadows are high lands, ſurrounded by an extenſive timbered country, in many places much lower than the clear lands. Major Wyllys informed me that he had the moſt unequivocal proof, from the appearances of rocks and other veſtiges a little above the mouth of the Miſouri, that the waters of the Miſſiſſippi had, in paſt ages, flowed 70 feet higher that the preſent high-water marks. On the Frenchbroad river, a branch of the Tenaſee, are perpendicular rocks, on which, more than 100 feet above the preſent high-water, are artificial characters of beaſts, birds, &c. A Mr. Williams, a gentleman of reputation, aſſured me, that he had been at the place, and that there could be very little doubt of the characters being artificial, and that it was abſolutely impoſſible that any perſon could get to the ſpot on any other ſuppoſition, than that the waters

waters of the river had, at ſome time, flowed ſo much higher.

With reſpect to the populouſneſs of the natives, I cannot give you any ſatisfactory account; and from whence they came it is ſtill more difficult to determine. The Chickaſaws ſay they came from where the ſun ſets in the water, and that they were 7 years on the way, marching only 1 moon in a year, remaining the other part of the time at the ſame camp, preparing for the next year's march. The ſimilarity between their language and that of the Chactaw evidently proves that they are from the ſame origin. The languages of the different tribes of the Six nations are alſo very ſimilar to each other, as are the languages of many of the weſtern nations, and the Creek nations, or Muſcows, *with very little alteration Muſcovites*. But the languages of the Six nations, the weſtern nations, and the Chickaſaws, are ſo different even in ſound and in conſtruction, that they never could have been derived from, or any way dependent on each other.

With reſpect to their cuſtoms and manners, I am equally unable to give you any ſatisfactory information. I cannot help thinking it a great misfortune, that no meaſures have ever been taken which held out a ſufficient inducement for men of abilities to travel amongſt the tribes which are ſo far removed from the natives of Europe, that we might be aſſured their cuſtoms were not borrowed from, or any way intermixed with ours. It is equally a misfortune that we are ſuffering ſo many of their languages to become extinct, without preſerving their radical characteriſtics: for there is a certain characteriſtic peculiar to different languages, not dependent on each other, which, though diſguiſed with a variety of ſounds, or different dialects, on accurate examination will give ſome grounds to conjecture from what language they are derived; and I cannot help thinking that a full inveſtigation of the different languages of the nations will be the moſt probable means for forming reaſonable conjectures

jectures from whence this continent was peopled. A knowledge of their cuſtoms and manners might alſo give us ſome light. Thoſe, however, who argue that the Indians are deſcended from the ten tribes of Iſrael, from a ſimilarity of ſome cuſtoms, do not conſider that the Iſraelites were but little removed from a ſtate of nature; that nature is uniform, and that all things being equal ever operate the ſame. It is true that many cuſtoms of the Indians are the ſame with thoſe of the Iſraelites: but they were ſuch as nature herſelf pointed out.

As to the genius of the Indians, I believe they are as capable as any other nation in learning any art, either mechanical or liberal. Indeed, I never could find that they poſſeſſed any original ideas different from our own, or had any bias of mind, propenſity to particular vices, or predominancy of any paſſion, which could not be traced to their origin in the human mind, and be found to ariſe from the different ſtages, between the abſolute ſtate of nature and the higheſt degree of civilization: in fact, we find them poſſeſſed of every paſſion, propenſity, and feeling of man.

With regard to the arts of the ancient inhabitants, there is very little ground for us to draw conjectures from. I wiſh meaſures had been early taken to collect and preſerve the different articles which have been found in different places; and that all other, artificial as well as natural curioſities, together with accurate deſcriptions of all the veſtiges of antiquity, could have been collected and preſerved. Perhaps, from the whole, ſome future inquiries might have led us to an inveſtigation of the hiſtory of this country.

I might have added a great number of informations, from travellers, concerning various tribes of Indians; their cuſtoms, their languages, &c. ſuch as that there are Indians who ſpeak the welſh language; that there are others who live in works ſimilar to the ancient remains already deſcribed; that there are Indians who live a ſhepherd life, and

others

others who entirely devote themſelves to the cultivation of the ſoil. But I have not ſuch full aſſurance of the truth of theſe matters as to authoriſe me to report them.

I have thus, according to the beſt of my abilities, given every information in my power, on the various inquiries in your favour. I have little expectation of there being any thing new in them, or which will give light on the ſubjects; but ſuch as they are, pleaſe to accept them as my earneſt endeavours to ſerve you. With every ſentiment of reſpect,

I am, Sir,

Your's, &c.

JONATHAN HEART.

DESCRIPTION of a remarkable rock and caſcade near the weſtern ſide of the Youghiogeny river, a quarter of a mile from Crawford's ferry, and about 12 miles from Union town, in Fayette county, in the ſtate of Pennſylvania. By Thomas Hutchins.

THIS caſcade is occaſioned by a rock of a ſemicircular form, the chord of which, from one extremity of the arch to the other, is nearly 100 yards: the arch, or circular part, is extenſive, and upwards of 20 feet in height, exhibiting a grand and romantic appearance. This very curious production is compoſed of ſtone of variegated colours, and a ſpecies of marble beautifully chequered with veins running in different directions, preſenting, on a cloſe inſpection, a faint reſemblance of a variety of mathematical figures of different angles and magnitudes. The operations of nature in this ſtructure ſeem to be exceedingly uniform and majeſtic; the layers or rows of ſtone of which it is compoſed are of various lengths and thickneſſes, more reſembling the effects of art than nature. A flat thin ſtone from 8 to 10 inches thick, about 20 feet wide, forms the upper part of this amphithea-

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tre, over which the ſtream precipitates. The whole front of this rock is made up from top to bottom, as well as from one extremity of the arch to the other, of a regular ſucceſſion, principally, of limeſtone, ſtrata over ſtrata, and each ſtratum or row projecting in a horizontal direction, a little farther out than its baſe, until it terminates into one entire flat, thin, extenſive piece, as already mentioned; and which jets out at right angles or in a parallel line with the bottom, over which it impends 15 or 20 feet, and that without columns, or even a ſingle pillar for its ſupport. This circumſtance, together with the grand circular walk between the front of the rock, and the ſheet of water falling from the ſummit, exhibits ſo noble and ſingular an appearance, that it cannot be beheld without admiration and delight.

THE

DISCOVERY, SETTLEMENT, and PRESENT STATE OF KENTUCKY.

By JOHN FILSON.

PUBLISHED IN THE YEAR 1784.

ADVERTISEMENT.

WE the ſubſcribers, inhabitants of Kentucky, and well acquainted with the country from its firſt ſettlement; at the requeſt of the author of this book, have carefully reviſed it, and recommend it to the public as an exceeding good performance, containing as accurate a deſcription of our country as we think can poſſibly be given: much preferable to any in our knowledge extant; and think it will be of great utility to the public. Witneſs our hands this 12th day of May, Anno Domini 1784.

DANIEL BOON,
LEVI TODD,
JAMES HARROD.

PREFACE.

THE generality of thoſe geographers, who have attempted a map or deſcription of America, ſeem either to have no knowledge of Kentucky, or to have neglected it, although a place of infinite importance: and the reſt have proceeded ſo erroneouſly, that they have left the world as much in darkneſs as before.

When I viſited Kentucky, I found it ſo far to exceed my expectations, although great, that I concluded it was a pity that the world had not adequate information of it. I conceived that a proper deſcription of it was an object highly intereſting to the United States;

States; and therefore, incredible as it may appear to ſome, I muſt declare, that this performance is not publiſhed from lucrative motives, but ſolely to inform the world of the happy climate and plentiful ſoil of this favoured region. And I imagine the reader will believe me the more eaſily when I inform him, that I am not an inhabitant of Kentucky, but having been there ſome time, by my acquaintance in it, am ſufficiently able to publiſh the truth, and, from principle, have cautiouſly endeavoured to avoid every ſpecies of falſehood. The conſciouſneſs of this encourages me to hope for the public candour, where errors may poſſibly be found. The three gentlemen honouring this work with their recommendation, colonel Boon, colonel Todd, and colonel Harrod, were among the firſt ſettlers, and perfectly well acquainted with the country. To them I acknowledge myſelf much indebted for their friendly aſſiſtance in this work, which they cheerfully contributed, with a diſintereſted view of being ſerviceable to the public. My thanks are more eſpecially due to col. Boon, who was earlier acquainted with the ſubject of this performance than any other now living, as appears by the account of his adventures, which I eſteemed curious and intereſting, and therefore have publiſhed them from his own mouth. Much advantage may poſſibly ariſe to the poſſeſſor of this book, as thoſe who wiſh to travel in Kentucky will undoubtedly find it a complete guide. To ſuch I affirm, that there is nothing mentioned or deſcribed but what they will find true. Conſcious that it would be of general utility, I have omitted nothing, and been exceeding particular in every part. That it may have the deſired effect, is the ſincere wiſh of

JOHN FILSON.

THE DISCOVERY, PURCHASE, AND SETTLEMENT OF KENTUCKY.

THE firſt white man we have certain accounts of, who diſcovered this province, was one James M'Bride, who, in company with ſome others, in the year 1754, paſſing down the Ohio in canoes, landed at the mouth of Kentucky river, and there marked a tree with the firſt letters of his name,

and the date, which remain to this day *. Theſe men reconnoitred the country, and returned home with the pleaſing news of their diſcovery of the beſt tract of land in North America, and probably in the world. From this period it remained concealed till about the year 1767, when one John Finley, and ſome others, trading with the Indians, fortunately travelled over the fertile region now called Kentucky, then but known to the Indians, by the name of the Dark and Bloody Ground, and ſometimes the Middle Ground. This country greatly engaged Mr. Finley's attention. Some time after, diſputes ariſing between the Indians and traders, he was obliged to decamp; and returned to his place of reſidence in North Carolina, where he communicated his diſcovery to col. Daniel Boon, and a few more, who conceiving it to be an intereſting object, agreed in the year 1769 to undertake a journey in order to explore it. After a long fatiguing march, over a mountainous wilderneſs, in a weſtward direction, they at length arrived upon its borders; and from the top of an eminence, with joy and wonder, deſcried the beautiful landſcape of Kentucky. Here they encamped, and ſome went to hunt proviſions, which were readily procured, there being plenty of game, while col. Boon and John Finley made a tour through the country, which they found far exceeding their expectations, and returning to camp, informed their companions of their diſcoveries: but, in ſpite of this promiſing beginning, this company, meeting with nothing but hardſhips and adverſity, grew exceedingly diſheartened, and was plundered, diſperſed, and killed by the Indians, except col. Boon, who continued an inhabitant of the wilderneſs until the year 1771, when he returned home.

About this time Kentucky had drawn the attention of ſeveral gentlemen. Doctor Walker, of Virginia, with a num-

* This was well known to the Virginian and Carolina men in 1750. Chriſtopher Giſt, Croghan, Barney Curran, Montour, and ſeveral others, explored it, and made a treaty in 1750 with the Piankaſhas Indians.

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ber more, made a tour weſtward for diſcoveries, endeavouring to find the Ohio river; and afterwards he and general Lewis, at fort Stanwix, purchaſed from the Five Nations of Indians the lands lying on the north ſide of Kentucky. Col. Donaldſon, of Virginia, being employed by the ſtate to run a line from 6 miles above the Long iſland, on Holſton, to the mouth of the Great Kanhaway, and finding thereby that an extenſive tract of excellent country would be cut off to the Indians, was ſolicited, by the inhabitants of Clinch and Holſton, to purchaſe the lands lying on the north ſide of Kentucky river from the Five Nations. This purchaſe he completed for 500 pounds, ſpecie. It was then agreed, to fix a boundary line, running from the Long iſland on Holſton to the head of Kentucky river; thence down the ſame to the mouth, thence up the Ohio, to the mouth of Great Kanhaway: but this valuable purchaſe the ſtate refuſed to confirm.

Richard Henderſon, of North Carolina, being informed of this country by col. Boon, he and ſome other gentlemen held a treaty with the Cherokee Indians at Wataga, in March 1775, and then purchaſed from them the lands lying on the ſouth ſide of Kentucky river, for goods, at valuable rates, to the amount of 6000 pounds, ſpecie.

Soon after this purchaſe, the ſtate of Virginia took the alarm, agreed to pay the money col. Donaldſon had contracted for, and then diſputed Mr. Henderſon's right of purchaſe, as a private gentleman of another ſtate, in behalf of himſelf: however, for his eminent ſervices to this country, and for having been inſtrumental in making ſo valuable an acquiſition to Virginia, that ſtate was pleaſed to reward him with a tract of land at the mouth of Green river, to the amount of 200,000 acres; and the ſtate of North Carolina gave him the like quantity in Powel's valley. This region was formerly claimed by various tribes of Indians; whoſe title, if they had any, originated in ſuch a manner, as to render it doubtful which ought to poſſeſs it: hence

this fertile ſpot became an object of contention, a theatre of war, from which it was properly denominated the Bloody Grounds. Their contentions not being likely to decide the right to any particular tribe, as ſoon as Mr. Henderſon and his friends propoſed to purchaſe, the Indians agreed to ſell; and notwithſtanding the valuable conſideration they received, have continued ever ſince troubleſome neighbours to the new ſettlers.

SITUATION AND BOUNDARIES.

KENTUCKY is ſituated, in its central part, near the latitude of 38° north, and 85° weſt longitude, and lying within the fifth climate, its longeſt day is 14 hours 40 minutes. It is bounded on the north by Great Sandy creek; by the Ohio on the N. W. by North Carolina on the ſouth; and by the Cumberland mountain on the eaſt; being upwards of 250 miles in length, and 200 in breadth; and is at preſent divided into 3 counties, Lincoln, Fayette, and Jefferſon; of which Fayette and Jefferſon are bounded by the Ohio, and the river Kentucky ſeparates Fayette on its north ſide from the other two. There are at preſent 8 towns laid off, and building, and more are propoſed.

Louiſville, at the falls of Ohio, and Beards town, are in Jefferſon county; Harrodſburg, Danville, and Boonsburrow, in Lincoln county; Lexington, Lees town, and Greenville, in Fayette county; the two laſt being on Kentucky river. At theſe and many other places, on this and other rivers, inſpecting-houſes are eſtabliſhed for tobacco, which may be cultivated to great advantage, although not altogether the ſtaple commodity of the country.

RIVERS.

THE beautiful river Ohio bounds Kentucky in its whole length, being a mile and ſometimes leſs in breadth, and is ſufficient to carry boats of great burden. Its general courſe is ſouth 60 degrees weſt; and in its courſe it receives numbers

bers of large and ſmall rivers, which pay tribute to its glory. The only diſadvantage this fine river has, is a rapid, one mile and an half long, and one mile and a quarter broad, called the falls of Ohio. In this place the river runs over a rocky bottom, and the deſcent is ſo gradual, that the fall does not probably in the whole exceed 20 feet. In ſome places we may obſerve it to fall a few feet. When the ſtream is low, empty boats only can paſs and repaſs this rapid; their lading muſt be tranſported by land; but when high, boats of any burden may paſs in ſafety. Excepting this place, there is not a finer river in the world for navigation by boats. Beſides this, Kentucky is watered by 8 ſmaller rivers, and many large and ſmall creeks.

Licking river heading in the mountains with Cumberland river, and the north branch of Kentucky, runs in a N. W. direction for upwards of 100 miles, collecting its ſilver ſtreams from many branches, and is about 100 yards broad at its mouth.

Red river * heads and interlocks with the main branch of Licking, and flows in a S. W. courſe into Kentucky river, being about 60 miles long, and 60 yards wide at its mouth.

The Kentucky river riſes, with 3 heads, from a mountainous part of the country. Its northern branch interlocks with Cumberland; runs half way in a weſtern direction, and the other half north-weſterly. It is amazingly crooked, upwards of 200 miles in length, and about 150 yards broad.

Elkhorn is a ſmall river which empties itſelf into Kentucky in a N. W. by W. courſe; is about 50 miles long, and 50 yards broad at the mouth.

Dick's river joins the Kentucky in a north-weſt direction; is about 45 miles long, and 45 yards wide at its mouth. This river curiouſly heads and interlocks its branches with Salt river, Green river, and the waters of Rockcaſtle river. Salt river riſes at four different places near each other.

* This river is a principal branch of the Kentucky.

The windings of this river are curious, rolling its ſtreams round a ſpacious tract of fine land, and uniting almoſt 15 miles before they approach the Ohio, and 20 miles below the falls. It is amazingly crooked, and runs a weſtern courſe near 90 miles.

Green river, interlocking with the heads of Dick's river, as mentioned above, is alſo amazingly crooked, keeps a weſtern courſe for upwards of 150 miles, and is about 80 yards wide at its mouth, which is about 220 miles below the falls.

Cumberland river interlocks with the northern branch of Kentucky, as aforeſaid; and rolling round the other arms of Kentucky among the mountains, in a ſouthern courſe for 100 miles; then in a ſouth-weſtern courſe for above 100 miles; then in a ſouthern and ſouth-weſtern courſe for about 250 more, finds the Ohio, 413 miles below the falls. At the ſettlements it is 200 yards broad; and at its mouth 300, having paſſed through North Carolina in about half its courſe.

The Great Kanhaway, or New river, riſes in North Carolina, runs a northern and north-weſt courſe for upwards of 400 miles, and finds the Ohio 400 miles above the falls. It is about 500 yards wide at its mouth. Theſe two rivers are juſt mentioned, being beyond our limits. They run contrary courſes, are exceeding large; and it is worth notice, that Clinch, Holſton, Nolachucky, and Frenchbroad rivers, take their riſe between theſe two, or rather weſtward of New river, ſome of them riſing and interlocking with it; and when they meet, form what is called the Tenaſee river, which runs a weſtern courſe, and finds the Ohio 12 miles below Cumberland river. It is very large, and has ſpacious tracts of fine land.

Theſe rivers are navigable for boats almoſt to their ſources, without rapids, for the greateſt part of the year. This country is generally level, and abounding with limeſtone, which uſually lies about 6 feet deep, except in hollows, where

where ſtreams run, where we find the rock in the bottom of the channel.

The ſprings and ſtreams leſſen in June, and continue low, hindering navigation, until November, when the autumnal rains ſoon prepare the rivers for boats, and repleniſh the whole country with water; but although the ſtreams decreaſe, yet there is always ſufficient for domeſtic uſes. There are many fine ſprings, that never fail; every farmer has a good one at leaſt; and excellent wells may eaſily be dug.

NATURE OF THE SOIL.

THE country, in ſome parts, is nearly level; in others not ſo much ſo; in others again hilly, but moderately; and in ſuch places there is moſt water. The levels are not like a carpet, but interſperſed with ſmall riſings and declivities, which form a beautiful proſpect. A great part of the ſoil is amazingly fertile; ſome not ſo good, and ſome poor. The inhabitants diſtinguiſh its quality by firſt, ſecond, and third rate lands; and ſcarcely any ſuch thing as a marſh or ſwamp is to be found. There is a ridge, where Kentucky riſes, nearly of the ſize of a mountain.

All the land below the Great Kanhaway, until we come near the waters of Licking river, is broken, hilly, and generally poor; except in ſome vallies, and on Little and Great Sandy creeks, where there is ſome firſt rate land, but moſtly ſecond and third rate. It is ſaid, that near this water is found a pure ſalt rock. Upon the north branch of Licking we find a great body of firſt rate land. This ſtream runs nearly parallel to the Ohio for a conſiderable diſtance, and is about 7 miles from the mouth of Limeſtone creek, where is a fine harbour for boats coming down the Ohio, and now a common landing. It is 65 miles from Lexington, to which there is a large waggon road. The main branch of Licking is about 22 miles from Limeſtone. On this ſtream we find ſome firſt, but moſtly ſecond and third rate lands, and towards its head ſomething hilly. There we find the Blue licks;

licks, two fine ſalt ſprings, where great plenty of ſalt may be made. Round theſe licks the ſoil is poor for ſome diſtance, being much impregnated with ſalt.

The ſouthern branch of Licking, and all its other arms, ſpread through a great body of firſt, and ſome ſecond rate land, where there is abundance of cane, and ſome ſalt licks and ſprings. On theſe ſeveral branches of Licking are good mill ſeats, and navigation to the Ohio, from the fork down to its mouth. The land is hilly, and generally poor, yet along the ſtreams and in vallies we find ſome excellent land.

The Elkhorn lands are much eſteemed, being ſituated in a bend of Kentucky river of great extent, in which this little river, or rather large creek, riſes. Here we find moſtly firſt rate land, and near the Kentucky river ſecond and third rate. This great tract is beautifully ſituated, covered with cane, wild rye, and clover; and many of the ſtreams afford fine mill ſeats.

The lands below the mouth of Elkhorn, up Eagle creek, and towards the Ohio, are hilly and poor, except thoſe contained in a great bend of the Ohio oppoſite Great Miami, cut off by the Bigbone and Banklick creeks interlocking, and running ſeparate courſes. Here we find a great deal of good land, but ſomething hilly.

On Kentucky river we find many fertile vallies, or bottoms, along the river, eſpecially towards its riſe. There is good land alſo on Red river, but towards the heads of this, and Kentucky, the ſoil is broken; but even here, we find in vallies, and along ſtreams, a great deal of fruitful land. Generally the ſoil, within a mile or two of Kentucky river, is of the third and fourth rates; from about that diſtance, as we leave it on either ſide, we approach good lands. The country through which it winds its courſe, for the moſt part, may be conſidered as level to its banks, or rather precipices; from the brow of which we behold the river, 3 and ſometimes

times 400 feet deep, like a great canal. For a more particular account of this, we refer the reader to where we treat of the curioſities of Kentucky.

Dick's river runs through a great body of firſt rate land, abounding everywhere with cane, and affords many excellent mill ſeats. Many mills are already built on this ſtream, and will have a plentiful ſupply of water in the dryeſt ſeaſons. The banks of this river, near its mouth, are ſimilar to the banks of Kentucky. The ſeveral ſtreams and branches of Salt river afford excellent mill ſeats. Theſe roll themſelves through a great tract of excellent land; but the country from the junction of theſe waters, and ſome miles above towards the Ohio, which may be about 25 miles, is level and poor, and has abundance of ponds. For a conſiderable diſtance from the head of this river, the land is of the firſt quality, well ſituated, and abounds with fine cane. Upon this and Dick's river, the inhabitants are chiefly ſettled, it being the ſafeſt part of the country from the incurſions of the Indians.

Green river affords excellent mill ſeats, and a conſtant ſtream. This is allowed to be the beſt watered part of Kentucky. On its banks we find many fine bottoms, ſome firſt rate, but moſtly ſecond and third rate lands; and at ſome diſtance, many knobs, ridges, and broken poor land. Below a creek, called Sinking creek, on this river, within 50 miles of Ohio, towards Salt river, a great territory begins, called Green river barrons, extending to the Ohio. It has no timber, and little water, but affords excellent paſturage for cattle. On ſome parts of this river we find abundance of cane, ſome ſalt licks, and ſulphureous and bituminous ſprings. South of Green river, in the lands reſerved for the continental and ſtate troops of Virginia, an exceeding valuable lead mine has lately been diſcovered. Iron ore is found on Rough creek, a ſtream running into this river. That part of Cumberland river which is in the Kentucky country, traverſes

traverſes a hilly poor land, though in ſome parts we find good ſoil along its ſides. The other rivers I mentioned (viz. Great Kanhaway and Tenaſee) are not in the Kentucky country, and therefore do not come properly within my plan.

The reader, by caſting his eye upon the map, and viewing round the heads of Licking, from the Ohio, and round the heads of Kentucky, Dick's river, and down Green river to the Ohio, may view, in that great compaſs of above 100 miles ſquare, the moſt extraordinary country upon which the ſun ever ſhone.

The Ohio river, the great reſervoir of all the numerous rivers that flow into it from both ſides, has many fine vallies along its banks; and we obſerve that oppoſite to each of them there is a hill; theſe hills and bottoms changing ſides alternately. It only remains under this head to inform the reader that there is a great body of firſt rate land near the falls, or rapids, called Bare-graſs; and it will be ſufficient juſt to mention that the country on the N. W. ſide of the Ohio is allowed by all travellers to be a moſt fertile, level country, and well watered.

AIR AND CLIMATE.

This country is more temperate and healthy than the other ſettled parts of America. In ſummer it has not the ſandy heats which Virginia and Carolina experience, and receives a fine air from its rivers. In winter, which at moſt only laſts three months, commonly two, and is but ſeldom ſevere, the people are ſafe in bad houſes; and the beaſts have a good ſupply without fodder. The winter begins about chriſtmas, and ends about the firſt of March, at fartheſt does not exceed the middle of that month. Snow ſeldom falls deep or lies long. The weſt winds often bring ſtorms, and the eaſt winds clear the ſky; but there is no ſteady rule of weather in that reſpect, as in the northern ſtates.

The

The weſt winds are ſometimes cold and nitrous. The Ohio running in that direction, and there being mountains on that quarter, the weſterly winds, by ſweeping along their tops, in the cold regions of the air, and over a long tract of frozen water, collect cold in their courſe, and convey it over the Kentucky country; but the weather is not ſo intenſely ſevere as theſe winds bring with them in Pennſylvania. The air and ſeaſons depend very much on the winds, as to heat and cold, dryneſs and moiſture.

SOIL AND PRODUCE.

The ſoil of Kentucky is of a looſe, deep, black mould, without ſand, in the firſt rate lands about 2 or 3 feet deep, and exceeding luxurious in all its productions. In ſome places the mould inclines to brown. In ſome the wood, as the natural conſequence of too rich a ſoil, is of little value, appearing like dead timber and large ſtumps in a field lately cleared. Theſe parts are not conſiderable. The country in general may be conſidered as well timbered, producing large trees of many kinds, and to be exceeded by no country in variety. Thoſe which are peculiar to Kentucky are the ſugar-tree, which grows in all parts in great abundance, and furniſhes every family with plenty of excellent ſugar. The honey-locuſt is curiouſly ſurrounded with large thorny ſpikes bearing broad and long pods in form of peas, has a ſweet taſte, and makes excellent beer.

The coffee-tree greatly reſembles the black oak, grows large, and alſo bears a pod, in which is encloſed coffee. The papaw-tree does not grow to a great ſize, is a ſoft wood, bears a fine fruit, much like a cucumber in ſhape and ſize, and taſtes ſweet. The cucumber-tree is ſmall and ſoft, with remarkable leaves, and bears a fruit much reſembling that from which it is named. Black mulberry trees are in abundance. The wild cherry-tree is here frequent, of large ſize, and ſupplies the inhabitants with boards for all their buildings.

Here

Here alſo is the buck-eye, an exceeding ſoft wood, bearing a remarkable black fruit, and ſome other kinds of trees not common elſewhere. Here is a great plenty of fine cane, on which the cattle feed, and grow fat. This plant in general grows from 3 to 12 feet high, of a hard ſubſtance, with joints at 8 or 10 inches diſtance along the ſtalk, from which proceed leaves reſembling thoſe of the willow. There are many cane brakes ſo thick and tall, that it is difficult to paſs through them. Where no cane grows there is abundance of wild rye, clover, and buffalo graſs, covering vaſt tracts of country, and affording excellent food for cattle. The fields are covered with abundance of wild herbage not common to other countries—the ſhawaneſe ſallad, wild lettuce, and pepper-graſs, and many more, as yet unknown to the inhabitants, but which, no doubt, have excellent virtues. Here are ſeen the fineſt crown-imperials in the world, the cardinal flower, ſo much extolled for its ſcarlet colour; and all the year, excepting the winter months, the plains and vallies are adorned with variety of flowers of the moſt admirable beauty. Here is alſo found the tulip-bearing laurel-tree, or magnolia, which has an exquiſite ſmell, and continues to bloſſom and ſeed for ſeveral months together.

This country is richeſt on the higher lands, exceeding the fineſt low grounds in the ſettled parts of the continent. When cultivated it produces in common 50 and 60 buſhels per acre; and I have heard it affirmed by credible perſons, that above 100 buſhels of good corn were produced from an acre in one ſeaſon. The firſt rate land is too rich for wheat till it have been reduced by 4 or 5 years cultivation.

Col. Harrod, a gentleman of veracity in Kentucky, has lately experienced the production of ſmall grain, and affirms, that he had 35 buſhels of wheat, and 50 buſhels of rye per acre.

I think, in common, the land will produce about 30 buſhels of wheat and rye, upon a moderate computation,

per

per acre; and this is the general opinion of the inhabitants. We may ſuppoſe that barley and oats will increaſe abundantly; as yet they have not been ſufficiently tried. The ſoil is very favourable to flax and hemp, turnips, potatoes, and cotton, which grow in abundance; and the ſecond, third, and fourth rate lands are as proper for ſmall grain. Theſe accounts of ſuch amazing fertility may, to ſome, appear incredible, but are certainly true. Every huſbandman may have a good garden or meadow, without water or manure, where he pleaſes. The ſoil, which is not of a thirſty nature, is commonly well ſupplied with plentiful ſhowers.

Iron ore and lead are found in abundance, but we do not hear of any ſilver or gold mine as yet diſcovered.

The weſtern waters produce plenty of fiſh and fowl. The fiſh, common to the waters of the Ohio, are the buffalo-fiſh, of a large ſize, and the cat-fiſh, ſometimes exceeding 100 weight. Trout have been taken in Kentucky weighing 30 pounds. The mullet, rock, perch, gar-fiſh, and eel, are here in great plenty. Suckers, ſun-fiſh, and other hook-fiſh, are abundant; but no ſhad or herrings. We may ſuppoſe with a degree of certainty, that there are large ſubterraneous aqueducts ſtored with fiſh, from whence fine ſprings ariſe in many parts, producing fine hook-fiſh in variety. On theſe waters, and eſpecially on the Ohio, the geeſe and ducks are amazingly numerous.

The land fowls are turkies, which are very frequent, pheaſants and partridges *. The paroquet, a bird every way reſembling a parrot, but much ſmaller; the ivory-bill woodcock, of a whitiſh colour, with a white plume, flies ſcreaming exceeding ſharp. It is aſſerted that the bill of this bird is pure ivory, a circumſtance very ſingular in the plumy tribe. The great owl reſembles its ſpecies in other parts, but is remarkably different in its vociferation, ſome-

* What is called a partridge by moſt people in America is a quail, and what is called a pheaſant is a ſpecies of grouſe.

times

times making a ſtrange ſurpriſing noiſe, like a man in the moſt extreme danger and difficulty.

Serpents are not numerous, and are ſuch as are to be found in other parts of the continent, except the bull, the horned, and the mockaſon ſnakes. Swamps are rare, and conſequently frogs and other reptiles common to ſuch places. There are no ſwarms of bees, except ſuch as have been introduced by the preſent inhabitants.

QUADRUPEDS.

AMONG the native animals are the urus, biſon, or zorax, deſcribed by Ceſar, which we call a buffalo, much reſembling a large bull, of a great ſize, with a large head, thick, ſhort, crooked horns, and broader in his forepart than behind. Upon his ſhoulder is a large lump of fleſh, covered with a thick boſs of long wool and curly hair, of a dark brown colour. They do not riſe from the ground as our cattle, but ſpring up at once upon their feet; are of a broad make, and clumſy appearance, with ſhort legs, but run faſt, and turn not aſide for any thing when chaſed, except a ſtanding tree. They weigh from 500 to 1000 weight, are excellent meat, ſupplying the inhabitants in many parts with beef, and their hides make good leather. I have heard a hunter aſſert, he ſaw above 1000 buffaloes at the Blue licks at once; ſo numerous were they before the firſt ſettlers had wantonly ſported away their lives. There ſtill remains a great number in the exterior parts of the ſettlement. They feed upon cane and graſs, as other cattle, and are innocent harmleſs creatures.

There are ſtill to be found many deer, elks, and bears, within the ſettlement, and many more on the borders of it. There are alſo panthers, wild cats, and wolves.

The waters have plenty of beavers, otters, minks, and muſk-rats: nor are the animals common to other parts wanting, ſuch as foxes, rabbits, ſquirrels, racoons, ground-hogs, pole-cats, and opoſſums. Moſt of the ſpecies of the domeſtic

meſtic quadrupeds have been introduced ſince the ſettlement, ſuch as horſes, cows, ſheep, and hogs, which are prodigiouſly multiplied, ſuffered to run in the woods without a keeper, and only brought home when wanted.

INHABITANTS.

An accurate account is kept of all the male inhabitants above the age of 16, who are rated towards the expences of the government by the name of tithables; from which, by allowing that thoſe ſo enrolled amount to a fourth part of the whole inhabitants, we may conclude that Kentucky contains, at preſent, upwards of 30,000 ſouls *: ſo amazingly rapid has been the ſettlement in a few years. Numbers are daily arriving, and multitudes expected this fall; which gives a well-grounded expectation that the country will be exceedingly populous in a ſhort time. The inhabitants, at preſent, have not extraordinary good houſes, as is uſual in a newly ſettled country.

They are, in general, polite, humane, hoſpitable, and very complaiſant. Being collected from different parts of the continent, they have a diverſity of manners, cuſtoms, and religions, which may, in time, perhaps, be modified to one uniform. As yet united to the ſtate of Virginia, they are governed by her wholeſome laws, which are virtuouſly executed, and with excellent decorum. Schools for education are formed, and a college is appointed by act of aſſembly of Virginia, to be founded under the conduct of truſtees in Kentucky, and endowed with lands for its uſe. An excellent library is likewiſe beſtowed upon this ſeminary by the rev. John Todd, of Virginia.

The anabaptiſts were the firſt that promoted public worſhip in Kentucky; and the preſbyterians have formed 3 large congregations near Harrod's ſtation, and have engaged

* This eſtimate, the reader will recollect, was made in 1784. It is aſſerted that 20,000 migrated hither in 1787.

the rev. David Rice, of Virginia, to be their paſtor. At Lexington, 35 miles from theſe, they have formed another large congregation, and invited the rev. Mr. Rankin, of Virginia, to undertake that charge among them. At preſent there are no other religious ſocieties formed, although ſeveral other ſects have numerous adherents. But from theſe early movements it is hoped that Kentucky will eminently ſhine in learning and piety, which will fulfil the wiſh of every virtuous citizen.

CURIOSITIES.

Amongst the natural curioſities of this country, the winding banks, or rather precipices of Kentucky and Dick's rivers, deſerve the firſt place. The aſtoniſhed eye there beholds almoſt every where 3 or 400 feet of a ſolid perpendicular limeſtone rock; in ſome parts a fine white marble, either curiouſly arched, pillared, or blocked up into fine building ſtones. Theſe precipices, as was obſerved before, are like the ſides of a deep trench, or canal; the land above being level, except where creeks ſet in, and crowned with fine groves of red cedar. It is only at particular places that this river can be croſſed, one of which is worthy of admiration; a great road large enough for waggons made by the buffalo, ſloping with an eaſy deſcent from the top to the bottom of a very large ſteep hill, at or near the river above Lees-town.

Caves are found in this country amazingly large; in ſome of which you may travel ſeveral miles under a fine limeſtone rock, ſupported by curious arches and pillars: in moſt of them runs a ſtream of water.

Near the head of Salt river a ſubterranean lake, or large pond, has lately been diſcovered. Col. Bowman ſays, that he and a companion travelled in one 4 hours till he luckily came to the mouth again. The ſame gentleman mentions another which operates like an air furnace, and contains much

much ſulphur. An adventurer in any of theſe will have a perfect idea of primæval darkneſs.

There appear to be great natural ſtores of ſulphur and ſalt in this country. A ſpring at Boonſburrow conſtantly emits ſulphureous particles, and near the ſame place is a ſalt ſpring. There is another ſulphureous ſpring upon Four Mile creek, a third upon Green river, and many others in different places, abounding with that uſeful mineral.

There are 3 ſprings or ponds of bitumen near Green river, which do not form a ſtream, but diſgorge themſelves into a common reſervoir, and when uſed in lamps anſwer all the purpoſes of the fineſt oil.

There are different places abounding with copperas, eaſily procured, and in its preſent impure ſtate ſufficient for the uſe of the inhabitants: and when refined, equal to any in the world.

There is an alum-bank on the ſouth ſide of Cumberland river, ſituated at the bottom of a cliff of rocks projecting over it. In its preſent ſtate it has the appearance, and poſſeſſes the virtues of that mineral, and when purified is a beautiful alum.

Many fine ſalt ſprings conſtantly emit water, which, boiling manufactured, affords great quantities of fine ſalt. At preſent there is but one, called Bullet's lick, improved, and this affords ſalt ſufficient for all Kentucky, and exports ſome to the Illinois. Drinnon's lick, the Big-bone, and the Blue licks, ſend forth ſtreams of ſalt water. The Nob lick, and many others, do not produce water, but conſiſt of clay mixed with ſalt particles: to theſe the cattle repair, and reduce high hills rather to vallies than plains. The amazing herds of buffalo which reſort thither, by their ſize and number, fill the traveller with amazement and terror, eſpecially when he beholds the prodigious roads they have made from all quarters, as if leading to ſome populous city; the vaſt ſpace of land around theſe ſprings deſolated as if by a

ravaging enemy, and hills reduced to plains; for the land near thoſe ſprings is chiefly hilly. Theſe are truly curioſities, and the eye can ſcarcely be ſatisfied with admiring them.

A medicinal ſpring is found near the Great-bone lick, which has perfectly cured the itch by once bathing; and experience in time may diſcover in it other virtues. There is another of like nature near Drinnon's lick.

Near Lexington are to be ſeen curious ſepulchres, full of human ſkeletons, which are thus fabricated. Firſt on the ground are laid large broad ſtones; on theſe were placed the bodies, ſeparated from each other by broad ſtones, covered with others, which ſerve as a baſis for the next arrangement of bodies. In this order they are built, without mortar, growing ſtill narrower to the height of a man. This method of burying appears to be totally different from that now practiſed by the Indians. At a ſalt ſpring near Ohio river, very large bones are found, far ſurpaſſing the ſize of any ſpecies of animals now in America. The head appears to have been about 3 feet long, the ribs 7, and the thigh bones about 4; one of which is repoſited in the library in Philadelphia, and ſaid to weigh 78 pounds. The tuſks are above a foot in length, the grinders about 5 inches ſquare, and 8 inches long. Theſe bones have equally excited the amazement of the ignorant, and attracted the attention of the philoſopher. Specimens of them have been ſent both to France and England, where they have been examined with the greateſt diligence, and found upon compariſon to be remains of the ſame ſpecies of animals that produced thoſe other foſſil bones which have been diſcovered in Tartary, Chili, and ſeveral other places, both of the old and new continent. What animal this is, and by what means its ruins are found in regions ſo widely different, and where none ſuch exiſts at preſent, is a queſtion of more difficult deciſion. The ignorant and ſuperſtitious Tar-

tars

tars attribute them to a creature, whom they call Maimon, who, they ſay, uſually reſides at the bottom of the rivers, and of whom they relate many marvellous ſtories; but as this is an aſſertion totally diveſted of proof, and even of probability, it has juſtly been rejected by the learned; and on the other hand it is certain, that no ſuch amphibious quadruped exiſts in our american waters. The bones themſelves bear a great reſemblance to thoſe of the elephant. There is no other terreſtrial animal now known large enough to produce them*. The tuſks with which they are equally furniſhed, equally produce true ivory. Theſe external reſemblances have generally made ſuperficial obſervers conclude, that they could belong to no other than that prince of quadrupeds; and when they firſt drew the attention of the world, philoſophers ſeem to have ſubſcribed to the ſame opinion.—But if ſo, whence is it that the whole ſpecies has diſappeared from America? An animal ſo laborious and ſo docile, that the induſtry of the Peruvians, which reduced to ſervitude and ſubjected to education ſpecies ſo vaſtly inferior in thoſe qualities, as the llama and the paca, could never have overlooked the elephant, if he had been to be found in their country. Whence is it that theſe bones are found in climates where the elephant, a native of the torrid zone, cannot even ſubſiſt in his wild ſtate, and in a ſtate of ſervitude will not propagate? Theſe are difficulties ſufficient to ſtagger credulity itſelf; and at length produced the inquiries of Dr. Hunter. That celebrated anatomiſt, having procured ſpecimens from the Ohio, examined them with that accuracy for which he is ſo much

* Thoſe found in Siberia, in the regions of the Lena and other places, are called in Ruſſia mammotovokoſti, or mammot's bones. Numbers of them are to be ſeen in the muſeum of the imperial academy of ſciences at St. Peterſburg, and are of a wonderful magnitude. One half of a jaw, with the teeth, is as much as a ſtrong man can lift from the ground, and a ſingle joint of the vertebræ of the back bones weighs 40 or 50 pounds.—EDIT.

diſtinguiſhed. He diſcovered a conſiderable difference between the ſhape and ſtructure of the bones, and thoſe of the elephant. He obſerved, from the form of the teeth, that they muſt have belonged to a carnivorous animal; whereas the habits of the elephant are foreign to ſuch ſuſtenance, and his jaws totally unprovided with the teeth neceſſary for its uſe: and from the whole he concluded, to the ſatisfaction of naturaliſts, that theſe bones belonged to a quadruped now unknown, and whoſe race is probably extinct, unleſs it may be found in the extenſive continent of New Holland, whoſe receſſes have not yet been pervaded by the curioſity or avidity of civilized man. Can then ſo great a link have periſhed from the chain of nature? Happy we that it has. How formidable an enemy to the human ſpecies, an animal as large as the elephant, the tyrant of the foreſts, perhaps the devourer of man! Nations, ſuch as the Indians, muſt have been in perpetual alarm. The animoſities among the various tribes muſt have been ſuſpended till the common enemy, who threatened the very exiſtence of all, ſhould be extirpated. To this circumſtance we are probably indebted for a fact, which is perhaps ſingular in its kind, the extinction of a whole race of animals from the ſyſtem of nature.

RIGHTS OF LAND.

THE proprietors of the Kentucky lands obtain their patents from Virginia, and their rights are of three kinds, viz. Thoſe which ariſe from military ſervice, from ſettlement and pre-emption, or from warrants from the treaſury. The military rights are held by officers, or their repreſentatives, as a reward for ſervices done in one of the two laſt wars. The ſettlement and pre-emption rights ariſe from occupation. Every man who, before March 1780, had remained in the country one year, or raiſed a crop of corn, was allowed to

have

have a ſettlement of 400 acres, and a pre-emption adjoining it of 1000 acres. Every man who had only built a cabin, or made any improvement by himſelf or others, was entitled to a pre-emption of 1000 acres where ſuch improvement was made.

In March 1780, the ſettlement and pre-emption rights ceaſed, and treaſury warrants were afterwards iſſued, authorizing their poſſeſſor to locate the quantity of land mentioned in them, wherever it could be found vacant in Virginia.

The mode of procedure in theſe affairs may be inſtructive to the reader. After the entry is made in the land-office, there being one in each county, the perſon making the entry takes out a copy of the location, and proceeds to ſurvey when he pleaſes. The plot and certificate of ſuch ſurvey muſt be returned to the office within 3 months after the ſurvey is made, there to be recorded; and a copy of the record muſt be taken out in 12 months after the return of the ſurvey, and produced to the aſſiſtant regiſter of the land-office in Kentucky, where it muſt lie 6 months, that prior locators may have time and opportunity to enter a caveat, and prove their better right. If no caveat is entered in that time, the plot and certificate are ſent to the land-office at Richmond in Virginia, and 3 months more are allowed to have the patent returned to the owner.

The validity of the right of Virginia to this extenſive weſtern territory has been diſputed by ſome, but without reaſon. The weſtern boundary of that ſtate, by charter, reſtricted by the treaty of Paris, in 1763, is fixed upon the Ohio river. She has purchaſed the ſoil from the Indians, has firſt ſettled it, and eſtabliſhed wholeſome laws for the regulation and government of the inhabitants; and therefore we conclude, that the right of Virginia to Kentucky is as permanent as the independence of America.

TRADE OF KENTUCKY.

A CONVENIENT ſituation for commerce is the grand hinge upon which the population, riches, and happineſs of every country greatly depend. I believe many conceive the ſituation of Kentucky to be unfavourable in this reſpect. I confeſs, when I firſt viſited this country, I was of the opinion of other miſinformed men, that the beſt channel was from Philadelphia or Baltimore, by the way of Pittſburg, and from thence down the Ohio; and upon account of the difficulties and expences attending this route, for which there is no remedy, that goods would ever be dear. This opinion I have ſince reprobated, as the effect of ignorance of the trade up the Miſſiſſippi from New Orleans, or Mantchac, at the river or gut Iberville.

Thoſe who are acquainted with America know the Miſſiſſippi and Ohio rivers to be the key to the northern parts of the ſouthern continent. Theſe are the principal channels through which that extenſive region, bathed by their waters, and enriched by the many ſtreams they receive, communicate with the ſea, and may truly be conſidered as the great paſſage made by the hand of nature for a variety of valuable purpoſes, and principally to promote the happineſs and benefit of mankind; amongſt which, the conveyance of the produce of that immenſe and fertile country lying weſtward of the United States is not the leaſt. A ſhort deſcription of theſe rivers, and ſome others flowing into them, are objects ſubmitted to the reader's attention, in order to form a juſt idea of the favourable commercial circumſtances of that important country.

The Ohio river begins at Pittſburg, 320 miles weſt of Philadelphia, being there formed by the junction of the Allegany and Monongahela rivers, and, running a winding courſe of S. 60° weſt, falls into the Miſſiſſippi 1074 miles,

by

by the meanders of the river, below Pittſburg *. The only obſtruction to navigation on this river are the rapids, as deſcribed before under the deſcription of the Kentucky rivers; but they are paſſed in ſafety when the ſtream is high.

The

* The navigation of the Ohio, in a dry ſeaſon, is rather troubleſome from fort Pitt to the Mingo town (about 75 miles), but from thence to the Miſſiſſippi, there is always a ſufficient depth of water for barges, carrying from 100 to 200 tons burden, built in the manner of thoſe which are uſed on the river Thames between London and Oxford; to wit, from 100 to 120 feet in the keel, 16 to 18 feet in breadth, and 4 feet in depth, and when loaded, drawing about 3 feet water.

The rapids, in a dry ſeaſon, are difficult to deſcend with loaded boats or barges, without a good pilot; it would be adviſable, therefore, for the bargemen, in ſuch ſeaſon, rather than run any riſk in paſſing them, to unload part of their cargoes, and re-ſhip it when the barges have got through the rapids. It may, however, be proper to obſerve, that loaded boats in freſhes have been eaſily rowed againſt the ſtream (up the rapids), and that others, by means only of a large ſail, have aſcended them.

In a dry ſeaſon, the deſcent of the rapids, in the diſtance of a mile, is about 12 or 15 feet, and the paſſage down would not be difficult, except perhaps for the following reaſons: Two miles above them the river is deep, and three quarters of a mile broad (near three fourths of the bed of the river, on the ſouth-eaſtern ſide of it, being filled with a flat limeſtone rock, ſo that, in a dry ſeaſon, there is ſeldom more than 6 or 8 inches water); it is upon the northern ſide of the river; and being confined, above mentioned, the deſcending waters tumble over the rapids with a conſiderable degree of celerity and force. The channel is of different depths, but no where, I think, leſs than 5 feet; it is clear, and upon each ſide of it are large broken rocks, a few inches under water. Col. Gordon, in his journal down the Ohio, mentions, "that theſe falls do not deſerve that name, as the ſtream on the north ſide has no ſudden pitch, but only runs rapid over the ledge of a flat rock; ſeveral boats," he ſays, "paſſed it *in the dryeſt ſeaſon of the year*; unloading one third of their freight. They paſſed on the north ſide, where the carrying-place is three quarters of a mile long. On the ſouth-eaſt ſide it is about half that diſtance; and is reckoned the ſafeſt paſſage for thoſe who are unacquainted with it; but it is the moſt tedious, as during part of the ſummer and fall, the batteaux-men drag their boats over the flat rock. The fall is about half a mile rapid water, which, however, is paſſable, by wading and dragging the boat againſt the ſtream, when loweſt; and

The moſt remarkable branches compoſing the head waters of Ohio are Red-ſtone creek, Cheat river, and Yohogania. Theſe waters are navigable to a conſiderable diſtance above Pittſburg, from November until June, and the Ohio a month longer; but from Great Kanhaway, which is 196½ miles below Pittſburg, the ſtream is navigable moſt of the year. Down this river great quantities of goods are brought, and ſome are conveyed up the Kentucky rivers, others on horſeback, or in waggons, to the ſettled part, and ſold on an average at 100 pounds per cent. advance.

The current of the Ohio deſcends about 2 miles an hour in autumn, and when the waters are high about 4 miles. Thoſe of the Kentucky rivers are much the ſame, and without rapids, and are of immenſe value to the country, affording fiſh and fowl, and tranſportation of the produce of the country to the beſt market. Theſe rivers increaſe the Ohio more in depth than breadth. At its mouth it is not more than 1½ mile in width, and enters the Miſſiſſippi in a ſouth-weſt direction with a ſlow current, and a fine channel. This great river, at the junction with the Ohio, runs in a S. E. direction, and afterwards in a S. W. having been a little before joined by a greater river called Miſouri, which runs in an eaſtward direction through Louiſiana, and afterwards communicates to the Miſſiſſippi its own muddy and majeſtic appearance. The depth is, in common, 8 or 10 fathoms, until you approach its mouth, which empties itſelf by ſeveral channels into the gulf of Mexico. Here the navigation is dangerous, on account of the many iſlands, ſand-bars, and logs, interſperſed in its mouth, which is about 20 miles wide. This diſadvantage may be remedied

and with ſtill greater eaſe, when the water is raiſed a little."—See the annexed plan, which is a correct deſcription of theſe rapids.—The rapids are nearly in latitude 38° 8′; and the only indian village, in 1766, on the banks of the Ohio, between them and fort Pitt, was on the north-weſt ſide, 75 miles below Pittſburg, called the Mingo town; it contained 60 families.—EDIT.

almoſt

almoſt in the ſame manner that the ſtream was diſconcerted. The conflict between the ſea and this mighty river, which brings down with its ſtream great numbers of trees, mud, leaves, &c. cauſes them to ſubſide, and form ſhoals. One of theſe trees, ſtopped by its roots or branches, will ſoon be joined by thouſands more, and ſo fixed, that no human force is able to remove them. In time they are conſolidated, every flood adds another layer to their height, forming iſlands, which at length are covered with ſhrubs, graſs, and cane, and forcibly ſhift the bed of the river. In this manner we ſuppoſe moſt of the country on each ſide of the Miſſiſſippi, below the Iberville, to have been formed, by iſlands uniting to iſlands, which, in a ſucceſſion of time, have greatly encroached on the ſea, and produced an extenſive tract of country. If ſome of the floating timber at the mouths of this river were moved into ſome of the channels, numbers more would incorporate with them; and the current being impeded in theſe, the whole force of the river uniting, one important channel would forcibly be opened, and ſufficiently cleared to admit of the moſt excellent navigation.

About 99 miles above Orleans is a fort, now called Mantchac by the Spaniards; formerly Fort Bute by the Engliſh, who built it. Near this is a large gut, formed by the Miſſiſſippi, on the eaſt ſide, called Iberville; ſome have dignified it with the name of river, when the Miſſiſſippi, its ſource, is high. This is navigable, at moſt, not above 4 months in the year for the firſt 10 miles; for 3 miles further it is from 2 to 6 feet in autumn, and from 2 to 4 fathoms the remaining part of the way to lake Maurepas, receiving in its courſe the river Amit, which is navigable for batteaux to a conſiderable diſtance.

Lake Maurepas is about 10 miles in length, and 7 in breadth; and there is a paſſage of 7 miles between this and lake Pontchartrain.

Lake

Lake Pontchartrain is about 40 miles long, 24 broad, and 18 feet deep. From this lake to the ſea the channel is 10 miles long, and 300 yards wide; and the water deep enough to admit large veſſels through theſe lakes, and their communications. This place, if attended to, might be of conſequence to all the weſtern country, and to the commerce of Weſt Florida: for it may reaſonably be ſuppoſed, that the inhabitants and traders of the weſtern country would rather trade at this place than at New Orleans, if they could have as good returns for their peltry, and the produce of their ſoil, as it makes a conſiderable difference in their voyage, and ſaves labour, money, and time. Experience will doubtleſs produce conſiderable improvements, and render the navigation of the Miſſiſſippi, either by theſe lakes, or New Orleans, nearly as cheap as any other. That the Miſſiſſippi can anſwer every valuable purpoſe of trade and commerce is proved already to a demonſtration by experience.

I have reaſon to believe that the time is not far diſtant when New Orleans will be a great trading city, and perhaps another will be built near Mantchac, at Iberville, that may in time rival its glory.

A prodigious number of iſlands, ſome of which are of great extent, are interſperſed in that mighty river; and the difficulty in aſcending it in the ſpring, when the floods are high, is compenſated by eddies or counter currents, which moſtly run in the bends near the banks of the river with nearly equal velocity againſt the ſtream, and aſſiſt the aſcending boats. This river is rapid in thoſe parts which have cluſters of iſlands, ſhoals, and ſand-banks; but the rapidity of theſe places will be no inconvenience to the newly invented mechanical boats *, it being their peculiar property to ſail beſt in ſmart currents.

From

* This plan is now in agitation in Virginia, and recommended to government by two gentlemen of the firſt rate abilities, Mr. Charles

From New Orleans to the falls of Ohio, batteaux, carrying about 40 tons, have been rowed by 18 or 20 men in 8 or 10 weeks, which, at the extent, will not amount to more than 500 pounds expence, which experience has proved to be about one-third of that from Philadelphia. It is highly probable that in time the diſtance will be exceedingly ſhortened by cutting acroſs bends of the river.

Charlevoix relates, that at Coupés or Cut-point, the river formerly made a great turn, and ſome Canadians, by deepening the channel of a ſmall brook, diverted the waters of the river into it. The impetuoſity of the ſtream was ſo violent, and the ſoil of ſo rich and looſe a quality, that in a ſhort time the point was entirely cut through, and the old channel left dry, except in inundations, by which travellers ſave 14 leagues of their voyage. The new channel has been ſounded with a line of 30 fathoms without finding bottom. When the diſtance is ſhortened, which I believe may readily be done, and the mechanical boats brought to their higheſt improvement, the expences of a voyage from New Orleans to the falls of Ohio will be attended with inconſiderable expence. Now we know by experience that 40 tons of goods cannot be taken to the falls of Ohio from Philadelphia under 1600 pounds expence; but by improvements on the Miſſiſſippi, with the conveniences of theſe boats, goods can be brought from New Orleans to the falls for the tenth part of that expence; and if they are ſold at 100 pounds per cent. now, when brought from Philadelphia at expences ſo great, what may the merchant afford to ſell his goods at, who brings them ſo much cheaper? beſides the great advantages ariſing from the exporting of peltry, and country

Charles Rumſey and Dr. James M'Macken. Their propoſals are, "to conſtruct a ſpecies of boat, of the burden of 10 tons, that ſhall ſail, or be propelled by the force of mechanical powers thereto applied, up the ſtream of a freſh water river the diſtance of between 25 and 40 miles a day, notwithſtanding the velocity of the water ſhould move at the rate of 10 miles an hour, to be wrought at no greater expence than that of 3 hands."

produce,

produce, which never can be conveyed to any of the eaſtern ports to any advantage. It is evident alſo that the market from which they receive imports, muſt conſequently receive their exports, which is the only return they can poſſibly make.

By ſtating the commerce of Kentucky in its proper terms, we find the expences ſuch, that we conclude with propriety, that that country will be ſupplied with goods as cheap as if ſituated but 40 miles from Philadelphia.

But perhaps it will be replied, New Orleans is in the poſſeſſion of the Spaniards, who, whenever they pleaſe, may make uſe of that fort, and ſome others they have on the Miſſiſſippi, to prevent the navigation, and ruin the trade. The paſſage through Iberville is alſo ſubject to the Spaniards, and, beſides, inconvenient; that ſtream continuing ſo ſhort a time, and in the moſt diſadvantageous ſeaſon.

I grant it will be abſurd to expect a free navigation of the Miſſiſſippi whilſt the Spaniards are in poſſeſſion of New Orleans. To ſuppoſe it, is an idea calculated to impoſe only upon the weak. They may perhaps trade with us upon their own terms, while they think it conſiſtent with their intereſt *, but no friendſhip in trade exiſts when intereſt expires; therefore, when the weſtern country becomes populous and ripe for trade, ſound policy tells us the Floridas muſt be ours too. According to the articles of the definitive treaty, we are to have a free and unmoleſted navigation of the Miſſiſſippi; but experience teaches mankind that treaties are not always to be depended upon, the moſt ſolemn being broken. Hence we learn that no one ſhould put much faith in any ſtate; and the trade and commerce of the Miſſiſſippi river cannot be ſo well ſecured in any other poſſeſſion as our own.

* Article 8th of the late definitive treaty, ſays, The navigation of the Miſſiſſippi river, from its ſource to the ocean, ſhall for ever remain free and open to the ſubjects of Great Britain and the citizens of the United States.

Although

Although the Iberville only admits of a ſhort and inconvenient navigation, yet if a commercial town were built there, it would be the centre of the weſtern trade; and a land carriage of 10 or 12 miles would be counted no diſadvantage to the merchant. Nay, I doubt not, that in time a canal will be broke through the gut of Iberville, which may divert the water of Miſſiſſippi that way, and render it a place of the greateſt conſequence in America; but this important period is reſerved for futurity.

GOVERNMENT *.

THE conſtitution of this ſtate was formed and adopted in 1792. By it the powers of government are divided into 3 diſtinct departments: legiſlative, executive, and judiciary. The legiſlative power is veſted in a general aſſembly, conſiſting of a ſenate and houſe of repreſentatives; the ſupreme executive in a governor; the judiciary in the ſupreme court of appeals, and ſuch inferior courts as the legiſlature may eſtabliſh. The repreſentatives are choſen annually, by the people; the ſenators and governor are choſen for 4 years, by electors appointed for that purpoſe; the judges are appointed, during good behaviour, by the governor, with advice of the ſenate. An enumeration of the free male inhabitants, above 21 years old, is to be made once in 4 years. After each enumeration, the number of ſenators and repreſentatives is to be fixed by the legiſlature, and apportioned among the ſeveral counties, according to the number of inhabitants. There can never be fewer than 40, nor more than 100 repreſentatives. The ſenate at firſt conſiſted of 11 members; and for the addition of every 4 repreſentatives, one ſenator is to be added. The repreſentatives muſt be 24 years of age, the ſenators 27; the governor 30, and all of them muſt have been inhabitants of the ſtate 2 years. The go-

* This ſection on the government is added by the preſent editor.

vernor

vernor can hold no other office: the members of the general assembly none, but those of attorney at law, justice of the peace, coroner, and in the militia. The judges, and all other officers, must be inhabitants of the counties for which they are appointed. The governor, members of the general assembly, and judges, receive stated salaries out of the public treasury, from which no money can be drawn but in consequence of appropriation by law. All officers take an oath of fidelity to discharge the duties of their offices, and are liable to impeachment for misconduct. Elective officers must swear that they have not used bribery in obtaining their elections. All free male citizens, 21 years old, having resided in the state 2 years, or in the county where they offer to vote, 1 year, have a right to vote for representatives, and for electors of senators and governor, and are privileged from arrest, in civil actions, while attending that business. The general assembly meets on the first Monday in November, in each year, unless sooner convened by the governor. Each house chooses its speaker and other officers, judges of the qualifications of its members, and determines the rules of its proceedings, of which a journal is kept and published weekly, unless secrecy be requisite. The doors of both houses are kept open. The members of the legislature, while attending the public business, are privileged from arrests in civil actions, and may not be questioned elsewhere for any thing said in public debate. Impeachments are made by the lower house, and tried by the upper. All revenue bills originate in the house of representatives, and are amendable by the senate, like other bills. Every bill, passed by both houses, is presented to the governor, who must sign it if he approve it; if not, he must return it within 10 days to the house in which it originated; if it be not returned, or if, when returned, it be re-passed by two-thirds of both houses, it is a law, without his signature. The governor has power to appoint most of the executive officers of the state; to remit

fines

fines and forfeitures, and grant reprieves and pardons, except in caſes of impeachment; to require information from executive officers; to convene the general aſſembly on extraordinary occaſions, and adjourn them in caſe they cannot agree on the time themſelves. He muſt inform the legiſlature of the ſtate of the commonwealth; recommend to them ſuch meaſures as he ſhall judge expedient, and ſee that the laws are faithfully executed. The ſpeaker of the ſenate exerciſes the office of governor in caſe of vacancy. The legiſlature has power to forbid the farther importation of ſlaves, but not to emancipate thoſe already in the ſtate, without the conſent of the owner, or paying an equivalent. Treaſon againſt the commonwealth conſiſts only in levying war againſt it, or in adhering to its enemies, giving them aid and comfort.

The declaration of rights aſſerts the civil equality of all; their right to alter the government at any time; liberty of conſcience; freedom of elections and of the preſs; trial by jury; the ſubordination of the military to the civil power; the rights of criminals to be heard in their own defence; the rights of the people to petition for the redreſs of grievances, to bear arms, and to emigrate from the ſtate. It prohibits unreaſonable ſearches and ſeizures; exceſſive bail; confinement of debtors, unleſs there be preſumption of fraud; ſuſpenſion of habeas corpus writ, unleſs in rebellion or invaſion; ex poſt facto laws; attainder by the legiſlature; ſtanding armies; titles of nobility and hereditary diſtinction.

THE ADVENTURES

OF

COLONEL DANIEL BOON,

FORMERLY A HUNTER:

Containing a NARRATIVE of the WARS of KENTUCKY.

CURIOSITY is natural to the ſoul of man, and intereſting objects have a powerful influence on our affections. Let theſe influencing powers actuate, by the permiſſion or diſpoſal of providence, from ſelfiſh or ſocial views, yet in time the myſterious will of heaven is unfolded, and we behold our conduct, from whatſoever motives excited, operating to anſwer the important deſigns of heaven. Thus we behold Kentucky, lately an howling wilderneſs, the habitation of ſavages and wild beaſts, become a fruitful field; this region, ſo favourably diſtinguiſhed by nature, now become the habitation of civilization, at a period unparalleled in hiſtory, in the midſt of a raging war, and under all the diſadvantages of emigration to a country ſo remote from the inhabited parts of the continent. Here, where the hand of violence ſhed the blood of the innocent; where the horrid yells of ſavages, and the groans of the diſtreſſed, ſounded in our ears, we now hear the praiſes and adorations of our Creator; where wretched wigwams ſtood, the miſerable abodes of ſavages, we behold the foundations of cities laid, that, in all probability, will equal the glory of the greateſt upon earth. And we view Kentucky ſituated on the fertile banks of the great Ohio, riſing from obſcurity to ſhine with ſplendour, equal to any other of the ſtars of the american hemiſphere.

The ſettling of this region well deſerves a place in hiſtory. Moſt of the memorable events I have myſelf been exerciſed in; and, for the ſatisfaction of the public, will briefly relate

late the circumſtances of my adventures, and ſcenes of life, from my firſt movement to this country, until this day.

It was on the 1ſt of May, in the year 1769, that I reſigned my domeſtic happineſs for a time, and left my family and peaceable habitation on the Yadkin river, in North-Carolina, to wander through the wilderneſs of America, in queſt of the country of Kentucky, in company with John Finley, John Stewart, Joſeph Holden, James Monay, and William Cool. We proceeded ſucceſsfully; and after a long and fatiguing journey, through a mountainous wilderneſs, in a weſtward direction, on the ſeventh day of June following we found ourſelves on Red river, where John Finley had formerly been trading with the Indians, and, from the top of an eminence, ſaw with pleaſure the beautiful level of Kentucky. Here let me obſerve, that for ſome time we had experienced the moſt uncomfortable weather as a prelibation of our future ſufferings. At this place we encamped, and made a ſhelter to defend us from the inclement ſeaſon, and began to hunt and reconnoitre the country. We found everywhere abundance of wild beaſts of all ſorts, through this vaſt foreſt. The buffalo were more frequent than I have ſeen cattle in the ſettlements, browzing on the leaves of the cane, or cropping the herbage on thoſe extenſive plains, fearleſs, becauſe ignorant, of the violence of man. Sometimes we ſaw hundreds in a drove, and the numbers about the ſalt ſprings were amazing. In this foreſt, the habitation of beaſts of every kind natural to America, we practiſed hunting with great ſucceſs, until the 22d day of December following.

This day John Stewart and I had a pleaſing ramble, but fortune changed the ſcene in the cloſe of it. We had paſſed through a great foreſt, on which ſtood myriads of trees, ſome gay with bloſſoms, others rich with fruits. Nature was here a ſeries of wonders, and a fund of delight. Here

ſhe diſplayed her ingenuity and induſtry in a variety of flowers and fruits, beautifully coloured, elegantly ſhaped, and charmingly flavoured; and we were diverted with innumerable animals preſenting themſelves perpetually to our view.—In the decline of the day, near Kentucky river, as we aſcended the brow of a ſmall hill, a number of Indians ruſhed out of a thick cane-brake upon us, and made us priſoners. The time of our ſorrow was now arrived, and the ſcene fully opened. The Indians plundered us of what we had, and kept us in confinement 7 days, treating us with common ſavage uſage. During this time we diſcovered no uneaſineſs or deſire to eſcape, which made them leſs ſuſpicious of us; but in the dead of the night, as we lay in a thick cane-brake by a large fire, when ſleep had locked up their ſenſes, my ſituation not diſpoſing me for reſt, I touched my companion, and gently awoke him. We improved this favourable opportunity, and departed, leaving them to take their reſt, and ſpeedily directed our courſe towards our old camp, but found it plundered, and the company diſperſed and gone home. About this time, my brother, Squire Boon, with another adventurer, who came to explore the country ſhortly after us, was wandering through the foreſt, determined to find me if poſſible, and accidentally found our camp. Notwithſtanding the unfortunate circumſtances of our company, and our dangerous ſituation, as ſurrounded with hoſtile ſavages, our meeting ſo fortunately in the wilderneſs, made us reciprocally ſenſible of the utmoſt ſatisfaction. So much does friendſhip triumph over misfortune, that ſorrows and ſufferings vaniſh at the meeting not only of real friends, but of the moſt diſtant acquaintances, and ſubſtitute happineſs in their room.

Soon after this, my companion in captivity, John Stewart, was killed by the ſavages, and the man that came with my brother returned home by himſelf. We were then in a dan-

dangerous, helpleſs ſituation, expoſed daily to perils and death, amongſt ſavages and wild beaſts, not a white man in the country but ourſelves.

Thus ſituated, many hundred miles from our families, in the howling wilderneſs, I believe few would have equally enjoyed the happineſs we experienced. I often obſerved to my brother, You ſee now how little nature requires to be ſatisfied. Felicity, the companion of content, is rather found in our own breaſts than in the enjoyment of external things: and I firmly believe it requires but a little philoſophy to make a man happy in whatſoever ſtate he is. This conſiſts in a full reſignation to the will of providence; and a reſigned ſoul finds pleaſure in a path ſtrewed with briars and thorns.

We continued not in a ſtate of indolence, but hunted every day, and prepared a little cottage to defend us from the winter ſtorms. We remained there undiſturbed during the winter; and on the firſt day of May 1770, my brother returned home to the ſettlement by himſelf, for a new recruit of horſes and ammunition, leaving me by myſelf, without bread, ſalt, or ſugar, without company of my fellow-creatures, or even a horſe or dog. I confeſs I never before was under greater neceſſity of exerciſing philoſophy and fortitude. A few days I paſſed uncomfortably. The idea of a beloved wife and family, and their anxiety upon the account of my abſence and expoſed ſituation, made ſenſible impreſſions on my heart. A thouſand dreadful apprehenſions preſented themſelves to my view, and had undoubtedly diſpoſed me to melancholy, if further indulged.

One day I undertook a tour through the country, and the diverſity and beauties of nature I met with in this charming ſeaſon, expelled every gloomy and vexatious thought. Juſt at the cloſe of day the gentle gales retired, and left the place to the diſpoſal of a profound calm. Not a breeze ſhook the moſt tremulous leaf. I had gained the ſummit of

a commanding ridge, and, looking round with aſtoniſhing delight, beheld the ample plains, the beauteous tracts below. On the other hand, I ſurveyed the famous river Ohio, that rolled in ſilent dignity, marking the weſtern boundary of Kentucky with inconceivable grandeur. At a vaſt diſtance I beheld the mountains lift their venerable brows, and penetrate the clouds. All things were ſtill. I kindled a fire near a fountain of ſweet water, and feaſted on the loin of a buck, which a few hours before I had killed. The ſullen ſhades of night ſoon overſpread the whole hemiſphere, and the earth ſeemed to gaſp after the hovering moiſture. My roving excurſion this day had fatigued my body, and diverted my imagination. I laid me down to ſleep, and I awoke not until the ſun had chaſed away the night. I continued this tour, and in a few days explored a conſiderable part of the country, each day equally pleaſed as the firſt. I returned again to my old camp, which was not diſturbed in my abſence. I did not confine my lodging to it, but often repoſed in thick cane-brakes, to avoid the ſavages, who, I believe, often viſited my camp, but fortunately for me, in my abſence. In this ſituation I was conſtantly expoſed to danger and death. How unhappy ſuch a ſituation for a man tormented with fear, which is vain if no danger comes, and if it does, only augments the pain! It was my happineſs to be deſtitute of this afflicting paſſion, with which I had the greateſt reaſon to be affected. The prowling wolves diverted my nocturnal hours with perpetual howlings; and the various ſpecies of animals in this vaſt foreſt, in the day-time, were continually in my view.

Thus I was ſurrounded with plenty in the midſt of want. I was happy in the midſt of dangers and inconveniences. In ſuch a diverſity it was impoſſible I ſhould be diſpoſed to melancholy. No populous city, with all the varieties of commerce and ſtately ſtructures, could afford ſo much

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pleaſure to my mind, as the beauties of nature I found here.

Thus, through an uninterrupted ſcene of ſylvan pleaſures, I ſpent the time until the 27th day of July following, when my brother, to my great felicity, met me, according to appointment, at our old camp. Shortly after, we left this place, not thinking it ſafe to ſtay there longer, and proceeded to Cumberland river, reconnoitring that part of the country until March 1771, and giving names to the different waters.

Soon after, I returned home to my family, with a determination to bring them as ſoon as poſſible to live in Kentucky, which I eſteemed a ſecond paradiſe, at the riſk of my life and fortune.

I returned ſafe to my old habitation, and found my family in happy circumſtances. I ſold my farm on the Yadkin, and what goods we could not carry with us; and on the 25th day of September 1773, bade a farewell to our friends, and proceeded on our journey to Kentucky, in company with 5 families more, and 40 men, that joined us in Powel's valley, which is 150 miles from the now ſettled parts, or Kentucky. This promiſing beginning was ſoon overcaſt with a cloud of adverſity; for, upon the 10th day of October, the rear of our company was attacked by a number of Indians, who killed 6, and wounded 1 man. Of theſe my eldeſt ſon was one that fell in the action. Though we defended ourſelves, and repulſed the enemy, yet this unhappy affair ſcattered our cattle, brought us into extreme difficulty, and ſo diſcouraged the whole company, that we retreated 40 miles, to the ſettlement on Clinch river. We had paſſed over two mountains, viz. Powel's and Walden's, and were approaching Cumberland mountain, when this adverſe fortune overtook us. Theſe mountains are in the wilderneſs, as we paſs from the old ſettlements in Virginia to Kentucky, are ranged in a S. W. and N. E. direction, are of a great length

and breadth, and not far diſtant from each other *. Over theſe nature has formed paſſes, that are leſs difficult than might be expected from a view of ſuch huge piles. The aſpect of theſe cliffs is ſo wild and horrid, that it is impoſſible to behold them without terror. The ſpectator is apt to imagine that nature had formerly ſuffered ſome violent convulſion; and that theſe are the diſmembered remains of the dreadful ſhock; the ruins, not of Perſepolis or Palmyra, but of the world!

I remained with my family on Clinch until the 6th of June 1774, when I and one Michael Stoner were ſolicited by governor Dunmore, of Virginia, to go to the falls of the Ohio, to conduct into the ſettlement a number of ſurveyors that had been ſent thither by him ſome months before; this country having about this time drawn the attention of many adventurers. We immediately complied with the governor's requeſt, and conducted in the ſurveyors, completing a tour of 800 miles, through many difficulties, in 62 days.

Soon after I returned home, I was ordered to take the command of three garriſons during the campaign, which governor Dunmore carried on againſt the ſhawaneſe Indians: after the concluſion of which, the militia was diſcharged from each garriſon, and I being relieved from my poſt, was ſolicited by a number of North-Carolina gentlemen, that were about purchaſing the lands lying on the ſouth ſide of Kentucky river, from the Cherokee Indians, to attend their treaty at Wataga, in March 1775, to negotiate with them, and mention the boundaries of the purchace. This I accepted; and, at the requeſt of the ſame gentlemen, undertook to mark out a road in the beſt paſſage from the ſettle-

* From the nature of the ſurface and interior contexture of this american part of our earth, the mountains, as we in our relative language call them, all run in ridges, with almoſt even tops in parallel lines; thoſe to the weſt of Hudſon's river north-eaſt and ſouth-weſt; thoſe to the eaſtward of it nearly north and ſouth; between which, in like parallel lines, run the great rivers.—EDIT.

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ment through the wilderneſs to Kentucky, with ſuch aſſiſtance as I thought neceſſary to employ for ſuch an important undertaking.

I ſoon began this work, having collected a number of enterpriſing men, well armed. We proceeded with all poſſible expedition until we came within 15 miles of where Boonſborough now ſtands, and where we were fired upon by a party of Indians that killed 2, and wounded 2 of our number; yet, although ſurpriſed and taken at a diſadvantage, we ſtood our ground: this was on the 20th of March 1775. Three days after we were fired upon again, and had 2 men killed, and 3 wounded. Afterwards we proceeded on to Kentucky river without oppoſition; and on the firſt day of April began to erect the fort of Boonſborough at a ſalt lick, about 60 yards from the river, on the ſouth ſide.

On the fourth day the Indians killed one of our men.—We were buſily employed in building this fort, until the 14th day of June following, without any farther oppoſition from the Indians; and having finiſhed the works, I returned to my family on Clinch.

In a ſhort time I proceeded to remove my family from Clinch to this garriſon, where we arrived ſafe without any other difficulties than ſuch as are common to this paſſage; my wife and daughter being the firſt white women that ever ſtood on the banks of Kentucky river.

On the 24th day of December following, we had one man killed, and one wounded, by the Indians, who ſeemed determined to perſecute us for erecting this fortification.

On the 14th day of July 1776, two of colonel Calaway's daughters, and one of mine, were taken priſoners near the fort. I immediately purſued the Indians with only 8 men, and on the 16th overtook them, killed 2 of the party, and recovered the girls. The ſame day on which this attempt was made, the Indians divided themſelves into different parties, and attacked ſeveral forts, which were ſhortly before this

this time erected, doing a great deal of miſchief. This was extremely diſtreſſing to the new ſettlers. The innocent huſbandman was ſhot down, while buſy in cultivating the ſoil for his family's ſupply. Moſt of the cattle around the ſtations were deſtroyed. They continued their hoſtilities in this manner until the 15th of April 1777, when they attacked Boonſborough with a party of above 100 in number, killed 1 man, and wounded 4.—Their loſs in this attack was not certainly known to us.

On the 4th day of July following, a party of about 200 Indians attacked Boonſborough, killed 1 man, and wounded 2. They beſieged us 48 hours; during which time 7 of them were killed, and, at laſt, finding themſelves not likely to prevail, they raiſed the ſiege, and departed.

The Indians had diſpoſed their warriors in different parties at this time, and attacked the different garriſons, to prevent their aſſiſting each other, and did much injury to the diſtreſſed inhabitants.

On the 19th day of this month, colonel Logan's fort was beſieged by a party of about 200 Indians. During this dreadful ſiege they did a great deal of miſchief, diſtreſſed the garriſon, in which were only 15 men, killed 2, and wounded 1. The enemy's loſs was uncertain, from the common practice which the Indians have of carrying off their dead in time of battle. Col. Harrod's fort was then defended by only 65 men, and Boonſborough by 22, there being no more forts or white men in the country, except at the falls, a conſiderable diſtance from theſe; and all taken collectively, were but a handful to the numerous warriors that were everywhere diſperſed through the country, intent upon doing all the miſchief that ſavage barbarity could invent. Thus we paſſed through a ſcene of ſufferings that exceeds deſcription.

On the 25th of this month, a reinforcement of 45 men arrived from North-Carolina, and about the 20th of Auguſt following,

following, col. Bowman arrived with 100 men from Virginia. Now we began to ſtrengthen, and from hence, for the ſpace of 6 weeks, we had ſkirmiſhes with Indians, in one quarter or other, almoſt every day.

The ſavages now learned the ſuperiority of the Long Knife, as they call the Virginians, by experience, being outgeneralled in almoſt every battle. Our affairs began to wear a new aſpect, and the enemy, not daring to venture on open war, practiſed ſecret miſchief at times.

On the firſt day of January 1778, I went with a party of 30 men to the Blue licks, on Licking river, to make ſalt for the different garriſons in the country.

On the 7th day of February, as I was hunting to procure meat for the company, I met with a party of 102 Indians, and 2 Frenchmen, on their march againſt Boonſborough, that place being particularly the object of the enemy.

They purſued, and took me; and brought me on the 8th day to the licks, where 27 of my party were, 3 of them having previouſly returned home with the ſalt. I, knowing it was impoſſible for them to eſcape, capitulated with the enemy, and, at a diſtance in their view, gave notice to my men of their ſituation, with orders not to reſiſt, but ſurrender themſelves captives.

The generous uſage the Indians had promiſed before in my capitulation, was afterwards fully complied with, and we proceeded with them as priſoners to Old Chelicothe, the principal indian town on Little Miami, where we arrived, after an uncomfortable journey in very ſevere weather, on the 18th day of February, and received as good treatment as priſoners could expect from ſavages.—On the 10th day of March following, I and ten of my men were conducted by 40 Indians to Detroit, where we arrived the 30th day, and were treated by governor Hamilton, the britiſh commander at that poſt, with great humanity.

During our travels, the Indians entertained me well; and their

their affection for me was ſo great, that they utterly refuſed to leave me there with the others, although the governor offered them 100 pounds ſterling for me, on purpoſe to give me a parole to go home. Several engliſh gentlemen there, being ſenſible of my adverſe fortune, and touched with human ſympathy, generouſly offered a friendly ſupply for my wants, which I refuſed, with many thanks for their kindneſs: adding, that I never expected it would be in my power to recompenſe ſuch unmerited generoſity.

The Indians left my men in captivity with the Britiſh at Detroit, and on the 10th day of April brought me towards Old Chelicothe, where we arrived on the 25th day of the ſame month. This was a long and fatiguing march, through an exceeding fertile country, remarkable for fine ſprings and ſtreams of water. At Chelicothe I ſpent my time as comfortably as I could expect; was adopted, according to their cuſtom, into a family, where I became a ſon, and had a great ſhare in the affection of my new parents, brothers, ſiſters, and friends. I was exceedingly familiar and friendly with them, always appearing as cheerful and ſatisfied as poſſible, and they put great confidence in me. I often went a hunting with them, and frequently gained their applauſe for my activity at our ſhooting-matches. I was careful not to exceed many of them in ſhooting; for no people are more envious than they in this ſport. I could obſerve, in their countenances and geſtures, the greateſt expreſſions of joy when they exceeded me; and, when the reverſe happened, of envy. The ſhawaneſe king took great notice of me, and treated me with profound reſpect and entire friendſhip, often entruſting me to hunt at my liberty. I frequently returned with the ſpoils of the woods, and as often preſented ſome of what I had taken to him, expreſſive of duty to my ſovereign. My food and lodging were in common with them; not ſo good indeed as I could deſire, but neceſſity made every thing acceptable.

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I now began to meditate an eſcape, and carefully avoided their ſuſpicions, continuing with them at Old Chelicothe until the firſt day of June following, and then was taken by them to the ſalt ſprings on Sciota, and kept there, making ſalt, ten days. During this time I hunted ſome for them, and found the land, for a great extent about this river, to exceed the ſoil of Kentucky, if poſſible, and remarkably well watered.

When I returned to Chelicothe, alarmed to ſee 450 Indians, of their choiceſt warriors, painted and armed in a fearful manner, ready to march againſt Boonſborough, I determined to eſcape the firſt opportunity.

On the 16th, before run-riſe, I departed in the moſt ſecret manner, and arrived at Boonſborough on the 20th, after a journey of 160 miles; during which, I had but one meal.

I found our fortreſs in a bad ſtate of defence; but we proceeded immediately to repair our flanks, ſtrengthen our gates and poſterns, and form double baſtions, which we completed in 10 days. In this time we daily expected the arrival of the indian army; and at length, one of my fellow-priſoners, eſcaping from them, arrived, informing us that the enemy had, on account of my departure, poſtponed their expedition three weeks.—The Indians had ſpies out viewing our movements, and were greatly alarmed with our increaſe in number and fortifications. The grand councils of the nations were held frequently, and with more deliberation than uſual. They evidently ſaw the approaching hour when the Long Knife would diſpoſſeſs them of their deſirable habitations; and, anxiouſly concerned for futurity, determined utterly to extirpate the whites out of Kentucky. We were not intimidated by their movements, but frequently gave them proofs of our courage.

About the firſt of Auguſt, I made an incurſion into the indian country, with a party of 19 men, in order to ſurpriſe a ſmall town up Sciota, called Paint-creek-town.

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We advanced within 4 miles thereof, where we met a party of 30 Indians on their march againſt Boonſborough, intending to join the others from Chelicothe. A ſmart fight enſued betwixt us for ſome time: at length the ſavages gave way, and fled. We had no loſs on our ſide: the enemy had one killed and two wounded. We took from them three horſes, and all their baggage; and being informed, by two of our number that went to their town, that the Indians had entirely evacuated it, we proceeded no further, and returned with all poſſible expedition to aſſiſt our garriſon againſt the other party. We paſſed by them on the ſixth day, and on the ſeventh we arrived ſafe at Boonſborough.

On the eighth, the indian army arrived, being 444 in number, commanded by capt. Duqueſne, 11 other Frenchmen, and ſome of their own chiefs, and marched up within view of our fort, with britiſh and french colours flying; and having ſent a ſummons to me, in his britannic majeſty's name, to ſurrender the fort, I requeſted two days conſideration, which was granted.

It was now a critical period with us.—We were a ſmall number in the garriſon:—a powerful army before our walls, whoſe appearance proclaimed inevitable death, fearfully painted, and marking their footſteps with deſolation. Death was preferable to captivity, and if taken by ſtorm, we muſt inevitably be devoted to deſtruction. In this ſituation we concluded to maintain our garriſon, if poſſible. We immediately proceeded to collect what we could of our horſes and other cattle, and bring them through the poſterns into the fort: and in the evening of the ninth, I returned anſwer, that we were determined to defend our fort while a man was living.—"Now," ſaid I to their commander, who ſtood attentively hearing my ſentiments, "we laugh at all your formidable preparations: but thank you for giving us notice and time to provide for our defence. Your efforts will not prevail; for our gates

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ſhall for ever deny you admittance."—Whether this anſwer affected their courage, or not, I cannot tell; but, contrary to our expectations, they formed a ſcheme to deceive us, declaring it was their orders, from governor Hamilton, to take us captives, and not to deſtroy us; but if nine of us would come out, and treat with them, they would immediately withdraw their forces from our walls, and return home peaceably. This ſounded grateful in our ears, and we agreed to the propoſal.

We held the treaty within 60 yards of the garriſon, on purpoſe to divert them from a breach of honour, as we could not avoid ſuſpicions of the ſavages. In this ſituation the articles were formally agreed to, and ſigned; and the Indians told us it was cuſtomary with them, on ſuch occaſions, for two Indians to ſhake hands with every white man in the treaty, as an evidence of entire friendſhip. We agreed to this alſo, but were ſoon convinced their policy was to take us priſoners.—They immediately grappled us; but although ſurrounded by hundreds of ſavages, we extricated ourſelves from them, and eſcaped all ſafe into the garriſon, except one that was wounded, through a heavy fire from their army. They immediately attacked us on every ſide, and a conſtant heavy fire enſued between us, day and night, for the ſpace of nine days.

In this time the enemy began to undermine our fort, which was ſituated 60 yards from Kentucky river. They began at the water-mark, and proceeded in the bank ſome diſtance, which we underſtood by their making the water muddy with the clay; and we immediately proceeded to diſappoint their deſign, by cutting a trench acroſs their ſubterranean paſſage. The enemy diſcovering our counter-mine, by the clay we threw out of the fort, deſiſted from that ſtratagem; and experience now fully convincing them that neither their power nor policy could effect their purpoſe,

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on the twentieth day of Auguſt they raiſed the ſiege, and departed.

During this ſiege, which threatened death in every form, we had 2 men killed, and 4 wounded, beſides a number of cattle. We killed of the enemy 37, and wounded a great number. After they were gone, we picked up 125 pounds weight of bullets, beſides what ſtuck in the logs of our fort; which certainly is a great proof of their induſtry. Soon after this, I went into the ſettlement, and nothing worthy of a place in this account paſſed in my affairs for ſome time.

During my abſence from Kentucky col. Bowman carried on an expedition againſt the Shawaneſe, at Old Chelicothe, with 160 men, in July 1779. Here they arrived undiſcovered, and a battle enſued, which laſted until ten o'clock, A. M. when col. Bowman, finding he could not ſucceed at this time, retreated about 30 miles. The Indians, in the mean time, collecting all their forces, purſued and overtook him, when a ſmart fight continued near two hours, not to the advantage of col. Bowman's party.

Col. Harrod propoſed to mount a number of horſe, and furiouſly to ruſh upon the ſavages, who at this time fought with remarkable fury. This deſperate ſtep had a happy effect, broke their line of battle, and the ſavages fled on all ſides. In theſe two battles we had 9 killed and 1 wounded. The enemy's loſs uncertain, only 2 ſcalps being taken.

On the twenty-ſecond day of June 1780, a large party of Indians and Canadians, about 600 in number, commanded by col. Bird, attacked Riddle's and Martin's ſtations, at the forks of Licking river, with ſix pieces of artillery. They carried this expedition ſo ſecretly, that the unwary inhabitants did not diſcover them, until they fired upon the forts; and, not being prepared to oppoſe them, were obliged to ſurrender themſelves miſerable captives to barbarous

ſavages,

ſavages, who immediately after tomahawked one man and two women, and loaded all the others with heavy baggage, forcing them along toward their towns, able or unable to march. Such as were weak and faint by the way, they tomahawked. The tender women, and helpleſs children, fell victims to their cruelty. This, and the ſavage treatment they received afterwards, is ſhocking to humanity, and too barbarous to relate.

The hoſtile diſpoſition of the ſavages, and their allies, cauſed general Clark, the commandant at the falls of the Ohio, immediately to begin an expedition with his own regiment, and the armed force of the country, againſt Pecaway, the principal town of the Shawaneſe, on a branch of Great Miami, which he finiſhed with great ſucceſs, took 17 ſcalps, and burnt the town to aſhes, with the loſs of 17 men.

About this time I returned to Kentucky with my family; and here, to avoid an inquiry into my conduct, the reader being before informed of my bringing my family to Kentucky, I am under the neceſſity of informing him that, during my captivity with the Indians, my wife, who deſpaired of ever ſeeing me again, expecting the Indians had put a period to my life, oppreſſed with the diſtreſſes of the country, and bereaved of me, her only happineſs, had, before I returned, tranſported my family and goods, on horſes, through the wilderneſs, amidſt a multitude of dangers, to her father's houſe in North-Carolina.

Shortly after the troubles at Boonſborough, I went to them, and lived peaceably there until this time. The hiſtory of my going home, and returning with my family, forms a ſeries of difficulties, an account of which would ſwell a volume, and being foreign to my purpoſe, I ſhall purpoſely omit them.

I ſettled my family in Boonſborough once more; and ſhortly after, on the 6th day of October 1780, I went in

company with my brother to the Blue licks; and, on our return home, we were fired upon by a party of Indians. They ſhot him, and purſued me, by the ſcent of their dog, three miles; but I killed the dog, and eſcaped. The winter ſoon came on, and was very ſevere, which confined the Indians to their wigwams.

The ſeverity of this winter cauſed great difficulties in Kentucky. The enemy had deſtroyed moſt of the corn the ſummer before. This neceſſary article was ſcarce and dear; and the inhabitants lived chiefly on the fleſh of buffalo. The circumſtances of many were very lamentable: however, being a hardy race of people, and accuſtomed to difficulties and neceſſities, they were wonderfully ſupported through all their ſufferings, until the enſuing autumn, when we received abundance from the fertile ſoil.

Towards ſpring, we were frequently haraſſed by Indians; and, in May, 1782, a party aſſaulted Aſhton's ſtation, killed one man, and took a negro priſoner. Capt. Aſhton, with 25 men, purſued, and overtook the ſavages, a ſmart fight enſued, which laſted two hours; but they being ſuperior in number, obliged captain Aſhton's party to retreat, with the loſs of 8 killed, and 4 mortally wounded; their brave commander himſelf being numbered among the dead.

The Indians continued their hoſtilities; and, about the 10th of Auguſt following, two boys were taken from major Hoy's ſtation. This party was purſued by capt. Holder and 17 men, who were alſo defeated, with the loſs of 4 men killed and 1 wounded. Our affairs became more and more alarming. Several ſtations which had lately been erected in the country were continually infeſted with ſavages, ſtealing their horſes and killing the men at every opportunity. In a field near Lexington, an Indian ſhot a man, and running to ſcalp him, was himſelf ſhot from the fort, and fell dead upon his enemy.

Every day we experienced recent miſchiefs. The barba-

rous

rous ſavage nations of Shawaneſe, Cherokees, Wyandots, Tawas, Delawares, and ſeveral others near Detroit, united in a war againſt us, and aſſembled their choiceſt warriors at Old Chelicothe, to go on the expedition, in order to deſtroy us, and entirely depopulate the country. Their ſavage minds were inflamed to miſchief by two abandoned men, captains M'Kee and Girty. Theſe led them to execute every diabolical ſcheme; and on the 15th day of Auguſt, commanded a party of Indians and Canadians, of about 500 in number, againſt Briant's ſtation, 5 miles from Lexington. Without demanding a ſurrender, they furiouſly aſſaulted the garriſon, which was happily prepared to oppoſe them; and after they had expended much ammunition in vain, and killed the cattle round the fort, not being likely to make themſelves maſters of this place, they raiſed the ſiege, and departed in the morning of the third day after they came, with the loſs of about 30 killed, and the number of wounded uncertain.—Of the garriſon 4 were killed, and 3 wounded.

On the 18th day col. Todd, col. Trigg, major Harland, and myſelf, ſpeedily collected 176 men, well armed, and purſued the ſavages. They had marched beyond the Blue licks to a remarkable bend of the main fork of Licking river, about 43 miles from Lexington, where we overtook them on the 19th day. The ſavages obſerving us, gave way: and we, being ignorant of their numbers, paſſed the river. When the enemy ſaw our proceedings, having greatly the advantage of us in ſituation, they formed the line of battle, from one bend of Licking to the other, about a mile from the Blue licks. An exceeding fierce battle immediately began, for about 15 minutes, when we, being overpowered by numbers, were obliged to retreat, with the loſs of 67 men, 7 of whom were taken priſoners. The brave and much-lamented colonels Todd and Trigg, major Harland, and my ſecond ſon, were among the dead. We were informed that

the Indians, numbering their dead, found they had 4 killed more than we; and therefore, 4 of the priſoners they had taken were, by general conſent, ordered to be killed, in a moſt barbarous manner, by the young warriors, in order to train them up to cruelty; and then they proceeded to their towns.

On our retreat we were met by col. Logan, haſtening to join us, with a number of well-armed men. This powerful aſſiſtance we unfortunately wanted in the battle; for notwithſtanding the enemy's ſuperiority of numbers, they acknowledged that, if they had received one more fire from us, they ſhould undoubtedly have given way. So valiantly did our ſmall party fight, that, to the memory of thoſe who unfortunately fell in the battle, enough of honour cannot be paid. Had col. Logan and his party been with us, it is highly probable we ſhould have given the ſavages a total defeat.

I cannot reflect upon this dreadful ſcene, but ſorrow fills my heart. A zeal for the defence of their country led theſe heroes to the ſcene of action, though with a few men to attack a powerful army of experienced warriors. When we gave way they purſued us with the utmoſt eagerneſs, and in every quarter ſpread deſtruction. The river was difficult to croſs, and many were killed in the flight, ſome juſt entering the river, ſome in the water, others after croſſing, in aſcending the cliffs. Some eſcaped on horſeback, a few on foot; and, being diſperſed everywhere in a few hours, brought the melancholy news of this unfortunate battle to Lexington. Many widows were now made. The reader may gueſs what ſorrow filled the hearts of the inhabitants, exceeding any thing that I am able to deſcribe. Being reinforced, we returned to bury the dead, and found their bodies ſtrewed everywhere, cut and mangled in a dreadful manner. This mournful ſcene exhibited a horror almoſt unparalleled: ſome torn and eaten by wild beaſts; thoſe

thoſe in the river eaten by fiſhes; all in ſuch a putrified condition, that no one could be diſtinguiſhed from another.

As ſoon as general Clark, then at the falls of the Ohio, who was ever our ready friend, and merits the love and gratitude of all his countrymen, underſtood the circumſtances of this unfortunate action, he ordered an expedition, with all poſſible haſte, to purſue the ſavages, which was ſo expeditiouſly effected, that we overtook them within 2 miles of their towns, and probably might have obtained a great victory, had not two of their number met us about 200 poles before we came up. Theſe returned quick as lightning to their camp with the alarming news of a mighty army in view. The ſavages fled in the utmoſt diſorder, evacuated their towns, and reluctantly left their territory to our mercy. We immediately took poſſeſſion of Old Chelicothe, without oppoſition, being deſerted by its inhabitants. We continued our purſuit through five towns on the Miami rivers, Old Chelicothe, Pecaway, New Chelicothe, Will's Towns, and Chelicothe, burnt them all to aſhes, entirely deſtroyed their corn, and other fruits, and everywhere ſpread a ſcene of deſolation in the country. In this expedition we took 7 priſoners and 5 ſcalps, with the loſs of only 4 men, 2 of whom were accidentally killed by our own army.

This campaign in ſome meaſure damped the ſpirits of the Indians, and made them ſenſible of our ſuperiority. Their connexions were diſſolved, their armies ſcattered, and a future invaſion put entirely out of their power; yet they continued to practiſe miſchief ſecretly upon the inhabitants in the expoſed parts of the country.

In October following, a party made an excurſion into that diſtrict called the Crab Orchard, and one of them, being advanced ſome diſtance before the others, boldly entered the houſe of a poor defenceleſs family, in which was only a negro man, a woman and her children, terrified with the apprehenſions of immediate death. The ſavage, perceiving

their defenceleſs ſituation, without offering violence to the family, attempted to captivate the negro, who happily proved an over-match for him, threw him on the ground, and, in the ſtruggle, the mother of the children drew an axe from a corner of the cottage, and cut his head off, while her little daughter ſhut the door. The ſavages inſtantly appeared, and applied their tomahawks to the door. An old ruſty gun-barrel, without a lock, lay in a corner, which the mother put through a ſmall crevice, and the ſavages perceiving it, fled. In the mean time the alarm ſpread through the neighbourhood; the armed men collected immediately, and purſued the ravagers into the wilderneſs. Thus Providence, by the means of this negro, ſaved the whole of the poor family from deſtruction. From that time, until the happy return of peace between the United States and Great Britain, the Indians did us no miſchief. Finding the great king beyond the water diſappointed in his expectations, and conſcious of the importance of the Long Knife, and their own wretchedneſs, ſome of the nations immediately deſired peace; to which, at preſent, they ſeem univerſally diſpoſed, and are ſending ambaſſadors to general Clark, at the falls of the Ohio, with the minutes of their councils; a ſpecimen of which, in the minutes of the Piankaſhaw council, is ſubjoined.

To conclude, I can now ſay that I have verified the ſaying of an old Indian who ſigned col. Henderſon's deed. Taking me by the hand, at the delivery thereof, "Brother," ſays he, "we have given you a fine land, but I believe you will have much trouble in ſettling it."—My footſteps have often been marked with blood, and therefore I can truly ſubſcribe to its original name. Two darling ſons, and a brother, have I loſt by ſavage hands, which have alſo taken from me 40 valuable horſes, and abundance of cattle. Many dark and ſleepleſs nights have I been a companion for owls, ſeparated from the cheerful ſociety of men, ſcorched by the

ſummer's

ſummer's ſun, and pinched by the winter's cold, an inſtrument ordained to ſettle the wilderneſs. But now the ſcene is changed: peace crowns the ſylvan ſhade.

What thanks, what ardent and ceaſeleſs thanks, are due to that all-ſuperintending Providence which has turned a cruel war into peace, brought order out of confuſion, made the fierce ſavages placid, and turned away their hoſtile weapons from our country! May the ſame almighty goodneſs baniſh the accurſed monſter, war, from all lands, with her hated aſſociates, rapine and inſatiable ambition! Let peace, deſcending from her native heaven, bid her olives ſpring amidſt the joyful nations; and plenty, in league with commerce, ſcatter bleſſings from her copious hand!

This account of my adventures will inform the reader of the moſt remarkable events of this country.—I now live in peace and ſafety, enjoying the ſweets of liberty, and the bounties of Providence, with my once fellow-ſufferers, in this delightful country, which I have ſeen purchaſed with a vaſt expence of blood and treaſure, delighting in the proſpect of its being, in a ſhort time, one of the moſt opulent and powerful ſtates on the continent of North America; which, with the love and gratitude of my countrymen, I eſteem a ſufficient reward for all my toil and dangers.

DANIEL BOON.

Fayette county, Kentucky.

PIANKASHAW COUNCIL.

In a council, held with the Piankaſhaw Indians, by Tho. J. Dalton, at poſt St. Vincent's, April 15, 1784.

My children,

WHAT I have often told you, is now come to paſs. This day I received news from my great chief, at the falls of Ohio. Peace is made with the enemies of America. The

white fleſh, the Americans, French, Spaniards, Dutch, and Engliſh, this day ſmoke out of the peace-pipe. The tomahawk is buried, and they are now friends.

I am told the Shawaneſe, Delawares, Chickaſaws, Cherokees, and all other the red fleſh, have taken the Long Knife by the hand. They have given up to them the priſoners that were in their nations.

My children on Wabaſh,

Open your ears, and let what I tell you ſink deep in your hearts. You know me. Near 20 years I have been among you. The Long Knife is my nation. I know their hearts; peace they carry in one hand, and war in the other.

I leave you to yourſelves to judge. Conſider, and now accept the one, or the other. We never beg peace of our enemies. If you love your women and children, receive the belt of wampum I preſent you. Return me my fleſh you have in your villages, and the horſes you ſtole from my people at Kentucky. Your corn-fields were never diſturbed by the Long Knife. Your women and children lived quiet in their houſes, while your warriors were killing and robbing my people. All this you know is the truth. This is the laſt time I ſhall ſpeak to you. I have waited 6 moons to hear you ſpeak, and to get my people from you. In 10 nights I ſhall leave the Wabaſh to ſee my great chief at the falls of Ohio, where he will be glad to hear, from your own lips, what you have to ſay. Here is tobacco I give you: ſmoke; and conſider what I have ſaid.——Then I delivered one belt of blue and white wampum; and ſaid, Piankaſhaw, ſpeak, ſpeak to the Americans.

Then the Piankaſhaw chief anſwered;

My great father, the Long Knife,

You have been many years among us. You have ſuffered by us. We ſtill hope you will have pity and compaſſion upon us, on our women and children; the day is clear. The ſun ſhines on us; and the good news of peace appears

pears in our faces. This day, my father, this is the day of joy to the Wabaſh Indians. With one tongue we now ſpeak.

We accept your peace-belt. We return God thanks, you are the man that delivered us, what we long wiſhed for, peace with the white fleſh. My father, we have many times counſelled before you knew us; and you know how ſome of us ſuffered before.

We received the tomahawk from the Engliſh: poverty forced us to it: we were attended by other nations: we are ſorry for it: we this day collect the bones of our friends that long ago were ſcattered upon the earth. We bury them in one grave. We thus plant the tree of peace, that God may ſpread branches; ſo that we can all be ſecured from bad weather. They ſmoke as brothers out of the peace-pipe we now preſent you. Here, my father, is the pipe that gives us joy. Smoke out of it. Our warriors are glad you are the man we preſent it to. You ſee, father, we have buried the tomahawk: we now make a great chain of friendſhip never to be broken; and now, as one people, ſmoke out of your pipe. My father, we know God was angry with us for ſtealing your horſes, and diſturbing your people. He has ſent us ſo much ſnow and cold weather, that God himſelf killed all your horſes with our own.

We are now a poor people. God, we hope, will help us: and our father, the Long Knife, will have pity and compaſſion on our women and children. Your fleſh, my father, is well that is among us; we ſhall collect them all together when they come in from hunting. Be not ſorry, my father: all the priſonerstaken at Kentucky are alive and well; we love them, and ſo do our young women.

Some of your people mend our guns, and others tell us they can make rum of the corn. Thoſe are now the ſame as we. In one moon after this, we will go with them to their friends at Kentucky. Some of your people will now go, with

with Coſtea, a chief of our nation, to ſee his great father, the Long Knife, at the falls of Ohio.

My father,

This being the day of joy to the Wabaſh Indians, we beg a little drop of your milk, to let our warriors ſee it came from your own breaſt. We were born and raiſed in the woods; we could never learn to make rum.—God has made the white fleſh maſters of the world: they make every thing; and we all love rum.——

Then they delivered three ſtrings of blue and white wampum and the coronet of peace.

Preſent in Council,

Muſkito, capt. Beaver, Woodes and Burning, Badtripes, Antia, Mantour, Caſtia, Grand Court, with many other chiefs and war captains, and the principal inhabitants of the poſt of St. Vincent's.

OF THE INDIANS.

WE have an account of 28 different nations of Indians, eaſtward of the Miſſiſſippi.—Their ſituation is as follows:

The Cherokee Indians are neareſt to Kentucky, living upon the Tenaſee river, near the mouths of Clinch, Holſton, Nolachucky, and Frenchbroad rivers, which form the Tenaſee or Cherokee river, in the interior part of North-Carolina, 200 miles from Kentucky.

The Chickamawgees live about 90 miles down the Tenaſee from the Cherokees, at a place called Chickamawgee, which in our language ſignifies a boiling pot, there being a whirlpool in the river dangerous for boats. The dragomonough, a chief of the Cherokees, with 60 more, broke off from that nation, and formed this tribe, which is called by the name of the Whirlpool.

The

The Cheegees, and Middle-ſettlement Indians, are ſettled about 50 and 80 miles ſouth of the Cherokee.—Theſe four tribes ſpeak one language, being deſcended from the Cherokees.

The Chickaſaws inhabit about 100 miles N. W. from our ſettlement at French lick, on Cumberland river, on the heads of a river called Tombeche, which runs into Mobile bay.

The Chactaw nation are 80 miles from the Chickaſaws, down the ſame river.

The Creek Indians live about 160 miles ſouth of the Chactaws on the Apalache river, which runs into the gulf of Mexico, ſome little diſtance eaſt of Mobile bay.

The Uchees Indians occupy four different places of reſidence, at the head of St. John's, the fork of St. Mary's, the head of Cannuchee, and the head of St. Tillis. Theſe rivers riſe on the borders of Georgia, and run ſeparately into the ocean.

The Catauba Indians are ſettled in North-Carolina, about 200 miles diſtant from Charles-town in South Carolina.

The tribes to the weſtward of Ohio river are the Delawares, living upon the Muſkingum river, which runs into the Ohio 187 miles above Sciota on the N. W. ſide.

The Mingo nation lives upon a N. W. branch of Sciota river, as is repreſented in the map.

The Wyandotts poſſeſs the banks of a river called Sanduſky, which heads and interlocks with Sciota, and, running in a contrary direction nearly N. W. for a great diſtance, falls into lake Erie.

The Six-Nations are ſettled upon waters running into lake Ontario, that head in the mountain from whence the Ohio and Suſquehanna rivers riſe.

The ſhawaneſe Indians occupy five towns on the waters of little and great Miami, as appears in the map.

The Gibbaways are fixed on the eaſt ſide of Detroit river, and

and oppoſite the fort of that name. This river runs out of lake Huron into lake Erie, is 36 miles in length, and the fort ſtands on the weſt ſide, half way betwixt theſe lakes.

The Hurons live ſix miles from the Gibbaways, towards lake Huron, and on the ſame ſide of the river.

The Tawaws are found 18 miles up the Mawmee or Omee river, which runs into lake Erie.

There is a ſmall tribe of Tawas ſettled at a place called the Rapids, ſome diſtance higher up the river than the former.

The Mawmee Indians live 240 miles up this river, at a place called Roſedebeau.

The Piankaſhaws reſide about 160 miles up Wabaſh river:—

The Vermilion Indians about 60 miles higher;—and the Wyahtinaws about 30 miles ſtill further up the ſame river.

The Wabaſh heads and interlocks with Mawmee, and runs a contrary direction into Ohio, 318 miles below the falls.

The Long-iſle or Iſle-river Indians live on Iſle, or White river, which runs into Wabaſh.

The Kickapoos are fixed on a branch of Mawmee river above the Long-iſle Indians.

The Ozaw nation lives on the Ozaw river, which runs into Miſſiſſippi:—

And the Kakaſky nation, on the Miſſiſſippi, 200 miles above the Ozaws.

The Illinois Indians inhabit upon the Illinois river, which falls into the Miſſiſſippi;—

And the Poutawottamies near St. Joſeph's, a town on a branch of the Illinois.

The Sioux and Renards are neighbours to the fort of Michillimackinac, on lake Michigan.

Theſe are the principal part of the nations within the limits of the United States Allowing about 700 to a nation

tion or tribe, they will contain, in all, 20,000 ſouls, and conſequently may furniſh between 4 and 5,000 warriors.

The ſpeculations of curious idleneſs have framed many ſyſtems to account for the population of this immenſe continent. There is ſcarce a people in the old world which has not had its advocates; and there have not been wanting ſome, who, deſpairing to untie, have cut the knot, by ſuppoſing that the power which furniſhed America with plants, has in the ſame manner ſupplied it with men; or at leaſt, that a remnant in this continent was ſaved from the univerſal deluge, as well as in the other. As this ſubject is rather curious than uſeful, and, in its very nature, does not admit of certainty, every thing that paſſed in America before the arrival of the Europeans being plunged in cimmerian darkneſs, except thoſe little traditional records, which diffuſe a glimmering light on the two empires of Mexico and Peru, for about 200 years at moſt before that period, we ſhall only ſlightly touch on that ſubject; chiefly for the ſake of taking notice of ſome modern diſcoveries which ſeem to ſtrengthen the probability of ſome former theories. The great ſimilarity, or rather identity, of the perſons and manners of the Americans, and thoſe of the Tartars of the north-eaſtern parts of Aſia, together with a preſumption, which has long poſſeſſed the learned, that Aſia and America were united, or at leaſt ſeparated only by a narrow ſea, has inclined the more reflecting part of mankind to the opinion, that the true origin of the Indians is from this quarter. The immenſe ſeas, which ſeparate the two continents on every other ſide, render it highly improbable that any colonies could ever have been ſent acroſs them before the diſcovery of the magnetical compaſs. The ingenious M. Buffon too has remarked, and the obſervation appears to be juſt, that there are no animals inhabiting in common the two continents, but ſuch as can bear the colds of the north. Thus there

there are no elephants, no lions, no tigers, no camels in America; but bears, wolves, deer, and elks in abundance, abſolutely the ſame in both hemiſpheres. This hypotheſis, which has been gaining ground ever ſince its firſt appearance in the world, is now reduced almoſt to a certainty by the late diſcoveries of capt. Cook. That illuſtrious, but unfortunate navigator, in his laſt voyage, penetrated for a conſiderable diſtance into the ſtreight which divides Aſia from America, which is only ſix leagues wide at its mouth; and therefore eaſily practicable for canoes. We may now therefore conclude, that no farther inquiry will ever be made into the general origin of the american tribes.

Yet, after all, it is far from being improbable that various nations, by ſhipwreck, or otherwiſe, may have contributed, in ſome degree, to the population of this continent. The Carthaginians, who had many ſettlements on the coaſt of Africa, beyond the ſtreights of Gibraltar, and puſhed their diſcoveries as far as where the two continents in that quarter approach each other the neareſt, may probably have been thrown by tempeſts on the american coaſt, and the companies of the veſſels finding it impracticable to return, may have incorporated with the former inhabitants, or have formed new ſettlements, which, from want of the neceſſary inſtruments to exerciſe the arts they were acquainted with, would naturally degenerate into barbarity. There are indeed ſome ancient writers, who give us reaſon to ſuppoſe, that there were colonies regularly formed by that nation in America, and that the communication, after having continued for ſome time, was ſtopped by order of the ſtate. But it is difficult to conceive that any people, eſtabliſhed with all thoſe neceſſaries proper for their ſituation, ſhould ever degenerate, from ſo high a degree of cultivation as the Carthaginians poſſeſſed, to a total ignorance even of the moſt neceſſary arts: and therefore it ſeems probable,

ENGRAVED for IMLAY's AMERICAN TOPOGRAPHY.
A MAP of
The STATE of
KENTUCKY,
from Actual Survey
by Elihu Barker
of Philadelphia.
NORTH WESTERN TERRITORY
WOODFORD COUNTY
JEFFERSON COUNTY
NELSON COUNTY
LINCOLN COUNTY
MADISON COUNTY
BOURBON COUNTY
MASON COUNTY
FAYETTE COUNTY
MERCER COUNTY
TENNASSEE GOVERNMENT
TENNASSEE GOVERNMENT
Barren Naked Land
Naked Land or Barrens
Barrens
Cane on all these Branches
Very good high Land
Henderson & Co's Grant
Scale of British Statute Miles.
0 5 10 15 20 30 40 50
Longitude West from London.
London, Published June 1st 1795, by J. Debrett, Piccadilly.
T. Conder Sculp.

bable, that if that nation ever had ſuch colonies, they muſt have been cut off by the natives, and every veſtige of them deſtroyed.

About the ninth and tenth centuries, the Danes were the greateſt navigators in the univerſe. They diſcovered and ſettled Iceland; and from thence, in 964, planted a colony in Greenland. The ancient icelandic chronicles, as reported by M. Mallet, contain an account of ſome Icelanders, who, in the cloſe of an unſucceſsful war, fled to Greenland, and from thence weſtward, to a country covered with vines, which from thence they called Vinland.

The adventurers returned home, and conducted a colony to their new diſcovery; but diſturbances ariſing in Denmark, all communication with Greenland, as well as Vinland, ceaſed; and thoſe countries remained unknown to the reſt of the world for ſeveral ages. The remains of this colony are probably to be found on the coaſt of Labrador, in the nation of the Eſquimaux. The colour of their ſkins, their hairy bodies and buſhy beards, not to mention the difference of manners, mark an origin totally diſtinct from that of theother Indians.

In the year 1170, Madoc, ſon of Owen Gwynnedh, prince of Wales, diſſatisfied with the ſituation of affairs at home, left his country, as related by the welſh hiſtorians, in queſt of new ſettlements, and leaving Ireland to the north, proceeded weſt till he diſcovered a fertile country; where, leaving a colony, he returned, and perſuading many of his countrymen to join him, put to ſea with 10 ſhips, and was never more heard of.

This account has at ſeveral times drawn the attention of the world; but as no veſtiges of them had then been found, it was concluded, perhaps too raſhly, to be a fable, or, at leaſt, that no remains of the colony exiſted. Of late years, however, the weſtern ſettlers have received frequent accounts of a nation, inhabiting at a great diſtance up the Miſſouri,

Miſſouri, in manners and appearance reſembling the other Indians, but ſpeaking welſh, and retaining ſome ceremonies of the chriſtian worſhip; and at length this is univerſally believed there to be a fact.

Captain Abraham Chaplain, of Kentucky, a gentleman whoſe veracity may be entirely depended upon, aſſured the author, that in the late war, being with his company in garriſon at Kaſkaſky, ſome Indians came there, and, ſpeaking in the welſh dialect, were perfectly underſtood and converſed with by two Welſhmen in his company, and that they informed them of the ſituation of their nation as mentioned above.

The author is ſenſible of the ridicule which the vain and the petulant may attempt to throw on this account; but as truth only has guided his pen, he is regardleſs of the conſequences, and flatters himſelf, that, by calling the attention of mankind once more to this ſubject, he may be the means of procuring a more accurate inquiry into its truth, which, if it ſhould even refute the ſtory of the Welſh, will at leaſt perform the important ſervice to the world, of promoting a more accurate diſcovery of this immenſe continent.

There are ſeveral ancient remains in Kentucky, which ſeem to prove, that this country was formerly inhabited by a nation farther advanced in the arts of life than the Indians. Theſe are there uſually attributed to the Welſh, who are ſuppoſed to have formerly inhabited here; but having been expelled by the natives, were forced to take refuge near the ſources of the Miſſouri.

It is well known, that no indian nation has ever practiſed the method of defending themſelves by entrenchments; and ſuch a work would even be no eaſy one, while theſe nations were unacquainted with the uſe of iron.

In the neighbourhood of Lexington, the remains of two ancient fortifications are to be ſeen, furniſhed with ditches

and

and baſtions. One of theſe contains about ſix acres of land, and the other nearly three. They are now overgrown with trees, which, by the number of circles in the wood, appear to be not leſs than 160 years old. Pieces of earthen veſſels have alſo been plowed up near Lexington, a manufacture with which the Indians were never acquainted.

The burying-grounds, which were mentioned above, under the head of Curioſities, form another ſtrong argument that this country was formerly inhabited by a people different from the preſent Indians. Although they do not diſcover any marks of extraordinary art in the ſtructure, yet, as many nations are particularly tenacious of their ancient cuſtoms, it may perhaps be worthy of inquiry, whether theſe repoſitories of the dead do not bear a conſiderable reſemblance to the ancient britiſh remains. Some buildings, attributed to the Picts, are mentioned by the ſcottiſh antiquaries, which, if the author miſtakes not, are formed nearly in the ſame manner. Let it be enough for him to point out the road, and hazard ſome uncertain conjectures. The day is not far diſtant, when the fartheſt receſſes of this continent will be explored, and the accounts of the Welſh eſtabliſhed beyond the poſſibility of a doubt, or conſigned to that oblivion which has already received ſo many ſuppoſitions founded on arguments as plauſible as theſe.

PERSONS AND HABITS.

The Indians are not born white; and take a great deal of pains to darken their complexion, by anointing themſelves with greaſe, and lying in the ſun. They alſo paint their faces, breaſts, and ſhoulders, of various colours, but generally red; and their features are well formed, eſpecially thoſe of the women. They are of a middle ſtature, their limbs clean and ſtraight, and ſcarcely any crooked or deformed perſon is to be found among them. In many parts of their bodies they prick in gun-powder in very pretty

figures. They ſhave, or pluck the hair off their heads, except a patch about the crown, which is ornamented with beautiful feathers, beads, wampum, and ſuch-like baubles. Their ears are pared, and ſtretched in a thong down to their ſhoulders. They are wound round with wire to expand them, and adorned with ſilver pendants, rings, and bells, which they likewiſe wear in their noſes. Some of them will have a large feather through the cartilage of the noſe; and thoſe who can afford it, wear a collar of wampum, a ſilver breaſtplate, and bracelets, on the arms and wriſts. A bit of cloth about the middle, a ſhirt of the engliſh make, on which they beſtow innumerable broaches to adorn it, a ſort of cloth boots and mockaſons, which are ſhoes of a make peculiar to the Indians, ornamented with porcupine quills, with a blanket or match-coat thrown over all, completes their dreſs at home; but when they go to war, they leave their trinkets behind, and mere neceſſaries ſerve them. There is little difference between the dreſs of the men and women, excepting that a ſhort petticoat, and the hair, which is exceeding black and long, clubbed behind, diſtinguiſh ſome of the latter. Except the head and eyebrows, they pluck the hair, with great diligence, from all parts of the body, eſpecially the looſer part of the ſex.

Their warlike arms are guns, bows and arrows, darts, ſcalping-knives, and tomahawks. This is one of their moſt uſeful pieces of field furniture, ſerving all the offices of the hatchet, pipe, and ſword. They are exceedingly expert in throwing it, and will kill at a conſiderable diſtance. The world has no better markſmen, with any weapon. They will kill birds flying, fiſhes ſwimming, and wild beaſts running.

GENIUS.

The Indians are not ſo ignorant as ſome ſuppoſe them, but are a very underſtanding people, quick of apprehenſion, ſudden in execution, ſubtle in buſineſs, exquiſite in invention, and

and induſtrious in action. They are of a very gentle and amiable diſpoſition to thoſe they think their friends, but as implacable in their enmity; their revenge being only completed in the entire deſtruction of their enemies. They are very hardy, bearing heat, cold, hunger and thirſt, in a ſurpriſing manner, and yet no people are more addicted to exceſs in eating and drinking, when it is conveniently in their power. The follies, nay miſchief, they commit when inebriated, are entirely laid to the liquor; and no one will revenge any injury (murder excepted) received from one who is no more himſelf. Among the Indians, all men are equal, perſonal qualities being moſt eſteemed. No diſtinction of birth, no rank, renders any man capable of doing prejudice to the rights of private perſons; and there is no pre-eminence from merit, which begets pride, and which makes others too ſenſible of their own inferiority. Though there is perhaps leſs delicacy of ſentiment in the Indians than amongſt us; there is, however, abundantly more probity, with infinitely leſs ceremony, or equivocal compliments. Their public conferences ſhew them to be men of genius; and they have, in a high degree, the talent of natural eloquence.

They live diſperſed in ſmall villages, either in the woods, or on the banks of rivers, where they have little plantations of indian corn, and roots, not enough to ſupply their families half the year, and ſubſiſting the remainder of it by hunting, fiſhing, and fowling, and the fruits of the earth, which grow ſpontaneouſly in great plenty.

Their huts are generally built of ſmall logs, and covered with bark, each one having a chimney, and a door, on which they place a padlock.

Old Chelicothe is built in form of a Kentucky ſtation, that is, a parallelogram, or long ſquare; and ſome of their houſes are ſhingled. A long council-houſe extends the whole length of the town, where the king and chiefs of the

nation frequently meet, and conſult of all matters of importance, whether of a civil or military nature.

Some huts are built by ſetting up a frame on forks, and placing bark againſt it; others of reeds, and ſurrounded with clay. The fire is in the middle of the wigwam, and the ſmoke paſſes through a little hole. They join reeds together by cords run through them, which ſerve them for tables and beds. They moſtly lie upon ſkins of wild beaſts, and ſit on the ground. They have braſs kettles and pots to boil their food; gourds or calabaſhes, cut aſunder, ſerve them for pails, cups, and diſhes.

RELIGION.

THE accounts of travellers, concerning their religion, are various; and although it cannot be abſolutely affirmed that they have none, yet it muſt be confeſſed very difficult to define what it is. All agree that they acknowledge one ſupreme God, but do not adore him. They have not ſeen him, they do not know him, believing him to be too far exalted above them, and too happy in himſelf to be concerned about the trifling affairs of poor mortals. They ſeem alſo to believe in a future ſtate, and that after death they ſhall be removed to their friends, who have gone before them, to an elyſium, or paradiſe.

The Wyandotts, near Detroit, and ſome others, have the roman catholic religion introduced amongſt them by miſſionaries. Theſe have a church, a miniſter, and a regular burying-ground. Many of them appear zealous, and ſay prayers in their families. Theſe, by acquaintance with white people, are a little civilized, which muſt of neceſſity precede chriſtianity.

The Shawaneſe, Cherokees, Chickaſaws, and ſome others, are little concerned about ſuperſtition, or religion. Others continue their former ſuperſtitious worſhip of the objects of their love and fear, and eſpecially thoſe beings whom they

moſt

moſt dread, and whom therefore we generally denominate devils; though, at the ſame time, it is allowed they pray to the ſun, and other inferior benevolent deities, for ſucceſs in their undertakings, for plenty of food, and other neceſſaries in life.

They have their feſtivals, and other rejoicing-days, on which they ſing and dance in a ring, taking hands, having ſo painted and diſguiſed themſelves, that it is difficult to know any of them; and after enjoying this diverſion for a while, they retire to the place where they have prepared a feaſt of fiſh, fleſh, fowls, and fruits; to which all are invited, and entertained with their country ſongs. They believe that there is great virtue in feaſts for the ſick. For this purpoſe a young buck muſt be killed and boiled, the friends and near neighbours of the patient invited, and having firſt thrown tobacco on the fire, and covered it up cloſe, they all ſit down in a ring, and raiſe a lamentable cry. They then uncover the fire, and kindle it up; and the head of the buck is firſt ſent about, every one taking a bit, and giving a loud croak, in imitation of crows. They afterwards proceed to eat all the buck, making a moſt harmonious, melancholy ſong; in which ſtrain their muſic is particularly excellent.

As they approach their towns, when ſome of their people are loſt in war, they make great lamentations for their dead, and bear them long after in remembrance.

Some nations abhor adultery, do not approve of a plurality of wives, and are not guilty of theft; but there are other tribes not ſo ſcrupulous in theſe matters. Amongſt the Chickaſaws a huſband may cut off the noſe of his wife, if guilty of adultery; but men are allowed greater liberty. This nation deſpiſes a thief. Among the Cherokees they cut off the noſe and ears of an adultereſs; afterwards her huſband gives her a diſcharge; and from this time ſhe is not permitted to refuſe any one who preſents himſelf. Forni-

cation is unnoticed; for they allow perſons in a ſingle ſtate unbounded freedom.

Their form of marriage is ſhort—the man, before witneſſes, gives the bride a deer's foot, and ſhe, in return, preſents him with an ear of corn, as emblems of their ſeveral duties.

The women are very ſlaves to the men; which is a common caſe in rude, unpoliſhed nations, throughout the world. They are charged with being revengeful; but this revenge is only doing themſelves juſtice on thoſe who injure them, and is ſeldom executed, but in caſes of murder and adultery.

Their king has no power to put any one to death by his own authority; but the murderer is generally delivered up to the friends of the deceaſed, to do as they pleaſe. When one kills another, his friend kills him, and ſo they continue until much blood is ſhed; and at laſt the quarrel is ended by mutual preſents. Their kings are hereditary, but their authority extremely limited. No people are a more ſtriking evidence of the miſeries of mankind in the want of government than they. Every chief, when offended, breaks off with a party, ſettles at ſome diſtance, and then commences hoſtilities againſt his own people. They are generally at war with each other. Theſe are common circumſtances amongſt the Indians.

When they take captives in war, they are exceedingly cruel, treating the unhappy priſoners in ſuch a manner, that death would be preferable to life. They afterwards give them plenty of food, load them with burdens, and when they arrive at their towns, they muſt run the gauntlet. In this, the ſavages exerciſe ſo much cruelty, that one would think it impoſſible they ſhould ſurvive their ſufferings. Many are killed; but if one outlives this trial, he is adopted into a family as a ſon, and treated with paternal kindneſs; and if he avoids their ſuſpicions of going away, is allowed the ſame privileges as their own people.

CON-

CONCLUSION.

HAVING finiſhed my intended narrative, I ſhall cloſe with a few obſervations on the happy circumſtances that the inhabitants of Kentucky will probably enjoy, from the poſſeſſion of a country ſo extenſive and fertile.

There are four natural qualities neceſſary to promote the happineſs of a country, viz. A good ſoil, air, water, and trade. Theſe, taken collectively, excepting the latter, Kentucky poſſeſſes in a ſuperior degree: and, agreeably to our deſcription of the weſtern trade, we conclude, that it will be nearly equal to any other on the continent of America, and the diſadvantage it is ſubject to, be fully compenſated by the fertility of the ſoil.

This fertile region, abounding with all the luxuries of nature, ſtored with all the principal materials for art and induſtry, inhabited by virtuous and ingenious citizens, muſt univerſally attract the attention of mankind, being ſituated in the central part of the extenſive american empire (the limits of whoſe ample domains may be ſeen deſcribed in the ſecond article of the late definitive treaty), where agriculture, induſtry, laws, arts and ſciences, flouriſh; where afflicted humanity raiſes her drooping head, where ſprings a harveſt for the poor; where conſcience ceaſes to be a ſlave, and laws are no more than the ſecurity of happineſs; where nature makes reparation for having created man; and government, ſo long proſtituted to the moſt criminal purpoſes, eſtabliſhes an aſylum in the wilderneſs for the diſtreſſed of mankind.

The recital of your happineſs will call to your country all the unfortunate of the earth, who, having experienced oppreſſion, political or religious, will there find a deliverance from their chains. To you innumerable multitudes will emigrate from the hateful regions of deſpotiſm and tyranny; and you will ſurely welcome them as friends, as brothers;

you will welcome them to partake with you of your happineſs.—Let the memory of Lycurgus, the ſpartan legiſlator, who baniſhed covetouſneſs and the love of gold from his country; the excellent Locke, who firſt taught the doctrine of toleration; the venerable Penn, the firſt who founded a city of brethren; and Waſhington, the defender and protector of perſecuted liberty, be ever the illuſtrious examples of your political conduct. Avail yourſelves of the benefits of nature, and of the fruitful country you inhabit.

Let the iron of your mines, the wool of your flocks, your flax and hemp, the ſkins of the ſavage animals that wander in your woods, be faſhioned into manufactures, and take an extraordinary value from your hands. Then will you rival the ſuperfluities of Europe, and know that happineſs may be found, without the commerce ſo univerſally deſired by mankind.

In your country, like the land of promiſe, flowing with milk and honey, a land of brooks of water, of fountains and depths, that ſpring out of vallies and hills, a land of wheat and barley, and all kinds of fruits, you ſhall eat bread without ſcarceneſs, and not lack anything in it; where you are neither chilled with the cold of capricorn, nor ſcorched with the burning heat of cancer; the mildneſs of your air ſo great, that you neither feel the effects of infectious fogs, nor peſtilential vapours. Thus, your country, favoured with the ſmiles of heaven, will probably be inhabited by the firſt people the world ever knew.

ROAD from PHILADELPHIA to the falls of the OHIO by land.

	M.	M. D.
FROM Philadelphia to Lancaſter -	66	
To Wright's on Suſquehanna -	10	76
York-town - - -	12	88
Abbott's-town - - -	15	103

To

To Hunter's-town	10	113
the mountain at Black's gap	3	116
the other ſide of the mountain	7	123
the Stone-houſe tavern	25	148
Wadkin's ferry on Potowmac	14	162
Martinſburg	13	175
Winchester	20	195
Newtown	8	203
Stover's-town	10	213
Woodſtock	12	225
Shanandoah river	15	240
the north branch of Shanandoah	29	269
Stanton	15	284
the north fork of James river	37	321
James river	18	339
Botetourt court-houſe	12	351
Woods's on Catauba river	21	372
Paterſon's on Roanoak	9	381
the Allegany mountain	8	389
New river	12	401
the forks of the road	16	417
Fort Chiſſel	12	429
a ſtone mill	11	440
Boyd's	8	448
Head of Holſton	5	453
Waſhington court-houſe	45	498
the block-houſe	35	533
Powel's mountain	33	566
Walden's ridge	3	569
the Valley ſtation	4	573
Martin Cabbin's	25	598
Cumberland mountain	20	618
the ford of Cumberland river	13	631
the Flat lick	9	640
Stinking creek	2	642
Richland creek	7	649
Down Richland creek	8	657
Raccoon ſpring	6	663
Laurel river	2	665
Hazel patch	15	680
the ford on Rock Caſtle river	10	690
Engliſh's ſtation	25	715
Col. Edwards's at Crab orchard	3	718
Whitley's ſtation	5	723

To

To Logan's ſtation	5	728
Clark's ſtation	7	735
Crow's ſtation	4	739
Harrod's ſtation	3	742
Harland's	4	746
Harbiſon's	10	756
Bard's-town	25	781
the ſalt-works	25	806
the falls of the Ohio	20	826

Kentucky is ſituated about ſouth, 60° weſt from Philadelphia, and, on a ſtraight line, may be about 600 miles diſtant from that city.

ROAD and diſtances from PHILADELPHIA to PITTSBURG.

	M.	M. D.
FROM Philadelphia to Lancaſter	66	
To Middle-town	26	92
Harris's ferry	10	102
Carliſle	17	119
Shippenſburg	21	140
Chamber's-town	11	151
Fort Loudon	13	164
Fort Littleton	18	182
Juniata creek	19	201
Bedford	14	215
the foot of the Allegany mountains	15	230
Stony creek	15	245
the eaſt ſide of Laurel hill	12	257
Fort Ligonier	9	266
Pittſburg	54	320

POSTSCRIPT.

IN order to communicate a diſtinct idea of the preſent complexion of the ſtate of Kentucky, a map from the beſt authorities is annexed, from which you will diſcern that Kentucky is already divided into nine counties; viz. Jefferſon, Fayette, Bourbon, Mercer, Nelſon, Madiſon, Lincoln, Woodford, and Maſon; and that villages are ſpringing up in every part within its limits, while roads have been opened

to

to ſhorten the diſtance to Virginia, and to ſmooth th rugged paths, which a ſhort time ſince were our only tracts of communication from one place to another.

You muſt have obſerved in a note I annexed to my laſt letter, the ſecurity Kentucky enjoys from the cordon of troops extending upon the weſtern ſide of the Ohio; and you have only to contemplate the advanced ſettlements on that ſide of the river, I preſume, to become perfectly convinced of our permanent ſafety from the attacks of the Indians.

At the mouth of the great Kanhaway, a ſettlement has been formed, which, united with the ſettlements on Elk river, makes it ſufficiently populous to become a diſtinct county of Virginia, by the name of Kanhaway: ſo that if you look on either quarter of Kentucky, you will find its frontiers are guarded by ſettlements nearly adult.

Galliopolis, upon the weſtern ſide of the Ohio, a little below the mouth of the great Kanhaway, and extending to the Sciota river, ſettled by the French, forms a barrier to the north; the forts, and the different ſettlements contiguous to them, to the weſt; Cumberland to the ſouth; and upon our back, or eaſt, you will obſerve the diſtance through the wilderneſs, which ſeparates us from the back counties of Virginia, is rapidly contracting by the approximation of our ſettlements with thoſe of Virginia and North-Carolina, and which will very ſoon cut off the communication between the northern and ſouthern tribes of Indians.

There were two expeditions from Kentucky performed againſt the Indians in 1791, under the command of generals Scott and Wilkinſon, that I have not hitherto noticed, and which had for their object the chaſtiſement of a predatory, troubleſome, and warlike tribe, who lived in ſeveral detached towns upon the Wabaſh and its waters.

The particulars of thoſe expeditions I do not think have been generally known in Europe, and as they were undertaken

taken when I was abſent from the country, I ſhall ſubjoin an extract from a letter I received from a friend, who formed one of the party; and which, I flatter myſelf, will be found to contain a conſiderable ſhare of information, both as to the manner and addreſs of the Kentuckians in indian warfare, and a more minute account of the country lying between the Ohio and the Wabaſh.

"General Scott, at the head of 800 Kentucky volunteers, marched from oppoſite the mouth of the Kentucky river, about the beginning of June; the courſe he ſteered was about north 20° weſt, and in about 15 days he ſtruck and ſurpriſed the lower Weaucteneau towns on the Wabaſh river, and the pararie adjoining; but unfortunately the river at that time was not fordable, or the Kickapoo town on the north-weſt ſide, with the Indians who eſcaped in their canoes from the Weau town on the ſouth, muſt have fallen completely into our hands; however, about 20 warriors were killed in the Weau villages, and in the river croſſing the Wabaſh, and 47 of their ſquaws and children taken priſoners.

"Immediately after the engagement, a council of war was called, when it was determined, that Wilkinſon ſhould croſs the Wabaſh under cover of the night, with a detachment of 400 men, and endeavour to ſurpriſe the town of Kathtippacanunck, which was ſituated upon the north ſide of that river, at the mouth of Tippacanoe creek, and about 20 miles above the lower Weau towns. This expedition was conducted with ſo much caution and celerity, that Wilkinſon arrived at the margin of the pararie, within a mile, and to the weſt of the town, about an hour before the break of day; whilſt a detachment was taking a circuit through the pararie to co-operate with the main body on a given ſignal, day appeared, and the volunteers ruſhed into the town with an impetuoſity not to be reſiſted. The detachment in advance reached the Tippacanoe creek the very moment the laſt

laſt of the Indians were croſſing, when a very briſk fire took place between the detachment and the Indians on the oppoſite ſide, in which ſeveral of their warriors were killed, and two of our men wounded.

"This town, which contained about 120 houſes, 80 of which were ſhingle-roofed, was immediately burnt and levelled with the ground; the beſt houſes belonged to french traders, whoſe gardens and improvements round the town were truly delightful, and every thing conſidered, not a little wonderful; there was a tavern, with cellars, bar, public and private rooms; and the whole marked a conſiderable ſhare of order, and no ſmall degree of civilization.

"Wilkinſon returned with his detachment, after deſtroying the town, and joined the main army about ſeven in the evening; and the day following our little army were put in motion with their priſoners; and ſteering about ſouth, in 12 days reached the rapids of the Ohio, with the loſs only of two men, who unfortunately were drowned in croſſing Main White river.

"The ſucceſs of this expedition encouraged government to ſet another on foot, under the command of general Wilkinſon; which was deſtined to operate againſt the ſame tribes of Indians; whoſe main town, near the mouth of Ell river, on the Wabaſh, had not been attacked in the firſt excurſion; and accordingly, on the firſt of Auguſt following, the general, at the head of 500 mounted volunteers, marched from fort Waſhington, north 16° weſt, ſteering, as it were, for the Maumic villages on the Picaway fork of the Maumic (or Miami of the lake) and St. Mary's river.—This movement was intended as a feint, and the Indians, who afterwards fell upon our trail, we completely deceived; nor did we change our courſe, until by the capture of a Delaware Indian, we aſcertained that we were within 30 miles of the principal of the Maumic villages, and having marched down our northing, at the very time we received the

the information, ſhifted our courſe to due weſt; and at the diſtance of 180 miles from fort Waſhington we ſtruck the Wabaſh within two miles and a half of Longuille, or, as the Indians call it, Kenapacomaqua.—It was about 4 P. M. when we reached that river, and croſſing it immediately, we marched in four columns acroſs the neck of land formed by the junction of the Wabaſh and Ell rivers; paſſing ſeveral indian war poſts that had been freſh painted, we arrived completely concealed on the ſouth bank of Ell river, and directly oppoſite the town of Kenapacomaqua.

"The ſurpriſe of this town was ſo very complete, that before we received orders to croſs the river and ruſh upon the town, we obſerved ſeveral children playing on the tops of the houſes, and could diſtinguiſh the hilarity and merriment that ſeemed to crown the feſtivity of the villagers, for it was in the ſeaſon of the green corn dance.

"The want of daylight, and a moraſs, that nearly encircled the town, prevented us from ſuddenly attacking, which enabled ſeveral of the Indians to eſcape; and in ſome meaſure obſcured the brilliancy of the enterpriſe, by limiting the number of warriors killed to 11, and capturing 40 ſquaws and their children, after burning all the houſes, and deſtroying about 200 acres of corn; which was then in the milk, and in that ſtage when the Indians prepare it for toſſomanony. This ſucceſs was achieved with the loſs of two men, who were killed.

"About four o'clock in the afternoon we mounted our priſoners, and took a weſt and by north courſe toward the little Kickapoo town, which the general hoped to ſurpriſe on his way to the great Kickapoo town, in the pararie, on the waters of the Illinois river; but the difficulties we encountered in this march, through theſe almoſt boundleſs pararies, were ſuch, that upon our arrival at little Kickapoo town, we found one half the horſes in the army non-effective, and unlikely to reach the Ohio, by the neareſt courſe

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we could take; which conſideration induced the general to relinquiſh the enterpriſe againſt the great Kickapoo town; and accordingly, after deſtroying about 200 acres of corn at Kathtippacanunck, Kickapoo, and the lower Weaucteneau towns, we gained general Scott's return track, and on the 21ſt of Auguſt, after a circuitous march of 486 miles, arrived with our priſoners at Louiſville.

"In the courſe of this march, I had an opportunity of obſerving the general face of the country through which we paſſed.—Between fort Waſhington, at the croſſing of the great Miami, where at preſent there is a conſiderable ſettlement under the protection of fort Hamilton, a fine body of land is found, but which is very indifferently watered. The ſituation of fort Hamilton is well choſen, as advantageous for defence, as pleaſing to the eye; it ſtands on a narrow neck of land, commanding the Miami on the N. W. and a pararie and ſheet of water on the N. E. about a mile wide, and two miles and an half long; from this pararie an abundant ſupply of forage may be got for the uſe of the army by repeated mowings of a very fine natural graſs, from the month of June till the end of September. After paſſing the Miami river hills, on the weſt ſide, the country in places is broken, though, generally ſpeaking, from thence to the limits of our march, toward the Maumic villages the face of it is agreeably varied with hills and dales; well watered, and the timber moſtly ſuch as indicates a ſtrong and durable ſoil. Between the Maumic trace and our weſt line of march toward Kenapacomaqua, there are a number of beech ſwamps, which will require draining before they will admit of ſettlements being formed—there are however delightfully pleaſant and fertile ſituations on the Calemut and Salamine rivers, which are only inferior to the woody plains of Kentucky in extent and climate. The pararie, in which was ſituated Kenapacomaqua, on the north bank of Ell river, is chiefly a moraſs,

a moraſs, and produces little elſe, other than hazel, ſallow, a ſpecies of dwarf poplar, and a very coarſe, but luxuriant graſs; the latter of which covers moſtly the whole ſurface of the earth.—The ſame kind of pararie extends, with little alteration, until you approach Kathtippacanunck, when the whole country gradually aſſumes a more pleaſing and valuable appearance.

"On our line of march from Kenapacomaqua to Kathtippacanunck (the diſtance of which, from the traverſes we were obliged to make to avoid impaſſable moraſſes, was 60 miles), in ſeveral places, the proſpect was only bounded by the natural horizon, the uniformity of which was here and there broken by the diſtant looming of a grove on the edge of the plane, which ſtrongly reſembled the projecting points of a coaſt clothed with wood, and ſeen by mariners at a diſtance from the ſhore.

"The ſituation of the late town of Kathtippacanunck was well choſen for beauty and convenience; it ſtood in the boſom of a delightful ſurrounding country on a very rich bottom, extending eaſt and weſt, on the Wabaſh river, about two miles; the bottom about half a mile wide, bounded on the eaſt by Tippacanoe, and weſtward by a beautiful riſing ground, ſkirted and clothed with thin woods—from the upper bank you command a view of the Wabaſh river, which is terminated by a towering growth of wood to the ſouth, and Tippacanoe creek to the eaſt—the country in the rear from the upper bank ſpreads into a level pararie of firm, ſtrong land, of an excellent quality, interſperſed with copſes, naked groves of trees, and high mounds of earth of a regular and conical form, all of which conſpire to relieve the eye, and cheer the ſcene with the moſt agreeable variety. The top of this bank, which is level with the plane of the pararie, and about 200 feet perpendicular from the bottom in which the town ſtood, forms an angle about 60°, and

and about midway there iſſue from its ſide two living fountains, which have hitherto conſtantly ſupplied the town with water

"The country between Kathtippacanunck and the little Kickapoo town is beautiful beyond deſcription. The numerous breaks, and intermixture of woodland and plains, give the whole an air of the moſt perfect taſte; for nature here, in a propitious hour, and in a benignant mood, ſeems to have deſigned to prove, in beautifying, how far ſhe excels our utmoſt efforts, and the moſt laboured improvements of art.

"Between the little Kickapoo town and the lower Weaucteneau towns, the land is of the firſt-rate quality—at the edge of the woodlands, and before you deſcend into the river bottoms, one of the moſt charming proſpects the imagination can form, diſplays itſelf in all the variegated pride of the moſt captivating beauty. From this place, through the glades and viſtas of the groves in the bottom, you catch a view of the meandering river, which ſilently ſteals through this ſmiling country, as if pregnant with its charms, and as if it was hurrying to communicate its joys to leſs happy ſtreams. The bottoms of the Wabaſh on the oppoſite ſide are confined by a bluff bank nearly 200 feet, which breaks the ſcenery of the valley, and runs parallel with the river—from the top of this bank a plain is ſeen ſtretching out to the eaſt and weſt as far as the eye can reach, without tree or buſh, covered with a moſt luxuriant herbage, and in every reſpect aſſuming the appearance of an highly improved and cultivated meadow. The plain is terminated on the ſouth by a diſtant proſpect of the riſing woodlands, which, with a miſty bloom, and in all that azure beauty, ſo peculiar to theſe fair regions, here appears in all its æthereal luſtre; and ſeems finally loſt in combining with the clouds.

"The pararies extend about 25 miles ſouth of the Wabaſh;

from thence the country gradually breaks into hills and vallies; and until we reached the waters of White river, we found the ſoil tolerably good. There it is very much broken, the bottoms of the rivers are narrow, and ſubject to frequent and violent inundations.

"There is ſome tolerable good land on Rocky river; but as we approached the waters of the Blue river, the country again opens into plains, in which are interſperſed clumps of ſcrubby oak, dwarf laurel, plum and hazel, that extend to Indian creek, when the country again improves, and though it is rather broken, it continued to improve until we reached the rapids of the Ohio."

What I formerly advanced reſpecting a new ſtate being formed in ten years from that date, weſt of the Ohio, merely as conjecture, does not appear to me at preſent the leaſt problematical.

The circumſtances attending the riſe of the ſtate of Kentucky were infinitely more perilous and calamitous than extending our ſettlements farther weſtward is likely to be:—and when it is remembered that ſtate roſe from an uninhabited wild, detached from every other country from which it would obtain ſupplies a diſtance of ſeveral hundred miles, and expoſed on every quarter to the mercileſs fury of the ſavages, in a ſhorter period of time, and that our preſent infant ſettlements are protected by a ſtrong and active military force, directed by fatal and improved experience of our former misfortunes, with a cultivated country at their back, which pours forth an abundance of reſources to ſupport them againſt the effects of contingencies and diſaſters, I think we may contemplate, with every degree of human certainty, the ſucceſs of ſuch a ſpeculation.

The ſettlement at the mouth of the great Kanhaway, which did not commence until 1785, and which was an æra when our weſtern affairs had a moſt gloomy aſpect, conſtitutes already, with the ſettlements above the river Elk, a diſtinct

diſtinct county, and in which the laws of the ſtate to which it belongs are adminiſtered with great preciſion and juſtice.

Galleapolis and the ſettlements upon the Miami increaſe daily in ſtrength, while freſh encouragement and ſecurity are given to emigrants by the vigilance of the army in their neighbourhood; who ſo completely overawe the Indians, that little harm in future can be dreaded from their incurſions, and they well know their partial ſucceſſes hitherto were owing to the folly of our war miniſter, and the inexperience of the officers of his appointment—but the ſyſtem has been completely changed—and the ſucceſs of Wilkinſon and Scott's expedition is amply ſufficient to juſtify the meaſure.

APPENDIX.

No. I.

An hiſtorical narrative and topographical deſcription of Louiſiana, and Weſt-Florida, comprehending the river Miſſiſſippi, with its principal branches and ſettlements, and the rivers Pearl, Paſcagoula, Mobille, Perdido, Eſcamba, Chacta-Hatcha, &c. the climate, ſoil, and produce, whether animal, vegetable, or mineral; with directions for ſailing into all the bays, lakes, harbours and rivers on the north ſide of the gulf of Mexico, and for navigating between the iſlands ſituated along that coaſt, and aſcending the Miſſiſſippi river. By Thomas Hutchins, geographer to the United States.

THE PREFACE.

SEVERAL years reſidence in the province of Weſt-Florida, during which I entered into a minute examination of its coaſts, harbours, lakes, and rivers, having made me perfectly acquainted with their ſituation, bearings, ſoundings, and every particular requiſite to be known by navigators, for their benefit I am induced to make my obſervations public. The expence and trouble at which this knowledge has been acquired, are far from inconſiderable; however, if the accurate ſurveys and deſcriptions I am thereby enabled to give, prove inſtructive and beneficial to my country, I ſhall eſteem myſelf amply repaid.

It may be proper to obſerve that I have had the aſſiſtance of the remarks and ſurveys, ſo far as relates to the mouths of the Miſſiſſippi, and the coaſt and ſoundings of Weſt-Florida, of the late ingenious Mr. George Gauld, a gentleman who was employed by the lords of the britiſh admiralty for the expreſs purpoſe of making an accurate chart of the abovementioned places.

I have alſo had recourſe, in deſcribing ſome parts of the Miſſiſſippi, to the publication of captain Pitman, who reſided many years on that river, and was well acquainted with the country through which it flows.

A particular detail of the advantages that may in time accrue to the poſſeſſors of Weſt-Florida, with a complete deſcription of the country and its productions, would not make an improper addition to the following work; but as the more immediate purpoſe of it is

to

to point out the dangers of its coaſts to the approaching mariner, I ſhall confine the curſory remarks I make on thoſe heads, to ſuch particulars only as are moſt deſerving of notice.

Before I enter on the proſecution of my deſign, I would juſt obſerve, that I ſhall be more ſolicitous to make the reſult of my inveſtigations uſeful than amuſing; I ſhall endeavour rather to be clear and intelligible, than ſtudy to deliver myſelf in florid language.

A DESCRIPTION of the river Miſſiſſippi and the country through which it flows, called Louiſiana, would have been the firſt objects ſubmitted to the reader's attention; were it not humbly preſumed that a ſhort account of the diſcovery of the river Miſſiſſippi, and a view of the different ſtates to which its banks have been ſubjected, are judged neceſſary, before their deſcription is attempted.

The merit of firſt diſcovering the river Miſſiſſippi (or, in the language of the natives, Meſchaſipi, for the general appellation of the former is a corruption of the latter), according to Lewis Hennepin's account publiſhed in London 1698, is due to the ſieur la Salle, who diſcovered that river in 1682. It ſeems that father Hennepin forgot that this river was previouſly diſcovered by Ferdinand de Soto in 1541, alſo by colonel Wood in 1654, and by captain Bolt in 1670. Monſieur de la Salle was the firſt who traverſed that river. In the ſpring of the ſame year 1682, he paſſed down to the mouths of the Miſſiſſippi; he afterwards remounted that river, and returned to Canada in the month of October following, from whence he took his paſſage to France, where he gave ſo flattering an account of the advantages that would certainly accrue from the ſettling a colony in thoſe parts, that a company was formed for carrying thoſe deſigns into execution, with a ſquadron conſiſting of four veſſels; having on board a ſufficient number of perſons, and all kinds of goods and proviſions, neceſſary for the ſervice of the new colony, which he propoſed to fix at or near the mouth of the Miſſiſſippi. But having ſailed beyond the mouth of the river, he attempted to fix a colony at the bay of St. Bernard, where he arrived the 18th of February 1684, about 100 leagues weſtward of the Miſſiſſippi. There his men underwent ſuch hardſhips, that moſt of them periſhed miſerably. The leader, animated with an ardent deſire of extending his diſcoveries, made various excurſions with ſuch of them who were able to travel; but on the 19th of

March 1687, two of his men villainouſly murdered him, when exploring the interior parts of the country, in ſearch of mines, and of the tract which led to thoſe of St. Barbe in new Mexico.

About ſeven years after, monſ. Ibberville, a reſpectable officer in the French navy, undertook to execute whatever la Salle had promiſed; and his reputation being eſtabliſhed already, the court entruſted him with the conduct of the project. He carried his people very ſafely to the mouth of the great river, and there laid the foundation of the firſt colony the French ever had on the Miſſiſſippi. He took care to provide them with every thing neceſſary for their ſubſiſtence, and obliged them to erect a fort, for their defence againſt the Indians. This being done, he returned to France in order to obtain ſupplies.

The ſucceſs of his voyage made him extremely welcome at court, and he was ſoon in a condition to put to ſea again. His ſecond voyage was as fortunate as the firſt; but very unluckily for his colony, he died whilſt he was preparing for the third. The deſign might have been abandoned, had not Crozat, a private man of an immenſe fortune, undertaken its ſupport at his own expence. In 1712, the king gave him Louiſiana. Thus Lewis imitated the pope, who divided between the kings of Spain and Portugal the territories of America, where the holy ſee had not one inch of ground.

In this grant the bounds are fixed by the Illinois river and the lake of that name on the north; by Carolina on the eaſt, the gulf of Mexico on the ſouth, and new Mexico on the weſt. As to Canada, or new France, the french court would ſcarcely admit it had any other northern boundary than the pole. The avidity of Great Britain was equal, but France having been unfortunate in the war of 1710, the northern boundary of Canada was fixed by the treaty of Utrecht in 1713. It aſſigns new Britain and Hudſon's bay, on the north of Canada, to Great Britain; and commiſſioners afterwards on both ſides aſcertained the limits by an imaginary line, running from a cape or promontory in new Britain to the Atlantic ocean, in 58 degrees 30 minutes north latitude, thence ſouth-weſt to the lake Miſgoſink or Miſtaſim; from thence farther ſouth-weſt directly to the latitude of 49 degrees: all the lands to the north of the imaginary line, being aſſigned to Great Britain; and all ſouthward of that line, as far as the river of St. Lawrence,

to

to the French. Theſe were at that time the true limits of Louiſiana and Canada, Crozat's grant not ſubſiſting long after the death of Lewis XIV.

In order to have ſome plauſible pretence for ſetting on foot a project for changing the face of public affairs in France, this ſettlement was thought the moſt convenient; and therefore all imaginable pains were taken to repreſent it as a paradiſe, and a place from whence inexhauſtible riches might be derived, provided due encouragement could be obtained from government. For this purpoſe it was thought requiſite that a new company ſhould be erected, to make way for which Mr. Crozat was to reſign his grant; which he did accordingly.

This occaſioned the noiſe that was made about the Miſſiſſippi, not in France only, but throughout all Europe, which was filled with romantic ſtories of the vaſt fruitfulneſs of the banks of this great river, and the incredible wealth that was likely to flow from thence; and thoſe accounts, though true in part, in the end proved ruinous to many.

Before the treaty of peace in 1762, Louiſiana, or the ſouthern part of new France, extended in the french maps from the gulf of Mexico, in about 29 degrees, to near 45 degrees of north latitude, on the weſt of the Miſſiſſippi, and to near 39 degrees on its eaſtern bank. Its boundaries were Canada on the north; New York, Pennſylvania, Maryland, Virginia, North and South-Carolina, Georgia, and the north-weſt part of the eaſternmoſt peninſula of Florida, on the eaſt; the gulf of Mexico on the ſouth; and laſtly, the kingdom of new Mexico on the weſt.

The european ſtates having obſerved that kings and republics claimed the ſovereignty of every tract which had been ſeen, and were pretended to have been diſcovered by navigators ſailing under their flags, their geographers were not permitted to publiſh maps which might have contradicted ſuch wild claims. This was the abſurdity of former days. But political circumſtances often emboldened pretenders to urge their chimerical rights; and their no leſs chimerical opponents then yielded what they had no better right to cede. But the abſurd recognition of ſuch abſurd pretenſions is but a temporary compliance. It ever did and ever will ſow the ſeeds of implacable animoſities and contentions, until preoccupancy and cultivation, the true teſts of lawful poſſeſſion, ſhall have remedied the former invalidity of the claim.

Both ſides of the Miſſiſſippi continued under the dominion of his moſt chriſtian majeſty till the peace of 1762, when the eaſtern ſide was ceded to the king of Great Britain by the 7th article of the definitive treaty, in the following words: "In order to reeſtabliſh peace on ſolid and durable foundations, and to remove for ever all ſubjects of diſpute with regard to the limits of the britiſh and french territories on the continent of America, it is agreed, that for the future, the confines between the dominions of his britannic majeſty, in that part of the world, ſhall be fixed irrevocably by a line drawn along the middle of the river Miſſiſſippi, from its ſource to the river Ibberville, and from thence, by a line drawn along the middle of this river, and the lakes Maurepas and Ponchartrain, to the ſea; and for this purpoſe the moſt chriſtian king cedes in full right, and guaranties to his britannic majeſty, the river and port of the Mobille, and every thing which he poſſeſſes, or ought to poſſeſs, on the left ſide of the river Miſſiſſippi, except the town of new Orleans, and the iſland in which it is ſituated, which ſhall remain to France; provided that the navigation of the river Miſſiſſippi ſhall be equally free, as well to the ſubjects of Great Britain, as to thoſe of France, in its whole length, from its ſource to the ſea, and expreſsly that part which is between the ſaid iſland of new Orleans, and the right bank of that river, as well as the paſſage both in and out of its mouth: it is further ſtipulated that the veſſels belonging to the ſubjects of either nation, ſhall not be ſtopped, viſited, or ſubjected to the payment of any duty whatſoever. The ſtipulations inſerted in the 4th article, in favour of the inhabitants of Canada, ſhall alſo take place with regard to the inhabitants of the countries ceded by this article."

In the year 1762, and the day before the preliminary articles to the peace were ſigned, his chriſtian majeſty ceded to Spain all his territories on the weſtern ſide of the Miſſiſſippi, together with the town of new Orleans, and the peninſula in which it is ſituated on the eaſtern bank. But the inhabitants of Louiſiana were ignorant of this ceſſion before the year 1764, when Mr. d'Abbadie, then governor, publiſhed the king's letter to him on that ſubject, mentioning the date of the ceſſion, and containing a declaration that he had ſtipulated with Spain that the french laws and uſages ſhould not be altered.

The definitive treaty, between Great-Britain and the United

United States of America, ſigned at Paris the 3d day of September 1783, runs as follows:

"Article 1. His britannic majeſty acknowledges the ſaid United States, viz. New-Hampſhire, Maſſachuſetts-Bay, Rhode-Iſland and Providence plantations, Connecticut, New-York, New-Jerſey, Pennſylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North-Carolina, South-Carolina, and Georgia, to be free, ſovereign, and independent ſtates; that he treats with them as ſuch, and for himſelf, his heirs and ſucceſſors, relinquiſhes all claims to the government, property, and territorial rights of the ſame, and every part thereof.

"Article 2. And that all diſputes which might ariſe in future, on the ſubject of the boundaries of the ſaid United States, may be prevented, it is hereby agreed and declared, that the following are and ſhall be their boundaries, viz. From the north-weſt angle of Nova Scotia, viz. that angle which is formed by a line drawn due north from the ſource of St. Croix river to the highlands, along the ſaid highlands, which divide thoſe rivers that empty themſelves into the river St. Laurence from thoſe which fall into the Atlantic ocean, to the north-weſternmoſt head of Connecticut river; thence down along the middle of that river to the 45th degree of north latitude; from thence by a line due weſt in ſaid latitude, until it ſtrikes the river Irriquois or Cataraqui; thence along the middle of the ſaid river into lake Ontario; through the middle of the ſaid lake until it ſtrikes the communication by water between that lake and lake Erie; thence along the middle of ſaid communication into lake Erie, through the middle of ſaid lake, until it arrives at the water communication between that lake and lake Huron, thence through the middle of ſaid lake to the water communication between that lake and lake Superior; thence through lake Superior, northward of the iſles Royal and Phelipeaux, to the Long lake; thence through the middle of ſaid Long lake and the water communication between it and the lake of the Woods, to the ſaid lake of the Woods, thence through the ſaid lake to the moſt north-weſtern point thereof, and from thence on a due weſt courſe to the river Miſſiſſippi; thence by a line to be drawn along the middle of the ſaid river Miſſiſſippi; thence by a line to be drawn along the middle of the ſaid river Miſſiſſippi until it ſhall interſect the northernmoſt part of the 31ſt degree of north latitude. South, by a line to be drawn due eaſt from the determination of the line laſt mentioned in the latitude of

of 31 degrees north of the equator, to the middle of the river Apalachicola or Catahouche: thence along the middle thereof to its junction with the Flint river: thence ſtraight to the head of St Mary's river: and thence down along the middle of St. Mary's river to the Atlantic ocean: eaſt, by a line to be drawn along the middle of the river St. Croix, from its mouth in the bay of Fundy to its ſource, and from its ſource directly north to the aforeſaid highlands which divide the rivers that fall into the Atlantic ocean from thoſe which fall into the river St. Laurence, comprehending all iſlands within 20 leagues of any part of the ſhores of the United States, and lying between lines to be drawn due eaſt from the points where the aforeſaid boundaries between Nova-Scotia on the one part, and Eaſt-Florida on the other, ſhall reſpectively touch the bay of Fundy and the Atlantic ocean, excepting ſuch iſlands as now are or heretofore have been within the limits of the ſaid province of Nova-Scotia.

"Article 8. The navigation of the river Miſſiſſippi, from its ſource to the ocean, ſhall for ever remain free and open to the ſubjects of Great Britain, and the citizens of the United States."

Having mentioned all the boundaries that were at different periods aſſigned to Louiſiana, the conduct of the Spaniards, on poſſeſſing themſelves of that colony, is to be conſidered next in courſe.

Don Antonio Ulloa arrived at new Orleans about the middle of the year 1766, but deferred to take poſſeſſion of the government of the colony in his catholic majeſty's name, until he had received ſpecial orders to that effect.

In the beginning of the year 1767, 2000 ſpaniſh ſoldiers were ſent from the Havanna, but he did not then take poſſeſſion of the country. He ſent however about 60 of theſe troops to erect two forts, one oppoſite to the britiſh fort, named Bute, on the mouth of the Ibberville, and the other on the weſtern ſide of the Miſſiſſippi, a little below the Natchez, where a detachment of britiſh troops had taken poſt; another party was ſent in the autumn of 1767 to build a fort at the mouth of the river Miſſouri; but the commandant had poſitive orders not to interfere with the civil government of the Illinois country, where monſ. de Saint Ange the french commandant continued to command with about 20 french ſoldiers. Don Antonio Ulloa, without taking poſſeſſion in his catholic majeſty's name, and con-

conſequently without authority from France or Spain, eſtabliſhed monopolies, reſtricted commerce, and committed ſeveral abuſes, which rendered him odious to the coloniſts. At laſt, on the 29th of October 1768, the council iſſued a decree to oblige him and the principal ſpaniſh officers to leave the province in November following, notwithſtanding M. Aubry's remonſtrances, and the proteſt he made againſt the edict of the council.

Don Ulloa's conduct had rendered him the more obnoxious; as, from the letter written by the king of France, acquainting Mr. d'Abbadie with the ceſſion he had made to Spain, it appeared that the two kings had agreed, that Louiſiana ſhould retain her laws, privileges, and cuſtoms. The French, nay the Spaniards themſelves, all blamed Mr. Aubry's acquieſcence: for every one was ſenſible that the king of France never would have directed him to treat don Ulloa with an obſequiouſneſs which degraded royal authority and the french nation; and that his inſtructions could, at moſt, authoriſe Mr. Aubry to follow that officer's advice, until the government of Louiſiana ſhould be delivered to Spain. Whatever entreaties had been uſed to perſuade don Ulloa to take poſſeſſion, and by that meaſure render the exerciſe of his authority lawful, he evaded, but did not ceaſe to oppreſs; ſo that he loſt the eſteem which he had acquired by the publication of his voyages; and the coloniſts having been informed of the ſeverity with which he had governed the city of Quito in Peru, he was only conſidered as a tyrant, whoſe ſole merit was to be learned in the mathematics.

The ſuperior council, guided by the intendant and the attorney-general, having threatened him with a proſecution, he declared that, at the Balize, Mr Aubry had privately delivered to him the command of the colony. As none could conceive that a clandeſtine poſſeſſion ought to authoriſe the public exerciſe of ſovereign power, Ulloa's declaration was judged an artifice of the groſſeſt texture; and Mr. Aubry, who affirmed the declaration to be true, was not believed. It made him fall into contempt, and emboldened the leaders of the party which oppoſed him. Theſe increaſed the doubts of the public relative to the ceſſion, and ſerved to convince every one, that the Spaniards did not ſeriouſly intend taking poſſeſſion:—"The ceſſion," ſaid they, "was made in 1762, the day before the preliminary articles of peace were ſigned: near two years elapſed before it

it was firſt known by the king's letter to Mr. d'Abbadie: more than another year paſſed before the arrival of don Ulloa, who has been above two years in the country, and did not yet take poſſeſſion." If the reflections occaſioned by theſe circumſtances put together; if the conjectures ſcattered in the engliſh newſpapers, or by the Engliſh who came into the country, led the inhabitants to think that the ceſſion was fictitious, and a ſtate manœuvre, their fears were at the ſame time quieted, ſince they did not apprehend thoſe evils which the change of ſovereignty makes almoſt unavoidable, even when the new government is milder and more favourable. On the other hand, their indignation was the greater againſt don Ulloa, who abuſed the reaſons of ſtate that were ſuppoſed to be the cauſe of his having been ſent to Louiſiana; who availed himſelf of Mr. Aubry's imbecility, to eſtabliſh a ſpecies of deſpotiſm, the more intolerant, as it ſhocked the manners of the french nation.

To put a ſtop to this tyranny, it would have been ſufficient to commence, with circumſpection, a juridical proſecution againſt him, and inform the miniſtry of the proceedings. But the council began by iſſuing a decree for expelling him and the Spaniards. To reduce the people to the neceſſity of ſupporting that violence, the leaders excited them to offend the king of Spain, from whom they had received no injury, and who doubtleſs would have puniſhed his officer, had the council proceeded with reſpect, and uſed lawful means to tranſmit to him their grievances. But indignities were offered to the ſpaniſh flag; a ſtep which rendered the inſult perſonal to the king of Spain, and made him overlook his envoy's miſdemeanors. This is not all: the council and the inhabitants ſent deputies to France, charged them to repreſent the grievances of the colony to their ſovereign, and ſupplicate him to retain the province. Their prayers were accompanied with proteſtations of devotion and loyalty. But before the departure of theſe deputies, the leaders of the faction ſeduced ſome members of the council, ſecretly ſent another deputation to Penſacola; and, without the people's knowledge, offered Louiſiana to Great Britain!

The dread of being called to account, with which the crafty don Ulloa had often threatened the intendant and the attorney-general, that he might obſtruct their proſecutions, and ſilence them, relatively to his own conduct, was doubtleſs

doubtleſs the ſole cauſe of that deſperate ſtep, the authors of which might have foreſeen the unſucceſsful iſſue, had they not been bereft of their ſenſes. It is true that there has been no public inquiry on that head; and therefore, the public has no juridical proof of this fact; but the characteriſtics of ſuch inquiry as was made, its terrifying apparatus, its reſult, and the concerted ſilence of thoſe by whom it was directed, ſufficiently confirm not only what is openly ſaid among the Engliſh, but what the inhabitants of Louiſiana whiſper to each other, when complaining of their miſeries with which the perfidiouſneſs of their leaders had loaded them, though not accomplices of their crimes. It is alſo ſaid, that the governor of Weſt-Florida was unwilling to countenance the treaſon and revolt of the ſubjects of a prince then in peace with Great Britain: it is affirmed that he ſent to Mr. Aubry the original offers he had received, and that don Ulloa, who had not yet ſailed, carried them with him to Europe for his juſtification. Why then did not Mr. Aubry produce that paper to confound the conſpirators? They would have been looked upon with execration by the people whom they had betrayed, and the diſturbances would have immediately ſubſided. Can it be believed, that the governor of Florida inſiſted on ſecrecy, as it is intimated by ſome perſons who would be glad to apologize for Mr. Aubry's conduct reſpecting this matter? Had the inteſtine diviſions, which then rent the britiſh colonies of North-America, induced the britiſh governor to diſcover the conſpiracy in order to prevent the fatal conſequences of ſo dangerous an example, would not ſecrecy have deprived him of the only fruit he could expect from his policy?

Monſieur de Sacier, one of the council, with two other gentlemen of the colony, who were ſent to France with the edict of the ſuperior council, and to implore the protection of the king, as before mentioned, were impriſoned on their arrival, and have never been heard of ſince.

During ſix months, which elapſed before news could be received from Europe, the unhappy coloniſts vainly flattered themſelves with hopes of being juſtified for the ſteps they had taken by the court of France. On the 23d of July 1769, news was brought to new Orleans of the arrival of general O'Riley at the Balize, with 18 tranſports, followed by 10 more from the Havanna, having 4,500 troops on board, and loaded with ſtores and ammunition. This intelli-

intelligence threw the town into the greateſt conſternation and perplexity, as, but a few days before, letters had arrived from Europe ſignifying that the colony was reſtored to France.

In the general diſtraction that took place, the inhabitants of the town and the adjacent plantations determined to oppoſe the landing of the Spaniards, and ſent couriers requiring the Germans and acadian neutrals to join them. On the 24th an expreſs arrived from general O'Riley, which was read by monſieur Aubry to the people in church; by this they were informed that he was ſent by his catholic majeſty to take poſſeſſion of the colony, but not to diſtreſs the inhabitants; and that when he ſhould be in poſſeſſion, he would publiſh the remaining part of the orders he had in charge from the king his maſter; and ſhould any attempt be made to oppoſe his landing, he was reſolved not to depart until he could put his majeſty's commands in execution.

The people, diſſatisfied with this ambiguous meſſage, came to a reſolution of ſending three deputies to general O'Riley, viz. meſſieurs Grandmaiſon town-major, la Friniere attorney-general, and de Mazant formerly captain in the colony's troops, and a man of very conſiderable property: theſe gentlemen acquainted him, that the inhabitants had come to a reſolution of abandoning the province, and demanded no other favour than that he would grant them two years to remove themſelves and effects. The general received the deputies with great politeneſs, but did not enter into the merits of their embaſſy, farther than aſſuring them, that he would comply with every reaſonable requeſt of the coloniſts; that he had the intereſt of their country much at heart, and nothing on his part ſhould be wanting to promote it; that all paſt tranſactions ſhould be buried in oblivion, and all who had offended ſhould be forgiven: to this he added every thing that he imagin edcould flatter the expectations of the people. On the firſt of Auguſt the deputies returned, and made public the kind reception the general had given them, and the fair promiſes he had made. The minds of the people were now greatly tranquillized, and thoſe who had before determined ſuddenly to quit their plantations now reſolved to remain until their crops were off the ground.

On the 16th of Auguſt 1769, general O'Riley with the frigate, tranſports and troops on board, arrived oppoſite to new

new Orleans. On the 18th the troops diſembarked, and the general took poſſeſſion in form, of new Orleans and the province of Louiſiana, in the name of his catholic majeſty, as quietly as a french governor would have done in the happieſt times; and on the 25th, ordered the attorney-general and twelve others amongſt the principal inhabitants to be arreſted.

Of theſe 13, no more than one was releaſed: this was the printer, who produced the poſitive orders which the intendant had given him, for printing the decree iſſued againſt don Ulloa, and ſeveral other writings. A few days before the proceedings began, a young gentleman nearly related to the attorney-general, and one of the priſoners, feigned a deſign of forcibly reſcuing himſelf from the ſoldiers who guarded him. He received ſeveral wounds, which gave him that death which he ſought. The proceedings againſt the eleven others were conducted in a military manner by gen. O'Riley, and the members of the court were moſtly ſpaniſh officers. The council of war pronounced their ſentence on thoſe proceedings. In vain did the attorney-general and the other priſoners demand to be tried by the french laws. Theſe would not have proved favourable to their accuſers. General O'Riley was ſo unjuſt as to refuſe that reaſonable requeſt. The attorney-general and four others, who were ſhot with him, died with fortitude. Had they really deſerved that fate, their condemnation is not the leſs criminal, in the eyes of thoſe who are not ſtupid enough to reverence authority when trampling upon the laws. The ſentence of the court-martial diſhonours the authors and tools of that injuſtice; it diſhonours no others.

The ſix other ſtate priſoners were ſent to fort Moro in the iſland of Cuba, whence they were releaſed after one year's confinement. The eſtates of the eleven perſons, who were condemned by the court-martial, were confiſcated, according to the practice of moſt countries; a practice as impolitic as it is unjuſt. It reflects diſgrace on princes, occaſions the impunity of the greateſt crimes, and often multiplies the number of criminals. Many might be virtuous enough not to ſcreen a guilty kinſman from juſtice; but few have ſufficient magnanimity to ſee with indifference the eſtate of that kinſman paſs into the prince's coffers, or thoſe of his miniſters. How many has not this ſole reaſon ſeduced to engage in conſpiracies or rebellions, which they would otherwiſe have wiſhed to deſtroy! In ſuch caſes it frequently

frequently happens that the prince, whom confiſcations cauſe to behold as an enemy, is deſervedly oppoſed for his rapaciouſneſs or inattention to his own intereſt.

The French beheld, with horror, their countrymen given up to foreigners, privately tried and arbitrarily puniſhed, for crimes of which they were accuſed in a country ſubject to France. The indignity offered to Spain was the oſtenſible cauſe of their condemnation; but whatever their crime might have been, France alone ought to have had cognizance of it. If the accuſed were guilty of nothing elſe; or if, for ſtate reaſons, it was thought proper to mention that offence only, the king of Spain would have cauſed his name to be for ever bleſſed in the colony, had he, a judge in his own cauſe, generouſly forgiven. The meaſures that have been adopted, have produced a very different effect. They are nearly the ſame as thoſe of the portugueſe government, which contrived father Malagrida's being burnt by the inquiſition, on the pretence of his having boaſted that he had ſometimes converſed with the holy virgin; but whoſe real crime was an attempt againſt his ſovereign's life, in order to make another family aſcend the throne. Crimes like theſe, openly perpetrated by the adminiſtration againſt the laws, common ſenſe, and public ſafety, can nowhere be palliated with the pretence of neceſſity. Whatever thoſe who adviſe them may think on the ſubject, they betray their country and their ſovereign himſelf. In free ſtates, where the perſonal ſafety of the meaneſt individual is as intereſting to the whole nation as that of the greateſt, crimes of this kind are never ſeen. They can be committed in ſuch countries only, where deſpotiſm is eſtabliſhed; where a few favoured ſlaves reduce the reſt ſecretly to wiſh for the annihilation of thoſe whom they ſeemingly adore.

The ſame diſordered brains which projected the illegal proſecutions carried on againſt the factious leaders of Louiſiana, have doubtleſs fancied that they would deſerve immortality for a maſterly ſtroke of policy, when they procured the abolition of the laws, privileges, and ſuperior council of Louiſiana, under the pretence of a decree iſſued againſt don Ulloa. Have they really thought that people could be deceived by names which were to repreſent nothing? The ſhadow of a tribunal was eſtabliſhed under the name of Cabildo government, that is civil government, but the governor and his aſſeſſor are in fact the only judges. Since the judgments given by them jointly have the ſame virtue as thoſe

thoſe of that Cabildo government, few are ſo unſkilful as to apply to this tribunal. Nay, who would dare to do it, except in trifling matters? Was it likewiſe believed that, for the governor and his aſſeſſor's conveniency, the ſubſtituting of the ſpaniſh language to the french, in all the juridical proceedings of Louiſiana, where the inhabitants underſtand the french language only; the impartial diſpenſation of juſtice, which is the true glory of the ſtate, would thence be effectually promoted? Things will certainly go well, as long as governors and their aſſeſſors ſhall have all the qualifications that perfect judges ought to have, and whilſt the parties can procure faithful interpreters: but it is as true that, wiſe as theſe regulations are boaſted to be, they depopulate the colony.

General O'Riley confirmed all the decrees of the ſuperior council, except that which had been iſſued againſt don Ulloa. This was ſolemnly approving the ſeditious nomination of the members of Mr. Foucault's and the attorney-general's making; it was therefore arrogantly annulling the proteſt which Mr. Aubry had entered in behalf of the king of France and the public, againſt that nomination, and all the decrees iſſued out of that tribunal during the anarchy; it was depriving thoſe who had been oppreſſed from the hopes of obtaining redreſs in the colony. For, the council being aboliſhed, how could any one take the benefit of the french laws (ſince trials by peers or juries are diſuſed), or think deſpotic rulers would allow of applying to ſovereign courts for obtaining new trials of the cauſes, which they themſelves may have tried illegally, or againſt evidence? But, to flatter the Spaniards, gen. O'Riley had determined that they alone ſhould be judges; and military men of that nation could not, with the leaſt plauſibility, pretend that they were acquainted with the french laws; he, therefore, had rather cut off than untie. Such is the diſpoſition of tyrants of every rank and denomination: Alexander cutting the gordian knot is, perhaps, of all the fables that are confounded with hiſtory, that which more truly characteriſes deſpotiſm. Men who, led by avarice and ambition, obtain admittance to that order, diſregarding the people, to whoſe preſervation they ſeem to have profeſſedly devoted themſelves, but who are determined on making their fortunes, are never diſturbed in the leaſt about the means which can promote their grand deſign. Their eyes being fixed on all thoſe who have a ſhare in the diſpenſation of wealth and

honours, they ſee them only. Their mercenary ſpirit prompts them to wiſh for their being entruſted with iniquitous and inhuman orders, which they alone are fit to execute. Strangers to nature, they are deaf to the voice of juſtice and the cries of humanity; and, unable to riſe by noble and generous actions, they glory in diſplaying their zeal for the prince, by wholly loading themſelves with that public execration which attends the execution of ſanguinary orders. It is not from ſuch abject ſouls that a prince, inebriated with power, can ever learn that there are moments, not numerous indeed, but yet frequent enough to comfort the oppreſſed and chaſtiſe the oppreſſor—moments, when, after having made himſelf odious to his ſubjects; after having weakened and degraded them, he may regret their attachment, the courage which deſpotiſm has endeavoured to enervate, and the patriotiſm which it has attempted to deſtroy.

After this general Galvez, governor of new Orleans, in the year 1779, poſſeſſed himſelf of the britiſh poſts at the Ibberville and Baton Rouge. By capitulation, the poſt at the Natchez was evacuated, and the garriſon permitted to join the troops at Penſacola. The Spaniards likewiſe reduced the forts of Mobile and Penſacola; the former in the year 1780, and the latter in 1781. The above conqueſts not only ſubjected the eaſtern ſide of the Miſſiſſippi, but the whole province of Weſt-Florida, to the dominion of Spain.

Having briefly touched on the principal revolutions which have happened in Louiſiana, I ſhall now proceed with a ſhort account of the Miſſiſſippi.

The ſafety and commercial proſperity which may be ſecured to the United States by the definitive treaty of peace, will chiefly depend upon the ſhare of the navigation of the Miſſiſſippi which ſhall be allowed to them. Is it not amazing, true as it is, that few amongſt us know this to be the key to the northern part of the weſtern continent? It is the only channel through which that extenſive region, bathed by its waters, and enriched by the many ſtreams it receives, communicates with the ſea. And here let us further obſerve, that the Miſſiſſippi river may truly be conſidered as the great paſſage made by the hand of nature for a variety of valuable purpoſes, but principally to promote the happineſs and benefit of mankind; amongſt which, the conveyance of the produce of that immenſe and fertile country, lying weſtward of the United States, down its

ſtream

ſtream to the gulf of Mexico, is not the leaſt. To expect the free navigation of the Miſſiſſippi is abſurd, whilſt the Spaniards are in poſſeſſion of new Orleans, which commands the entrance to the weſtern country above mentioned; this is an idea calculated to impoſe only upon the weak. The Spaniards have forts on the Miſſiſſippi, and whenever they may think it conſiſtent with their intereſt, they will make uſe of them to prevent our navigating on it. Treaties are not always to be depended on; the moſt ſolemn have been broken*: therefore we learn that no one ſhould put much faith in the princes of any country; for he that truſts to any thing but the operation of their intereſt, is a poor politician; and he that complains of deceit, where there is an intereſt to deceive, will ever be conſidered as deficient in underſtanding.

The great length and uncommon depth of that river, and the exceſſive muddineſs and ſalubrious quality of its waters, after its junction with the Miſſouri, are very ſingular†. The direction of the channel is ſo crooked, that from new Orleans to the mouth of the Ohio, a diſtance which does not exceed 460 miles in a ſtraight line, is about 856 by water. It may be ſhortened at leaſt 250 miles, by cutting acroſs eight or ten necks of land, ſome of which are not 30 yards wide. Charlevoix relates, that in the year 1722, at Point Coupée or Cut Point, the river made a great turn, and ſome Canadians, by deepening the channel of a ſmall brook, diverted the waters of the river into it. The impetuoſity of the ſtream was ſo violent, and the ſoil of ſo rich and looſe a quality, that, in a ſhort time, the point was entirely cut through, and travellers ſaved 14 leagues of their voyage. The old bed has no water in it, the times of the

* Notwithſtanding the free navigation of the Miſſiſſippi allowed by the treaty of 1762, general O'Riley, in the year 1769, ſent a party of ſoldiers to cut the hawſers of a britiſh veſſel called the Sea Flower, that had made faſt to the bank of the river above the town of new Orleans; the order was obeyed, and the veſſel narrowly eſcaped being loſt.

† In a half pint tumbler of this water has been found a ſediment of two inches of ſlime. It is, notwithſtanding, extremely wholeſome and well taſted, and very cool in the hotteſt ſeaſon of the year; the rowers who are then employed drink of it when in the ſtrongeſt perſpiration, and never receive any bad effects from it. The inhabitants of new Orleans uſe no other water than that of the river, which by keeping in jars becomes perfectly clear.

periodical overflowings only excepted. The new channel has been ſince ſounded with a line of 30 fathoms, without finding bottom.

In the ſpring floods the Miſſiſſippi is very high, and the current ſo ſtrong that with difficulty it can be aſcended; but that diſadvantage is compenſated by eddies or counter-currents, which always run in the bends cloſe to the banks of the river with nearly equal velocity againſt the ſtream, and aſſiſt the aſcending boats. The current at this ſeaſon deſcends at the rate of about five miles an hour. In autumn, when the waters are low, it does not run faſter than two miles, but it is rapid in ſuch parts of the river which have cluſters of iſlands, ſhoals and ſand-banks. The circumference of many of theſe ſhoals being ſeveral miles, the voyage is longer, and in ſome parts more dangerous, than in the ſpring. The merchandiſe neceſſary for the commerce of the upper ſettlements on or near the Miſſiſſippi, is conveyed in the ſpring and autumn in batteaux rowed by 18 or 20 men, and carrying about 40 tons. From new Orleans to the Illinois, the voyage is commonly performed in eight or ten weeks. A prodigious number of iſlands, ſome of which are of great extent, interſperſe that mighty river. Its depth increaſes as you aſcend it. Its waters, after overflowing its banks below the river Ibberville, never return within them again. Theſe ſingularities diſtinguiſh it from every other known river in the world. Below new Orleans the land begins to be very low on both ſides of the river acroſs the country, and gradually declines as it approaches nearer to the ſea. This point of land, which in the treaty of peace in 1762, is miſtaken for an iſland, is to all appearance of no long date; for in digging ever ſo little below the ſurface, you find water and great quantities of trees. The many beaches and breakers, as well as inlets, which aroſe out of the channel within the laſt half century, at the ſeveral mouths of the river, are convincing proofs that this peninſula was wholly formed in the ſame manner. And it is certain that when la Salle ſailed down the Miſſiſſippi to the ſea, the opening of that river was very different from what it is at preſent.

The nearer you approach to the ſea, this truth becomes more ſtriking. The bars that croſs moſt of theſe ſmall channels, opened by the current, have been multiplied by means of the trees carried down with the ſtreams; one of which ſtopped by its roots or branches, in a ſhalllow part,

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is ſufficient to obſtruct the paſſage of thouſands more, and to fix them at the ſame place. Such collections of trees are daily ſeen between the Balize and the Miſſouri, which ſingly would ſupply the largeſt city in Europe with fuel for ſeveral years. No human force being ſufficient for removing them, the mud carried down by the river ſerves to bind and cement them together. They are gradually covered, and every inundation not only extends their length and breadth, but adds another layer to their height. In leſs than ten years time, canes and ſhrubs grow on them, and form points and iſlands, which forcibly ſhift the bed of the river.

Nothing can be aſſerted, with certainty, reſpecting its length. Its ſource is not known, but ſuppoſed to be upwards of 3000 miles from the ſea as the river runs. We only know that, from St. Anthony's falls, it glides with a pleaſant clear ſtream, and becomes comparatively narrow before its junction with the Miſſouri, the muddy waters of which immediately diſcolour the lower part of the river to the ſea. Its rapidity, breadth, and other peculiarities then begin to give it the majeſtic appearance of the Miſſouri, which affords a more extenſive navigation, and is a longer, broader, and deeper river than the Miſſiſſippi. It has been aſcended by french traders about 12 or 1300 miles, and from the depth of water, and breadth of the river at that diſtance, it appeared to be navigable many miles further.

From the Miſſouri river to nearly oppoſite the Ohio, the weſtern bank of the Miſſiſſippi is (ſome few places excepted) higher than the eaſtern. From Mine au Fer to the Ibberville, the eaſtern bank is higher than the weſtern, on which there is not a ſingle diſcernible riſing or eminence, the diſtance of 750 miles. From the Ibberville to the ſea, there are no eminences on either ſide, though the eaſtern bank appears rather the higher of the two, as far as the Engliſh turn. Thence the banks gradually diminiſh in height to the mouths of the river, where they are not two or three feet higher than the common ſurface of the water.

The ſlime which the annual floods of the river Miſſiſſippi leave on the ſurface of the adjacent ſhores, may be compared with that of the Nile, which depoſits a ſimilar manure, and for many centuries paſt has inſured the fertility of Egypt. When its banks ſhall have been cultivated as the excellency of its ſoil and temperature of the climate deſerve, its population will equal that, or any other part of the

world. The trade, wealth, and power of America will at ſome future period depend and perhaps centre upon the Miſſiſſippi. This alſo reſembles the Nile in the number of its mouths, all iſſuing into a ſea that may be compared to the Mediterranean, which is bounded on the north and ſouth by the two continents of Europe and Africa, as the mexican bay is by north and ſouth America. The ſmaller mouths of this river might be eaſily ſtopped up, by means of thoſe floating trees with which the river during the floods is always covered. The whole force of the channel being united, the only opening then left would probably grow deep as well as the bar.

To judge of the produce to be expected from the ſoil of Louiſiana, let us turn our eyes to Egypt, Arabia Felix, Perſia, India, China, and Japan, all lying in correſpondent latitudes. Of theſe China alone has a tolerable government; and yet it muſt be acknowledged they all are, or have been, famous for their riches and fertility. When our wandering imagination ſoars to regions of wealth and terreſtrial bliſs, it delights in reſting on thoſe countries we have juſt mentioned.

Louiſiana is agreeably ſituated between the extremes of heat and cold. Its climate varies as it extends towards the north. The ſouthern parts, lying within the reach of the refreſhing breezes from the ſea, are not ſcorched like thoſe under the ſame latitudes in Africa; and its northern regions are colder than thoſe of Europe under the ſame parallels, with a wholeſome ſerene air, very ſimilar to the ſouth of France and Liſbon. New-Orleans, ſituated in 30° 2', which nearly anſwers to the northern coaſts of Barbary and Egypt, enjoys the ſame temperature of climate with Marſeilles. Not quite two degrees higher in the country of the Natchez, the climate is much more uniform and temperate than at new Orleans. And in the country of the Illinois, which lies about 37°, the ſummer ſeaſon is nearly the ſame as at Paris in France.

An objection has often been made by miſinformed men, otherwiſe of great abilities, who too credulouſly believed that the navigation of the Miſſiſſippi river, on account of its rapid current, was more difficult than it is in reality. It appears from the calculation made by ſeveral ſkilful and experienced travellers, that in the autumn, when the waters are low, the current deſcends at the rate of about one and a half or two miles in an hour; and that the waters are in this

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ſtate more than one half of the year. In the ſpring, when the freſhes are up, or at their greateſt height, the current runs at the rate of five or ſix miles. It is true that the navigation would be difficult at that ſeaſon, to thoſe who ſail or row up againſt the ſtream; but there is no example of ſuch folly. When the waters of this river are high, the commodities and produce of the interior country are gathered and prepared for exportation with the deſcending current: and when the waters are low, the produce of the interior country is growing to maturity. This is the time for the navigator's importation. Great advantages are likewiſe taken then from eddy currents. At preſent there are few builders ſkilful enough to conſtruct veſſels better calculated for that navigation, than thoſe already mentioned. Time and experience will doubtleſs produce improvements, and render the navigation of this river nearly as cheap as any other. But that the Miſſiſſippi can anſwer every purpoſe of trade and commerce, is proved to a demonſtration, by the rapid progreſs the french, german, and acadian inhabitants on that river, have made. They have attained a ſtate of opulence never before ſo ſoon acquired in any new country. And this was effected under all the diſcouragements of an indolent and rapacious government. It may be further aſſerted, that no country in North America, or perhaps in the univerſe, exceeds the neighbourhood of the Miſſiſſippi in fertility of ſoil and temperature of climate. Both ſides of this river are truly remarkable for the very great diverſity and luxuriancy of their productions. They might probably be brought, from the favourableneſs of the climate, to produce two annual crops of indian corn as well as rice, and with little cultivation would furniſh grain of every kind in the greateſt abundance. But their value is not confined to the fertility and immenſity of champaign lands; their timber is as fine as any in the world, and the quantities of live and other oak, aſh, mulberry, walnut, cherry, cypreſs, and cedar, are aſtoniſhing. The neighbourhood of the Miſſiſſippi, beſides, furniſhes the richeſt fruits in great variety, particularly grapes, oranges, and lemons in the higheſt perfection. It produces ſilk, cotton, ſaſſafras, ſaffron, and rhubarb; is peculiarly adapted for hemp and flax, and in goodneſs of tobacco equals the Brazils; and indigo is at this preſent a ſtaple commodity, which commonly yields the planter from three to four cuttings. In a word, whatever is rich or rare in the moſt deſirable climates in Europe, ſeems natural

to ſuch a degree on the Miſſiſſippi, that France, though ſhe ſent few or no emigrants into Louiſiana but decayed ſoldiers, or perſons in indigent circumſtances (and theſe very poorly ſupplied with the implements of huſbandry), ſoon began to dread a rival in her colony, particularly in the cultivation of vines, from which ſhe prohibited the coloniſts under a very heavy penalty; yet ſoil and ſituation triumphed over all political reſtraints, and the adventurers, at the end of the war in 1762, were very little inferior to the moſt ancient ſettlements of America in all the modern refinements of luxury.

The Miſſiſſippi furniſhes in great plenty ſeveral ſorts of fiſh, particularly perch, pike, ſturgeon, eel, and calts of a monſtrous ſize. Craw-fiſh abound in this country; they are in every part of the earth, and when the inhabitants chooſe a diſh of them, they ſend to their gardens, where they have a ſmall pond dug for that purpoſe, and are ſure of getting as many as they have occaſion for. A diſh of ſhrimps is as eaſily procured: by hanging a ſmall canvaſs bag with a bit of meat in it to the bank of the river, and letting it drop a little below the ſurface of the water, in a few hours a ſufficient quantity will have got into the bag. Shrimps are found in the Miſſiſſippi as far as the Natchez, 348 miles from the ſea.

Having glanced at the many advantages that will reſult from the cultivation and improvement of the lands in the neighbourhood of the Miſſiſſippi, we now proceed with a deſcription of the coaſts and iſlands about the mouths of that river, with directions to mariners.

The coaſt here is very low and marſhy, and it would be difficult to find the entrance of that river, were it not for the houſes at the old and new Balize, and the flagſtaff at the former, which appear ſome diſtance at ſea. The white clayey colour of the river water remaining unmixed on the ſurface, is another indication that the Miſſiſſippi is not far diſtant; and though it may be alarming to ſtrangers, as it was to myſelf when I firſt beheld it, as it has the appearance of a ſhoal, yet the ſoundings are much deeper off the Miſſiſſippi than any where elſe on the coaſt.

It is an obſervation ſaid to be founded on experience, that where the water of the Miſſiſſippi incorporates with, and apparently loſes itſelf in the bay of Mexico, the current divides, and generally ſets north-eaſterly and ſouth-weſterly, but out of ſoundings the currents are in a great meaſure governed

verned by the winds; and if they are not attended to, veſſels may be driven ſouth-weſtward beyond the Balize into the bay of St. Bernard, which is reported to be full of ſhoals, and conſequently a very dangerous navigation.

To come to an anchor off the Balize, veſſels approaching the land ought to bring the old Balize to bear about W. by S. and the new Balize W. N. W; they will then be about two miles diſtant from, and oppoſite to the eaſt paſs, or mouth, in 13 or 14 fathom water: and though ſtrong N. E. and S. E. winds always occaſion great ſwells off the Balize, yet when anchored as above directed they may ride in ſafety; except a S. E. wind, which is the moſt dangerous, as it blows directly on ſhore, ſhould come on ſo violent as to part them from their anchors, and prevent their carrying ſail; in which caſe, if care has not been taken to obtain a good offing, they will drift either on the mud banks into the paſs A la Loutre, which has only eight feet water, or into the bay Briton, where they will be in a critical ſituation, on account of the ſhoal water for which that bay is remarkable.

The beſt precaution againſt the conſequences of a ſouth-eaſt wind will be to get under way before the ſtrength of the gale comes on, and to ſteer about N. by W. half W. for the iſland called Grand Goſier, diſtant ſeven leagues; in ſailing round the ſouth-weſternmoſt part of which, care ſhould be taken to ſteer clear of a ſhoal that runs out from it W. S. W. about two miles, which being paſſed, veſſels ſhould luff up, until the S. W. end of the iſland bears nearly S. E. two miles; there is then good anchoring in three and an half fathoms, ſoft bottom.

There is another ſafe anchoring-place in two fathom water, juſt within the S. W. point of the Iſle au Briton; from the S. W. end of which a ſhoal runs out nearly half a mile. This iſland is about a league to the weſtward of the Grand Goſier, and there is good anchoring between them in three and four fathoms.

If a ſouth-eaſt gale ſhould happen at night, it would be impoſſible to ſee the way between the above iſlands. In that caſe, a N. N. E. courſe from the mouths of the Miſſiſſippi will clear the Chandelures, ſituated about three leagues to the northward of the Iſle au Grand Goſier, which are better than nine leagues in length. As all the above iſlands are low, and have no trees growing on them, they cannot be ſeen at any diſtance. On that account it will be neceſſary,

fary, when failing towards them, to keep a good look-out. There is drift wood on theſe iſlands, and freſh water may be got by digging. The water between the Chandelures and the peninſula of Orleans is full of ſhoals, and the navigation fit only for ſmall craft.

The river Miſſiſſippi diſcharges itſelf into the gulf of Mexico by ſeveral mouths of different depths of water: in the year 1772, that called the ſouth-eaſt, in latitude 29° 10′ north, and longitude 89° 10 weſt from London, afforded 12 feet; the eaſt mouth, which before the above period furniſhed 15 feet, had then no more than 10 and an half feet; and the north-eaſt only 9 and an half feet on the bar of it. The latter now affords 12 feet, and S. W. has 16 feet. The bars are ſubject to ſhift; but immediately after entering the river, there is from three to ſeven, eight and ten fathoms, as far as the ſouth-weſt paſs, and from thence 12, 15, 20 and 30 fathoms is the general depth for 1142 computed miles to the Miſſouri.

The ſhoals about the Miſſiſſippi are formed from the trees, mud, leaves, and a variety of other matter continually brought down by the waters of the river, which being forced along by the current, until repelled by the tides, then ſubſide, and occaſion what are commonly called the bars; their diſtance from the entrances of the river, which is generally about two miles, depends much on the winds being accidentally with or againſt the tides: when theſe bars accumulate ſufficiently to reſiſt the tides and the current of the river, they form numerous ſmall iſlands, which by conſtantly increaſing, join to each other, and at laſt reach the continent.

All the land bordering the mouths of the Miſſiſſippi has been made in this manner. It is more than probable that the whole of the country on both ſides of the river, as far as the Ibberville, a diſtance of 204 miles, has been produced in a ſucceſſion of ages by the vaſt quantities of mud, trees, leaves, &c. brought down by the annual floods which overflow the banks of the Miſſiſſippi; the large trunks or bodies of trees which have been frequently found in digging in the above diſtance, ſeem to confirm this opinion; and it may reaſonably be ſuppoſed, that the lakes on each ſide of this river are parts of the ſea not yet filled up: thus the land is annually raiſed, and conſtantly gains on the ſea. The old Balize, a ſmall poſt erected by the French on a little iſland, was in the year 1734 at the mouth of the river; it is now

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two miles above it. In the year 1766, don Antonio d'Ulloa erected ſome barracks on a ſmall iſland, the new Balize (to which he gave the name of St. Carlos), for the convenience of pilots, and other purpoſes, being near the ſouth-eaſt entrance of the river, and a more dry and higher ſituation than any thereabouts. There was not the leaſt appearance of this iſland 30 years ago *.

The old and new Balize were formerly very inconſiderable poſts, with three or four cannon in each, and garriſoned by a ſubaltern's command. Such are their ſituations, that they neither defend the Miſſiſſippi, nor the deepeſt channel into it, and appear to have been eſtabliſhed only for the purpoſes

* Whatever doubts may ariſe reſpecting the above account, inſtances are not wanting to prove that ſome other parts of the earth have been formed in a ſimilar manner, as will appear by the following facts.

Havre de Grace is ſituated in the Pays de Caux, about 18 leagues from Rouen, and as much from Dieppe, on the point of a large valley, at the mouth of the river Seine, in the latitude of 49 degrees 30 minutes north. It ſtands upon a plain ſpot of ground, full of moraſſes, and croſſed by a great number of creeks, and ditches full of water, which contribute not a little to its ſecurity. This ground was originally gained out of the ſea, and formed from the large quantities of ſand, gravel, and mud, which the force of the tide and the river conveyed to that place in a long courſe of time and by inſenſible degrees. And as it was formed, ſo it ſeems to be daily increaſed by the ſame means: for we are aſſured by a late author †, that about 70 or 80 years ago, the ſea, at high water, came very near that gate of the city which is next the harbour; whereas now the high-water mark is nearly half a mile diſtant from it. So that it appears, the ſea has gradually given way, and, as it were, retired, to leave the earth at liberty to enlarge and extend itſelf. Nor ought we to be ſurpriſed at this; the ground on which the city of Tyre is built, though now united to the continent, being formerly part of an iſland. Venice would have had the ſame fate long ago, had it not been for the great pains the inhabitants have taken to prevent it. The ſea formerly waſhed the walls of Ravenna, which is now a league diſtant from it. Nor are other inſtances of this kind wanting, even in the ſame kingdom of France: particularly Frejus and Narbonne, a few centuries ago, were on the ſhore of the Mediterranean; but now the one is a league, and the other almoſt two, diſtant from it. Deſcription de la Haute Normandie, tom. i. p. 193.

† Piganiol de la Force, Nouvelle deſcription de la France, tom. ix. page 393.

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of aſſiſting veſſels coming into the river, and forwarding intelligence or diſpatches to new Orleans.

In aſcending the Miſſiſſippi there are extenſive natural meadows, with a proſpect of the ſea, on both ſides, moſt part of the diſtance to the Detour aux Plaquemines, which is 32 miles: from thence to the ſettlements 20 miles further, the whole is a continued tract of low and marſhy grounds, generally overflowed, and covered with thick wood, palmetto buſhes, &c. which appear almoſt impenetrable to man or beaſt. From thence the banks of the river are well inhabited to the Detour des Anglois, where the circular direction of the river is ſo very conſiderable, that veſſels cannot paſs it with the ſame wind that conducted them to it, and muſt either wait for a favourable wind, or make faſt to the bank, and haul cloſe, there being ſufficient depth of water for any veſſel that can enter the river. The two forts and batteries at this place, one of each, on both ſides of the river, are more than ſufficient to ſtop the progreſs of any veſſels whatever *. The diſtance from hence to new Orleans is 18 miles. The banks of the river are ſettled and well cultivated, and there is a good road for carriages all the way.

Nothing with certainty can be determined reſpecting the time a veſſel may take in ſailing from the Balize to new Orleans, a diſtance of 105 miles. With favourable winds, the voyage has been performed in three or four, but it generally takes ſeven or eight days, and ſometimes two or three weeks. There is always ſhoal water near the low points of land covered with willows. In approaching them, a few caſts of the lead will be neceſſary: and in ſeveral places there are trees fixed with one end in the bottom, and the other juſt below the ſurface of the river, and in the ſame direction with the current, which by continual friction of the water, are reduced to a point; and as there are inſtances of veſſels ſailing with force againſt them being run through their bottoms, and ſinking immediately after, too much care cannot be taken to avoid them. Attention ſhould alſo be paid to keep clear of the trees floating down the river during the floods †. The water is everywhere deep

* Doctor Cox of New-Jerſey aſcended the Miſſiſſippi to this place in the year 1698, took poſſeſſion, and called the country Carolina.

† It is impoſſible to anchor without being expoſed to the danger

deep enough (except at the Willow points) to admit veſſels cloſe to either ſhore, where, inſtead of letting go an anchor, which would probably be loſt among the logs ſunk in the bottom of the river, veſſels may ſafely make faſt to the trees on the bank; which are generally tall, and in ſuch abundance, in ſome parts, that they prevent the winds from being of that ſervice to veſſels in aſcending the Miſſiſſippi, that might be expected. It will be therefore neceſſary, for expedition ſake, to rig as many topſails as poſſible, which commonly reach above the trees, and are of more uſe than all the other ſails put together; however, care muſt be taken to ſtand by the halliards to prevent the wind, which frequently comes in very ſtrong puffs, from carrying away the top-maſts, ſails, &c.

The town of new Orleans, the metropolis of Louiſiana, was regularly laid out by the French in the year 1720, is ſituated on the eaſt ſide of the river in 30° 2′ north latitude, 105 miles from the Balize, as already mentioned; all the ſtreets are perfectly ſtraight, but too narrow, and croſs each other at right angles. There are betwixt 7 and 800 houſes in this town, generally built with timber frames raiſed about eight feet from the ground, with large galleries round them, and the cellars under the floors level with the ground: any ſubterraneous buildings would be conſtantly full of water. Moſt of the houſes have gardens. Excluſive of ſlaves, there are about 7000 inhabitants of both ſexes. The fortification is only a line of ſtockades, with baſtions of the ſame materials, on three ſides, a banquet within, and a very trifling ditch without, and is only a defence againſt muſquetry. The ſide next the river is open, and is ſecured from the inundations of the river by a raiſed bank, generally called the Levée, which extends from the Engliſh Turn, or the Detour des Anglois, to the upper ſettlements of the Germans, a diſtance of more than 50 miles, with a good road all the way. There

ger of the great trees, which frequently come down with the current, but more eſpecially at the time of the floods, which if any of them ſhould come athwart hawſe, would moſt probably drive in the bows of the veſſel; and there is a certainty of loſing the anchors, as the bottom of the river is very ſoft mud, covered with ſunk logs. This points out the impoſſibility for veſſels to navigate upon the Miſſiſſippi, unleſs they are permitted to make faſt to the ſhore; and no veſſel can be ſaid to enjoy the free navigation of the river, if deprived of this neceſſary privilege.

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is reaſon to believe the period is not very diſtant when new Orleans may become a great and opulent city, if we conſider the advantages of its ſituation, but a few leagues from the ſea, on a noble river, in a moſt fertile country, under a moſt delightful and wholeſome climate, within two weeks ſail of Mexico by ſea, and ſtill nearer the french, ſpaniſh, and britiſh iſlands in the Weſt Indies, with a moral certainty of its becoming a general receptacle for the produce of that extenſive and valuable country on the Miſſiſſippi, Ohio, and its other branches; all which are much more than ſufficient to enſure the future wealth, power, and proſperity of this city.

The veſſels which ſail up the Miſſiſſippi haul cloſe alongſide the bank next to Orleans, to which they make faſt, and take in or diſcharge their cargoes with the ſame eaſe as from a wharf.

From new Orleans there is a very eaſy communication with Weſt-Florida, by means of the Bayouk of St. John, a little creek which is navigable for veſſels drawing about four feet water ſix miles up from the lake Ponchartrain, where there is a landing-place, at which veſſels load and unload: this is about two miles from the town. The entrance of the Bayouk of St. John is defended by a battery of five or ſix cannon. There are ſome plantations on the Bayouk, and on the road from thence to new Orleans.

Canes-Brulé, Chapitoula, and the german ſettlements, join each other, and are a continuation of well-cultivated plantations, of near 50 miles from new Orleans, on each ſide of the river. At the german ſettlements, on the weſt ſide of the river, is a church ſerved by the capuchins. There was formerly a ſmall ſtockaded fort in the centre of the ſettlements on the eaſt ſide of the river: this poſt was originally erected as an aſylum for the inhabitants who firſt ſettled there, and were much moleſted by the Chactaws and Chickaſaws, who in alliance carried on a war againſt the ſettlers on the Miſſiſſippi. Their entry into this part of the colony was very eaſy, as they went up a ſmall creek, Tigahoe, in canoes. The entrance of this creek, which is in the lake Ponchartrain, was defended by a ſmall redoubt, ſince in ruins.

The produce of the plantations, commencing below the Engliſh Turn, and continuing to the upper ſettlements of the Germans, forms a very conſiderable part of the commerce of this country; the different articles are indigo, cotton,

cotton, rice, beans, myrtle-wax, and lumber. The indigo is much eſteemed for its beautiful colour and good quality; the colour is brighter than that which is fabricated at St. Domingo. The cotton formerly cultivated, though of a moſt perfect white, is of a very ſhort ſtaple, and is therefore not in great requeſt. The different ſorts of beans, rice, and myrtle candles, are articles in conſtant demand at St. Domingo.

In the year 1762, ſeveral of the richeſt planters begun the cultivation of ſugar, and erected mills to preſs the canes; the ſugar produced was of a very fine quality, and ſome of the crops were very large: but no dependance can be had on this article, as ſome years the winters are too cold, and kill the canes in the ground.

In the autumn, the planters employ their ſlaves in cutting down and ſquaring timber, for ſawing into boards and ſcantling. The carriage of this timber is very eaſy, for thoſe who cut it at the back of their plantations make a ditch, which is ſupplied with water from the back ſwamps, and by that means conduct their timber to the river with very little labour: others ſend their ſlaves up to the cypreſs ſwamps, of which there are a great many between new Orleans and Point Coupée. There they make rafts of the timber they cut, and float down to new Orleans. Many of the planters have ſaw-mills, which are worked by the waters of the Miſſiſſippi, in the time of the floods, and then they are kept going night and day till the waters fall. The quantity of lumber ſent from the Miſſiſſippi to the Weſt India iſlands is prodigious, and it generally goes to a good market.

About 60 miles from new Orleans are the villages of the Humas and Alibamas. The former were once a conſiderable nation of Indians, but are reduced now to about 25 warriors; the latter conſiſts of about 30, being part of a nation which lived near fort Touloufe, on the river Alibama, and followed the French when they abandoned that poſt in the year 1762. Three miles further up is the Fourche de Chetimachas, near which is the village of a tribe of Indians of the ſame name; they reckon about 27 warriors.

It is truly ſurpriſing, that the nations who have ſucceſſively poſſeſſed Louiſiana, never endeavoured to obtain an exact knowledge of the ſea-coaſt weſtward of the mouths of the Miſſiſſippi. The many difficulties and dangers to which

which veſſels are expoſed in making, and getting over the ſhallow and ſhifting bars of that river, as well as in a long and tedious navigation upwards of 30 leagues to new Orleans, would render a harbour to the weſtward of the Balize, and a water communication with the upper parts of the Miſſiſſippi, of vaſt importance. The nature of the narrow ſlip of land extending upwards of 60 leagues between that river and the ſea, in a weſterly courſe, indicates very ſtrongly the probability of a better and more eaſy communication from that quarter, than that by the river Ibberville through the lakes Ponchartrain and Maurepas. This opinion is fully confirmed by the information received from Natchiabe, an intelligent chief of the Humas tribe, who inhabit the banks of a creek known by the name of the Chetimachas fork, already mentioned, and which I am now to deſcribe. The Chetimachas forms one of the outlets of the Miſſiſſippi about 30 leagues above new Orleans, and after running in a ſoutherly direction about eight leagues from the river, divides into two branches, one of which runs ſouth-weſterly and the other ſouth-eaſterly, to the diſtance of ſeven leagues, when they both empty their waters into the mexican gulf.

On the Chetimachas, ſix leagues from the Miſſiſſippi, is a ſmall ſettlement of a tribe of Indians of the ſame name. To this ſettlement the Chetimachas is uniformly about 100 yards in width; the depth from two to four fathoms, when the water is loweſt; the courſe ſoutherly, without any material winding or ſhoal, except at its riſe from the Miſſiſſippi, where there are large collections of drifted logs, which have probably occaſioned the ſand-bank formed at the ſame place. This bank however extends no farther than 60 yards, and through which a paſſage might eaſily be cleared for batteaux. The upper part of this outlet is alſo obſtructed, in ſeveral places, by heaps of drifted logs ſimilar to thoſe juſt mentioned; but as the water, at all times, runs deep under them, they could eaſily be cleared off. It would be as eaſy to prevent any further collection of logs, or ſands, at the entrance of this creek, by erecting a ſpar, with piles or caſſoons, a little above it, in an oblique direction with the current of the Miſſiſſippi. That difficulty once overcome, there is no other that can impede navigation from the river to the above mentioned ſettlement of the Chetimachas village; nor, as theſe Indians inform, to the gulf. The banks on both ſides of the Chetimachas are generally

generally higher than thoſe of the Miſſiſſippi, and ſo elevated in ſome places as never to be overflowed. The ground riſes gradually from its banks about 200 yards, and then gently deſcends to extenſive cypreſs ſwamps. The natural productions are the ſame as on the Miſſiſſippi; but the ſoil, from the extraordinary ſize and compactneſs of the canes growing on it, is ſomething ſuperior. If meaſures were adopted and purſued with a view to improve that communication, there would ſoon be, on its banks, the moſt proſperous and important ſettlements of that colony.

Nine miles above the Chetimachas is the conceſſion of monſieur Paris, a pleaſant ſituation and good land. Large herds of cattle are generally kept here, belonging to the inhabitants of Point Coupée.

The ſettlements of the Acadians are on both ſides of the river, and reach from the Germans to the Ibberville. Theſe are the remainder of the families which were ſent by gen. Lawrance from Nova-Scotia to the then britiſh ſouthern provinces; where, by their induſtry, they did and might have continued to live very happy, but that they could not publicly enjoy the roman catholic religion, to which they are greatly bigotted. They took the earlieſt opportunity, after the peace, of tranſporting themſelves to St. Domingo, where the climate diſagreed with them ſo much, that they, in a few months, loſt near half their numbers; the remainder, few only excepted, were, in the latter end of the year 1763, removed to new Orleans at the expence of the king of France. There are about 300 families of this unfortunate people ſettled in different parts of Louiſiana. They are ſober and induſtrious; they clothe themſelves in almoſt every reſpect with the produce of their own fields and the work of their own hands, and are very obedient and uſeful ſubjects.

The river Ibberville is 99 miles from new Orleans, 204 miles from the Balize, and 270 miles from Penſacola, by the way of the lakes Ponchartrain and Maurepas.

In 1765 a poſt was eſtabliſhed here, and the garriſon, which was a detachment of the 34th regiment, withdrawn in the month of July in the ſame year. In December 1766, this poſt was repoſſeſſed, and a ſmall ſtockaded fort built by a party of the 21ſt regiment, and was demoliſhed and abandoned in 1768. And in the year 1778 it was again poſſeſſed by part of the 16th regiment, who were made priſoners by the Spaniards in the year following.

Before the ceſſion of Louiſiana to Spain, the peltries of the britiſh and french ſhores of the Illinois have been moſtly carried in the britiſh dominions, either in Canada, by the upper parts of the Miſſiſſippi through Michillimackinac, or by the way of new Orleans at the mouth of that river. Philadelphia and new York have alſo received great quantities of peltries in return for their flour and the dry goods which they have ſent to new Orleans, for the indian trade, or the uſe of the inhabitants. Penſacola received likewiſe large parcels of ſkins and furs, which have been exported thence to London, to South-Carolina, or other parts of America. This is the reaſon why the importance of the Illinois or upper Miſſiſſippi has, till now, been little known. It is even certain, that it has been artfully concealed by many, who availed themſelves of the ignorance of the public on that head.

This would not have been the caſe, had not the britiſh government withdrawn in 1768, the garriſon of fort Bute, which was conſtructed at Manchac, on the bank of the Miſſiſſippi, oppoſite to another fort which the French erected in 1767, at the diſtance of about 400 paces from the britiſh fort. Theſe forts were ſituated near the place which, in the treaty of peace in 1762, is deſcribed as the mouth of Ibberville river to the north of new Orleans iſland, and the then boundary-line of the poſſeſſions of the two crowns in thoſe parts; but the plenipotentiaries of the two powers were miſinformed; for, as we have already obſerved, the city of new Orleans is not in an iſland, but on the continent. Or if the tract of land on which that city is ſituated, can be termed an iſland, that name can with propriety be applied to it during only two, or at moſt three months every year, when the Miſſiſſippi overflows; an accidental communication with lake Ponchartrain is then opened through the gut of Ibberville. It may be dignified, during that ſhort period, with the title of river, but dries up as ſoon as the Miſſiſſippi ceaſes to overflow. At any other time the walking from engliſh to french, now ſpaniſh Manchac, is perfectly dry.

This place, if attended to, might be of conſequence to the commerce of Weſt-Florida; for it may with reaſon be ſuppoſed, that the inhabitants and traders who reſide at Point Coupée, at Natchitoches, Attacappa, the Natchez, on the eaſt ſide of the Miſſiſſippi above and below the Natchez, at the Illinois, and St. Vincents on the Ouabaſhe, would

would rather trade at this place than at new Orleans, if they could have as good returns for their peltry and the produce of their country; for it makes a difference of ten days in their voyage, which is no inconſiderable ſaving of labour, money, and time. The only difficulty which oppoſes itſelf to this neceſſary eſtabliſhment, is the want of a navigation through the river Ibberville, ſo that veſſels might carry on a conſtant intercourſe betwixt this place and Penſacola without going up the Miſſiſſippi, which is a more tedious navigation. However, this difficulty is greatly obviated by a good road made for carriages between the navigable water of the Ibberville (a diſtance of ten miles) and the Miſſiſſippi; and when the latter is high enough to run into the former, which it generally is during the months of May, June, and July, veſſels drawing from three to four feet, or more, may then paſs from one to the other.

About a mile above the Ibberville, on the eaſt ſide of the Miſſiſſippi, there is a village of Alibama Indians, conſiſting of 25 warriors.

From the Ibberville to the ſettlements of Point Coupée is 35 miles; they extend full 20 miles on the weſt ſide of the Miſſiſſippi, and there are ſome plantations back on the ſide of what is generally called la Fauſe Riviere, through which the Miſſiſſippi paſſed about 70 years ago, making the ſhape of a creſcent. The fort, which is a ſquare figure with four baſtions, built with ſtockades, is ſituated on the ſame ſide of the Miſſiſſippi, about four miles and a half above the loweſt plantation. The inhabitants of Point Coupée amount to about 2000 of all ages and ſexes, and 7000 ſlaves. They cultivate tobacco, indigo, and indian corn; raiſe vaſt quantities of poultry, which they ſend to market at new Orleans, and furniſh to the ſhipping. They ſquare a great deal of timber and make ſtaves, which they convey in rafts to new Orleans. Eight miles above the fort at Point Coupée, on the ſame ſide of the river, is a ſmall village of the Affagoula Indians. They have only about a dozen warriors.

On the eaſt ſide of the river, and oppoſite to the upper plantations of Point Coupée, is the village of the Tonicas, formerly a numerous nation of Indians; but their conſtant intercourſe with the white people, and immoderate uſe of ſpirituous liquors, have reduced them to about 20 warriors.

About ten miles above the Tonicas village, on the ſame ſide of the river, is a village of Paſcagoula Indians, of 20

warriors; and a little lower down, on the oppoſite ſide, there is a village of Biloxi Indians, containing 30 warriors.

The Chefalaya is about 30 miles above the ſettlement of Point Coupée, and three miles below the mouth of the river Rouge. It is the uppermoſt mouth of the Miſſiſſippi, and after running many miles through one of the moſt fertile countries in the world, falls into the bay of St. Bernard, a conſiderable diſtance weſtward of the mouths of the Miſſiſſippi.

Fifty-four miles from the Miſſiſſippi down the Chefalaya, on the eaſtern ſide, is the place called the Portage, juſt above the mouth of a ſmall rivulet. This portage is 18 miles from Point Coupée. Twelve miles below this portage is a narrow iſland 24 miles long. The eaſtern channel is choked up with logs, but the weſtern affords good navigation. The river Appalouſa communicates with this channel nearly oppoſite the middle of the iſland, on the weſt ſide. There are two ſettlements on the Appalouſa; the firſt is 30 miles, and the other 12 miles further, from its mouth. In deſcending the Chefalaya it is three miles from the laſt mentioned iſland to Iſle au Vauche; and to the bay de Chefalaya, which is on the eaſtern ſide of the river, it is three miles more. This bay is of a triangular figure, about ſix miles in length, and ſomething better than a mile in width at its entrance. When the Chefalaya is not raiſed with freſhes, there is ſeldom more than five feet water in this bay. Fifteen miles from it on the eaſtern ſide, is the bay of Plaquimenes. About half the diſtance between theſe bays, is a rivulet which communicates with the former bed of the Miſſiſſippi, back of Point Coupée, during the annual floods in that river. The country between them is very low, ſwampy, and full of ponds of water.

Near the ſource of the Chefalaya the current is very rapid, but gradually diminiſhes to the mouth, where it is very gentle.

We will now return to the Iſle au Vauche, and proceed from thence to lake de Portage, which is three miles from the iſland. This lake is 13 miles long, and not more than one and a half broad. It communicates at the ſouthern end, by a ſtrait a quarter of a mile wide, with the grand lake of Chetimachas, which is 24 miles in length and 9 in width. The country bordering theſe lakes is low and flat, and timbered principally with cypreſs, ſome live and other kinds of oak; and on the eaſtern ſide, the land between it and the Chefalaya

falaya river is divided and again ſubdivided by innumerable ſmall ſtreams, which occaſion as many iſlands. Some of theſe ſtreams are navigable.

At a little diſtance from the ſouth-eaſtern ſhore of the lake Chetimachas, is an iſland where perſons paſſing that way generally halt as a reſting-place. Nearly oppoſite this iſland, along the weſtern ſhore, there is an opening which leads to the ſea. It is about 150 yards wide, and has 16 or 17 fathoms water. From the lake along this opening it is three miles to the Tage river, which is on the north ſide. Three ſmall rivulets fall in on the ſame ſide, in the above diſtance; and three miles below the Tage river on the weſtern ſide is a large ſavanna known by the name of Pararie de Jacko. From this ſavanna it is about 33 miles to the ſea.

In aſcending the Tage river, it is ten leagues from its mouth to an old indian village, on the eaſt ſide, called Mingo Luoac, which ſignifies Fire Chief. From this village to the habitation of monſ. Maſs, which is on the weſt ſide, it is two leagues. One and a half leagues further up, on the eaſt ſide, is the village de Selieu Rouge, from whence there is a portage of half a mile to lake Chetimacha. Two leagues further up the river, and on the weſt ſide, is the habitation of monſ. Sorrel. From whence, to the town la Nouvelle Iberie, on the ſame ſide, it is ſix leagues. The whole of this diſtance is tolerably well ſettled. From this town about ſix leagues weſterly acroſs the country is ſituated the village de Skunnemoke or the Tuckapas, on the Vermilion river, which runs into the bay of St. Bernard. The river Tage is in general better than 100 yards wide, with a gentle current, and a ſmall ebb and flow of about eight or ten inches. It narrows as you aſcend it, where in ſome places it is not 50 yards over. Veſſels drawing from ſeven to eight feet water may go from the ſea to this town without any obſtructions. About three leagues above la Nouvelle Iberie is la Force point, formerly ſettled by french neutrals. It is now inhabited by creoles of the country, Spaniards from the Canary iſlands, and a few Engliſh from the eaſtern ſide of the Miſſiſſippi. Then to la Shute branch, which paſſes over a fall of about ten feet, near to where it enters into the Tage river, it is three leagues, and inhabited the whole diſtance. From this branch to monſ. Flemming's is two leagues more. A quarter of a mile back from Mr. Flemming's there is a lake three leagues in circuit. From Mr. Flemming's to the

church Dèſata Cappau, which is on the weſt ſide of the Tage, it is one league further, all which is inhabited. From the church to what is called the bottom of the bite, is two leagues, and the whole diſtance cloſely ſettled. From thence to the point ſettlement of Acadians is one league, to the plantation of monſ. Dée is alſo a league, to the point of monſ. Dée it is half a league further. From monſ. Dée's to monſ. Fuzelliere's is five leagues by water, but only three by land. Fuzelliere's fork, or branch, is juſt below his houſe, and divides the diſtricts of Attacappa and Appalouſa. And, at the diſtance of about two leagues, this branch communicates with the Vermilion river weſterly. The river Tage ſtill continues to the eaſtward. At one and an half leagues from the fork, or branch, is the prairie de monſ. Man. To monſ. Man's plantation it is one and an half leagues further; from thence upwards the river divides into little brooks, and loſes itſelf in rich and extenſive ſavannas.

All the Indians in this part of the country, conſiſting of ſeveral ſmall tribes, do not exceed 100 families. The white people are about 400 families, and can raiſe 500 militia. The number of negroes is nearly equal to the whites.

Although this country might produce all the valuable articles raiſed in other parts of the globe, ſituated in the ſame latitudes, yet the inhabitants principally cultivate indigo, rice, tobacco, indian corn, and ſome wheat; and they raiſe large ſtocks of black cattle, horſes, mules, hogs, ſheep, and poultry. The ſheep is ſaid to be the ſweeteſt mutton in the world. The black cattle, when fat enough for ſale, which they commonly are the year round, are driven acroſs the country to new Orleans, where there is always a good market.

This country is principally timbered with all the different kinds of oak, but moſtly with live oak of the largeſt and beſt quality, uncommonly large cypreſs, black walnut, hiccory, white-aſh, cherry, plum, poplar trees, and grape vines; here is found alſo a great variety of ſhrubs and medicinal roots. The lands bordering the rivers and lakes are generally well wooded, but at a ſmall diſtance from them are very extenſive natural meadows, or ſavannas, of the moſt luxuriant ſoil, compoſed of a black mould about one and a half feet deep, very looſe and rich, occaſioned, in part, by the frequent burning of the ſavannas; below the black mould, it is a ſtiff clay of different colours. It is ſaid

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this clay, after being expoſed ſome time to the ſun, becomes ſo hard that it is difficult either to break or bend, but when wet by a light ſhower of rain, it ſlackens in the ſame manner as lime does when expoſed to moiſture, and becomes looſe and moulders away; after which it is found excellent for vegetation.

This country being ſituated between the latitudes of 30 and 31° north, the climate is of courſe very mild and temperate; white froſts, and ſometimes thin ice, have been experienced here; but ſnow is very uncommon.

The river Rouge is ſo called from its waters being of a reddiſh colour, and ſaid to tinge thoſe of the Miſſiſſippi at the time of the floods. Its ſource is in new Mexico, and it runs about 600 miles. The river Noir empties itſelf into this river about 30 miles from its confluence with the Miſſiſſippi, which is 187 miles from new Orleans. The famous Ferdinand Soto ended his diſcoveries and his life at the entrance of this river, and was buried there. Near 70 leagues up this river the French had a very conſiderable poſt, Natchitoches. It was a frontier on the ſpaniſh ſettlements, being 20 miles from the fort of Adaies. The french fort was garriſoned by a captain's command. There were forty families ſettled here, conſiſting moſtly of diſcharged ſoldiers and ſome merchants who traded with the Spaniards. A great quantity of tobacco was cultivated at this poſt, and ſold for a good price at new Orleans, being held in great eſteem. They ſent alſo ſome peltry, which they received in trade from the neighbouring Indians.

From the river Rouge to fort Roſalie it is 56 miles and a quarter. This fort is ſituated in the country known by the name of the Natchez, in 31° 40′ north latitude, about 243 computed miles from new Orleans, and 348 from the Balize, following the courſe of the river. The ſoil, at this place, is ſuperior to any of the lands on the borders of the river Miſſiſſippi, for the production of many articles. Its ſituation being higher, affords a greater variety of ſoil, and is in a more favourable climate for the growth of wheat, rye, barley, oats, &c. than the country lower down, and nearer to the ſea. The ſoil alſo produces, in equal abundance, indian corn, rice, hemp, flax, indigo, cotton, potherbs, pulſe of every kind, and paſturage; and the tobacco made here is eſteemed preferable to any cultivated in other parts of America. Hops grow wild; all kinds of european fruits arrive to great perfection, and no part of the known world

is more favourable for the raiſing of every kind of ſtock. The climate is healthy and temperate; the country delightful and well watered; and the proſpect is beautiful and extenſive, variegated by many inequalities and fine meadows, ſeparated by innumerable copſes, the trees of which are of different kinds, but moſtly of walnut and oak. The riſing grounds, which are clothed with graſs and other herbs of the fineſt verdure, are properly diſpoſed for the culture of vines; the mulberry trees are very numerous, and the winters ſufficiently moderate for the breed of ſilk-worms. Clay of different colours, fit for glaſs works and pottery, is found here in great abundance; and alſo a variety of ſtately timber fit for houſe and ſhip building, &c. The elevated, open, and airy ſituation of this country renders it leſs liable to fevers and agues (the only diſorders ever known in its neighbourhood) than ſome other parts bordering on the Miſſiſſippi, where the want of ſufficient deſcent to convey the waters off occaſions numbers of ſtagnant ponds, whoſe exhalations infect the air.

This country was once famous for its inhabitants, who from their great numbers, and the ſtate of ſociety they lived in, were conſidered as the moſt civilized Indians on the continent of America. They lived ſome years in great friendſhip with the French, whom they permitted to ſettle on their lands, and to whom they rendered every ſervice in their power. Their hoſpitality, it ſeems, was repaid in ſuch a manner, that they determined to get rid of their gueſts; for on the eve of St. Andrew 1729, they ſurpriſed the fort, and put the whole garriſon to death. At the ſame time they made a maſſacre of the inhabitants, in which upwards of 500 were killed; ſome of the women and children they made priſoners; and very few of either ſex eſcaped. The whole colony armed to revenge their ſlaughtered countrymen, and they had ſeveral ſkirmiſhes with the Natchez, in which the ſucceſs was various. In 1730, monſieur de Perrier de Salvert, brother to the governor, arrived from France, with the rank of lieutenant-general in Louiſiana, and 500 regular troops, who joined the troops and militia of the colony. This army, amounting to 1500 men, went, under the command of the two brothers, to attack the nation of the Natchez; who, with their chiefs, determined to defend themſelves in a fort they had built near a lake which communicates with the Bayouk Dargent, lying weſt of the Natchez, and north of the river Rouge. They inveſted this

this fort, and the Indians made a very reſolute and vigorous ſally on them, but were repulſed, after a conſiderable loſs on both ſides. The French having brought two or three mortars, threw ſome ſhells into the fort, which making a havoc amongſt their women and children, ſo terrified the Indians, unuſed to this ſort of war, that they ſurrendered at diſcretion, and were conducted to new Orleans; except a few who had eſcaped to the Chickaſaws, with their hunters who were providing proviſions for their garriſon. Nothing now remains of this nation but their name, by which their country continues to be called. The diſtrict of the Natchez, as well as all along the eaſtern bank of the Miſſiſſippi to the river Ibberville, was ſettling very faſt by daily emigrations from the northern ſtates; but the capture of the britiſh troops on the Miſſiſſippi, 1779, put an entire ſtop to it.

From fort Roſalie to the Petit Goufre is 31 miles and a half. There is a firm rock on the eaſt ſide of the Miſſiſſippi for near a mile, which ſeems to be of the nature of limeſtone. The land near the river is much broken and very high, with a good ſoil, and ſeveral plantations on it.

From the Petit Goufre to Bayouk Pierre, or Stoney river, is four miles and a quarter. From the mouth to what is called the fork of this river, is computed to be 21 miles. In this diſtance there are ſeveral quarries of ſtone, and the land has a clay ſoil with gravel on the ſurface of the ground. On the north ſide of this river the land, in general, is low and rich; that on the ſouth ſide is much higher, but broken into hills and vales; but here the low lands are not often overflowed: both ſides are ſhaded with a variety of uſeful timber. At the fork the river parts almoſt at right angles, and the lands between, and on each ſide of them, are ſaid to be clay and marl ſoil, not ſo uneven as the lands on this river lower down.

From the Bayouk Pierre to Louſa Chitto, or the Big Black, at the Grand Goufre, is ten miles. The Big Black (or Louſa Chitto) is, at the mouth, about 30 yards wide, but within, from 30 to 50 yards, and is ſaid to be navigable for canoes 30 or 40 leagues. About a mile and a half up this river, the high lands are cloſe on the right, and are much broken. A mile and a half further, the high lands appear again on the right, where there are ſeveral ſprings of water, but none as yet has been diſcovered on the left. At about eight miles further, the high lands are near the river,

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on the left, and appear to be the ſame range that comes from the Yazou cliffs, which are about 12 miles up the Yazou river. At ſix miles further the high lands are near the river on both ſides, and continue for two or three miles, but broken and full of ſprings of water. This land on the left was choſen by general Putnam, captain Enos, Mr. Lyman, and other New-England adventurers, as a proper place for a town; and, by order of the governor and council of Weſt-Florida in 1773, it was reſerved for the capital. The country round is very fit for ſettlements. For four or five miles above this place, on both ſides of the river, the land is rich, and not ſo much drowned, nor ſo uneven, as ſome parts lower down. About ſix miles and a half further, there is a rapid water, ſtones and gravel bottom, 160 yards in length; and in one place a firm rock almoſt acroſs the river, and as much of it bare, when the water is at a moderate height, as confines the ſtream to nearly 20 feet; and the channel is about four feet deep.

From the Big Black to the Yazou cliffs is 39 miles and three quarters. From this cliff the high lands lie north-eaſtward and ſouth-ſouth-eaſtward, bearing off from the river, full of cane and rich ſoil, even on the very higheſt ridges. Juſt at the ſouth end of the cliffs, the bank is low, where the water of the Miſſiſſippi, when high, flows back and runs between the bank and high land, which ranges nearly northerly and ſouth-ſouth-eaſterly to the Louſa Chitto, occaſioning much wet ground, cypreſs ſwamp, and ſtagnant ponds.

From the Cliffs, or Aux Cotes, is ſeven miles and a half to the river Yazou. The mouth of this river is upwards of 100 yards in width, and was found by Mr. Gauld to be in latitude 32° 37′, and by Mr. Purcel in 32° 28′ north. The water of the Miſſiſſippi, when the river is high, runs up the Yazou ſeveral miles, and empties itſelf again by a number of channels, which direct their courſe acroſs the country, and fall in above the Walnut hills. The Yazou runs from the north-eaſt, and glides through a healthy, fertile, and pleaſant country, greatly reſembling that about the Natchez, particularly in the luxuriancy and diverſity of its ſoil, variety of timber, temperature of climate, and delightful ſituation. It is remarkably well watered by ſprings and brooks; many of the latter afford convenient ſeats for mills. Further up this river the canes are leſs frequent and ſmaller in ſize, and at the diſtance of 20 miles there are ſcarcely any. Here the country is clear of underwood

wood and well watered, and the ſoil very rich, which continues to the Chactaw and Chickaſaw towns. The former is ſituated on the eaſtern branch of the Yazou, 100 miles from the mouth of that river, and conſiſts nearly of 140 warriors; the towns of the latter are about 15 miles weſt of the north-weſt branch, 150 miles from the Miſſiſſippi. They can raiſe upwards of 500 warriors. The above branches unite 50 miles from the Miſſiſſippi, following the courſe of the river; the navigation to their junction, commonly called the fork, is practicable with very large boats in the ſpring ſeaſon, and with ſmaller ones a conſiderable way further, with the interruption of but one fall, where they are obliged to make a ſhort portage, 20 miles up the north-weſt branch, and 70 miles from the Miſſiſſippi. The country in which the Chactaw and Chickaſaw towns are ſituated, is ſaid to be as healthy as any part of this continent, the natives ſcarcely ever being ſick. Such of them as frequent the Miſſiſſippi, leave its banks as the ſummer approaches, leſt they might partake of the fevers that ſometimes viſit the low ſwampy lands bordering upon that river. Wheat, it is ſaid, yields better at the Yazou than at the Natchez, owing probably to its more northern ſituation. One very conſiderable advantage will attend the ſettlers on the river Yazou, which thoſe at the Natchez will be deprived of, without going to a great expence; I mean the building with ſtone, there being great plenty near the Yazou, but none has yet been diſcovered nearer to the Natchez than the Petit Goufre, or little Whirlpool, a diſtance of 31 miles and a half. Between this place and the Balize there is not a ſtone to be ſeen any where near the river. Though the quantity of good land on the Miſſiſſippi and its branches, from the bay of Mexico to the river Ohio, a diſtance of nearly 1000 miles, is vaſtly great, and the conveniences attending it; ſo likewiſe we may eſteem that in the neighbourhood of the Natchez, and of the river Yazou, the flower of it all.

About a mile and a half up the Yazou river, on the north ſide, there is a large creek, which communicates with the Miſſiſſippi above the river St. Francis, about 100 leagues higher up, by the courſe of the river. It paſſes through ſeveral lakes by the way. At the diſtance of 12 miles from the mouth of the river Yazou, on the ſouth ſide, are the Yazou hills. There is a cliff of ſolid rock at the landing-place, on which are a variety of broken pieces of ſea ſhells, and ſome entire.

entire. Four miles further up is the place called the Ball Ground, near which a church, fort St. Peter, and a french ſettlement formerly ſtood. They were deſtroyed by the Yazou Indians in 1729. That nation is now entirely extinct.

From the Yazou to the river Arkanſaw is 158 miles and a quarter. It is ſo called from a nation of Indians of the ſame name. Its ſource is nearly in the latitude of Santa Fé in new Mexico, and it is ſaid to be navigable for batteaux 750 miles. It runs through an immenſely rich and fertile country. About 10 or 12 miles up this river from the Miſſiſſippi there was formely a fort, garriſoned generally by a company of ſpaniſh ſoldiers, for the purpoſe of defending the trade carried on between new Orleans and the ſeveral villages of St. Genevieve, &c. and particularly for defending the commerce with the Arkanſaw Indians, conſiſting of about 280 warriors, who are as much attached to the french intereſt, as the Chickaſaws are to that of the Engliſh. No ſettlements were made here, except one or two for the immediate accommodation of the garriſon. The inundation of the Miſſiſſippi, about three years ago, occaſioned the evacuation of the above poſt, and the eſtabliſhment of another on the northern bank of the river 36 miles higher up. This poſt, conſiſting of a ſubaltern's command, ſix pieces of cannon, and eight ſwivels, was attacked about 18 months ſince by a party of Chickaſaws, who killed ten ſoldiers of the garriſon, and ſoon after concluded a peace with the Spaniards. There is a hamlet cloſe to the fort, inhabited only by merchants and traders The Arkanſaw river diſcharges itſelf into the Miſſiſſippi by two channels, about 15 miles from each other; the uppermoſt is called Riviere Blanche, from its receiving a river of that name, reported to be navigable 600 miles, and the ſoil through which it runs equal in quality to any on the Miſſiſſippi.

From the Arkanſaw river to the river St. Francis, which is on the weſt ſide of the Miſſiſſippi, is 108 miles. This is a ſmall river, and is remarkable for nothing but the general rendezvous of the hunters from new Orleans, who winter there, and collect ſalt meat, ſuet, and bears oil, for the ſupply of that city. Formerly the French had a poſt at the entrance of this river, for a magazine of ſtores and proviſions during their wars with the Chickaſaws, by whom their Illinois convoys were conſtantly attacked and frequently deſtroyed.

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From the river St. Francis to the river and heights of Margot, which are on the eaſt ſide of the Miſſiſſippi, is 70 miles and a half. This river is ſaid to be navigable for batteaux a number of miles. It appears to be a pretty little river. The high ground below its junction with the Miſſiſſippi affords a commanding, airy, pleaſant, and extenſive ſituation for ſettlements; the ſoil is remarkably fertile. On this ground, juſt below the mouth of the river, the French built a fort, called Aſſumption fort, when at war with the Chickaſaws, in the year 1736, but it was demoliſhed in the year following, when a peace with thoſe Indians was concluded.

From the river Margot to the Chickaſaw river, which is on the eaſt ſide of the Miſſiſſippi, is 104 miles and a half. The lands here are of an excellent quality, and covered with a variety of uſeful timber, canes, &c. This river may be aſcended during high floods upwards of 30 miles with boats of ſeveral tons burden.

From the Chickaſaw river to Mine au Fer, or the Iron Mines, on the eaſt ſide of the Miſſiſſippi, is 67 miles and a quarter. Here the land is nearly ſimilar in quality to that bordering the Chickaſaw river, interſperſed with gradual riſings or ſmall eminences. There is a poſt at this place, near the ſouth boundary of Virginia.

From Mine au Fer to the Ohio river, which is the largeſt eaſtern branch of the Miſſiſſippi, is 15 miles. This river, and its principal branches, as alſo the ſettlements in the Illinois country, are delineated in a map, and very particularly deſcribed in a pamphlet which I publiſhed in London, the 1ſt of January 1778; and to them the reader is referred.

Having briefly touched upon all the ſettlements on, and principal branches of the Miſſiſſippi, from the ſea to the river Ohio; I ſhall now juſt mention the bounds of Weſt-Florida.

The province of Weſt-Florida is ſituated on the north ſide of the gulf of Mexico, and extends from the river Appalachicola, which is the boundary between it and Eaſt-Florida, to the Regolets at the entrance into lake Ponchartrain, thence through the lakes Ponchartrain and Maurepas, and along the river Ibberville to the Miſſiſſippi, thence along the Miſſiſſippi to the northernmoſt part of the 31ſt degree of north latitude, thence by a line drawn due eaſt along the ſouth boundary of the ſtate of Georgia to the river Appalachicola, including all the iſlands within ſix leagues of the coaſt, between Appalachicola and lake Ponchartrain.

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I now proceed to make ſome general obſervations, which may be of ſervice in making the land when you arrive on the coaſt of Florida. This is diſtinguiſhable many different ways; as by the latitudes, the trenching and direction of the ſhore, and the ſoundings and quality of the bottom; to each of which particular attention muſt be paid.

From cape Blaize in 29° 41′ north latitude, to the Balize at the mouth of the Miſſiſſippi, the coaſt forms a curve, inclining to the northward, for 28 leagues, as far as the eaſt end of Roſe iſland in 30° 28′ north; from thence the land gradually declines to the ſouthward, as far as Mobille point in 30° 17′ north about 30 leagues. Dauphin iſland, and the other iſlands, including Ship iſland, ſtretch nearly weſt for the ſpace of 20 leagues, and from the north end of the Chandeleurs, which lies near five leagues to the ſouth-eaſt of Ship iſland, the coaſt runs chiefly to the ſouthward till you arrive at the entrance of the river Miſſiſſippi.

It is likewiſe to be obſerved, that in ſeveral places there is double land to be ſeen over the different bays and lagoons: as at St. Andrew's bay; which may be known by a high white ſand hill, near the point of a peninſula, on the left hand going in: at St. Roſe's bay; where there is a remarkable red bluff on the eaſt ſide of the entrance juſt oppoſite to the eaſt end of Roſe iſland; over the greateſt part of which iſland double land may likewiſe be ſeen from the maſt-head and at the bay of Penſacola, the entrance of which is remarkable on account of the red cliff oppoſite to the weſt end of Roſe iſland. There is a large lagoon, a little more than a league to the weſtward of this cliff, about three leagues in length, leaving a narrow peninſula, over which the double land may eaſily be ſeen, with a high red bank on the north ſide about half way: this ſeems to diſtinguiſh it from any other part of the coaſt. There is a double land at the entrance of the river Perdido; but it is not eaſily obſerved at any conſiderable diſtance. The ſame may alſo be ſeen over ſome parts of Dauphin iſland, and thoſe to the weſtward of it, viz. Maſſacre, Horn, and Ship iſlands, as well as between them; but it appears at ſo great a diſtance, that it cannot be miſtaken for any part of the coaſt to the eaſtward of Mobille point.

The Chandeleurs, which were five in number, when I viſited them in the year 1772, extend nearly S. by W. 9 or 10 leagues. The iſle aux Grand Gozier lies about 10 or 11 miles to the ſouthward of them, with breakers all the way between.

between. The iſle au Briton, or rather a cluſter of iſlands of that name, lie about four miles to the weſtward of the Grand Goziers, or Great Pelican iſland: both theſe and the Chandeleur iſlands are very low, with ſome buſhes: and behind them, at a conſiderable diſtance, there is a chain of low marſhy iſlands and lagoons, bordering the peninſula of Orleans.

This is a dangerous part of the coaſt to a ſtranger, both on account of the lowneſs of the land, which cannot be ſeen at any diſtance, as there are no trees, and likewiſe on account of the above-mentioned ſhoal between the ſouthernmoſt of the Chandeleurs and the Grand Goziers, from latitude 29° 42′ north, to 29° 32′ north.

There is however very good ſhelter for ſhips, within the north end of the Chandeleurs, in Naſſau road, which lies five leagues to the ſouthward of Ship iſland, and is one of the beſt for large veſſels on the whole coaſt of Florida; not only as it affords good ſhelter from thoſe winds that blow on ſhore, but as it is, by having no bar, of ſo eaſy an acceſs from the ſea. Care muſt however be taken, not to go within three quarters of a mile of the inſide of the iſland, it being ſhoal near that diſtance from the ſhore.

Veſſels may go round the north end of it from the ſea, in five and a half and ſix fathoms, at half a mile from the ſhore; and afterwards muſt keep in four and a half and five fathoms, till the north point bears N.N.E. about two miles; when they may come to an anchor in four fathoms good holding ground, ſheltered from eaſterly and ſoutherly winds.

It would be neceſſary for veſſels to be well acquainted with this road, as eaſterly winds are frequent on the coaſt of Florida. There is freſh water to be got any where on the Chandeleurs by digging; beſides which it might be met with in a kind of well, at an old hut near the north end. No wood is to be found here but drift wood, of which there is great plenty along ſhore.

Naſſau road was firſt diſcovered by Dr. Daniel Cox of New Jerſey, about the time of king William III. who gave it the name of Naſſau, in honour of that prince. Doctor Cox had likewiſe given the name of the Myrtle iſlands to thoſe which are ſtill ſo denominated, before the French called them the Chandeleurs; and they were ſo named by both, from the candles made of the myrtle wax with which theſe iſlands abound.

From

From the weſt ſide of the iſthmus* of the peninſula of Orleans to the junction of the Ibberville with lake Maurepas, it is 60 computed miles, following the courſe of the river, which for the firſt ten miles is not navigable above four months in the year; but there is at all times from two to ſix feet for three miles further, and between two and four fathoms is the depth the remaining part of the way to the lake.

The river Amit falls into the Ibberville on the north ſide, about 21 miles from the junction of the Ibberville with the Miſſiſſippi. The water of the Amit is clear, with a gravelly bottom. It may be aſcended with veſſels drawing five or ſix feet water, about half a dozen miles, and with batteaux 100 miles further. Seventeen miles from the Ibberville this river forks; the weſtern branch, called the Comit, has its ſource near the country of the Natchez; and the eaſtern branch, which is the moſt conſiderable, riſes near the Pearl river: both theſe branches run through a very fertile country, in ſome parts hilly, which, as well as the low lands, is covered with canes, oaks, aſh, mulberry, hiccory, poplar, cedar, and cypreſs. The banks in general are high, yet in ſome parts they are ſubject to be overflowed. There were a number of inhabitants ſettled on the Amit and Comit, who had ſlaves, and who raiſed indigo, cotton, rice, hemp, tobacco, and indian corn, in great abundance, and all excellent in their kind. They had plenty of horſes, cows, hogs, poultry, &c. and the river abounds with a variety of fiſh.

From the Amit to lake Maurepas is 39 miles, following the Ibberville. The quality of the land and timber on this river is ſimilar to that on the Amit, with this difference, its banks in general are lower and the country leſs hilly, and

* The river Ibberville was very little known by the Engliſh at the treaty of peace in 1762; for notwithſtanding the crown has expended ſome thouſands of pounds in clearing the Ibberville, it is not now navigable from the Miſſiſſippi towards lake Maurepas, even for a canoe; and when I viewed it on the 10th of October 1766, the ſurface of the water of the Miſſiſſippi was then 24 feet below the bed or bottom of the Ibberville. The Miſſiſſippi is the ſource of the Ibberville, when raiſed high enough to run into it, and occaſions what is erroneouſly called the iſland of Orleans to be then an iſland in fact, but at any other time it is not environed with water; therefore, with what degree of propriety can the Ibberville be termed a river, or the town of new Orleans ſaid to be ſituated on an iſland?

there

there is a greater proportion of rice land, and alſo cypreſs and live oak: the latter is of an extraordinary quality for ſhip-building. There were ſeveral inhabitants on this river who raiſed indigo, indian corn, rice, &c. and were in a very thriving way.

Lake Maurepas is about ten miles in length and ſeven in width, with 10 or 12 feet water in it. The country round it is low, and covered with cypreſs, live oak, myrtle, &c. Two creeks fall into this lake; one from the north ſide, called Nattabanie, the other from the peninſula of Orleans.

From the Ibberville acroſs the lake, it is ſeven miles to the paſſage leading to Ponchartrain. The length of this paſſage is ſeven miles, and only 300 yards in width, which is divided into two branches by an iſland that extends from Maurepas to about the diſtance of a mile from Ponchartrain. The ſouth channel is the deepeſt and ſhorteſt.

Lake Ponchartrain. The greateſt length of this lake is about 40 miles, breadth 24 miles, and depth 18 feet. The following creeks fall in on the north ſide, Tangipaho and le Comble, four feet deep; Chefuncta, ſeven; and Bonfouca, ſix; and from the peninſula of Orleans, Tigahoc, at the mouth of which was a ſmall poſt. The Bayouk of St. John, which alſo communicates on the ſame ſide, has been already mentioned. The french inhabitants, who formerly reſided on the north ſide of this lake, chiefly employed themſelves in making pitch, tar, and turpentine, and raiſing ſtock, for which the country is very favourable.

The diſtance from lake Ponchartrain through the Regolets is ten miles, and between 3 and 400 yards broad, and lined with marſhes on each ſide.

On the ſouth ſide of the Regolets, and near to the entrance from the ſea, there is a large paſſage into the lake Borgne, or Blind lake, and, by ſome creeks that fall into it, ſmall craft may go as far as the plantations on the Miſſiſſippi; and there is a paſſage between the lakes Borgne and Ponchartrain: but either by this, or that of the Regolets, ſix, and ſometimes ſeven feet, is the deepeſt water through.

Near the entrance at the eaſt end of the Regolets, and on the north ſide, are the principal mouths of Pearl river, which riſes in the Chactaw nation, and is navigable upwards of 150 miles. There is ſeven feet going into it, and deep water afterwards. In the year 1769 there were ſome ſettlements on this river, where they raiſed tobacco, indigo, cotton, rice, indian corn, and all ſorts of vegetables. The land produces

a variety of timber fit for pipe and hogſhead ſtaves, maſts, yards, and all kinds of plank for ſhip-building.

From the Regolets to the bay of St. Louis is about 18 miles. This is a ſmall, beautiful, compact bay, with about ſeven feet water in it: the land near it is of a light ſoil, and good for paſture. There were ſeveral ſettlers formerly on it, but in the year 1767, the Chactaw Indians killed their cattle and obliged them to remove.

From this bay to the bay of Biloxi, is 26 miles. Juſt oppoſite to Ship iſland, on the main land, is ſituated old Biloxi, in a ſmall bay of the ſame name, behind l'Iſle au Chevereuil, or Buck or Deer iſland. This is the place where the French made their firſt eſtabliſhment in Louiſiana: but they did not continue there long, finding it in every reſpect an improper ſituation for the capital. There are ſtill a few inhabitants at Biloxi, ſome of whom are the offſpring of the original ſettlers. Their chief employment is raiſing of cattle and ſtock, and making pitch and tar: but the natives are very troubleſome to them.

From the Biloxi to the Paſcagoula river is about 13 miles. This river empties itſelf by ſeveral mouths; between the eaſternmoſt and weſternmoſt of which, there is a ſpace of between three and four miles, that is nearly one continued bed of oyſter-ſhells, with very ſhoal water. The only channel is at the weſternmoſt entrance, where there are four feet. This large river about 20 miles above its entrance is divided into two branches, which continue their courſe to the ſea, generally about five or ſix miles aſunder. The intermediate ſpace, for ſeveral miles above its mouth, is nothing but marſhes interſected by lagoons. After getting into either of the branches, there is from three to ſix fathoms, and the river is ſaid to be navigable for more than 150 miles.

The ſoil on this river, like all other rivers on the coaſt of Weſt-Florida, grows better the higher up you go; but even near the entrance it is far from being bad. There are ſome good plantations on the eaſt ſide; but here, as well as all the way to the weſtward, the inhabitants are much moleſted by the natives, eſpecially by the Chactaws, who kill their cattle, &c.

From the Paſcagoula river to the Paſs au Heron at the bay of Mobille is 18 miles. This paſs has four feet water; and from thence to the point, which is on the eaſt ſide of the bay of Mobille, in latitude 30° 17 north, is nearly ſix miles.

Before deſcribing this bay, I ſhall here take notice of the follow-

following iſlands ſituated along the coaſt, between the bay of St. Louis and the point of Mobille.

Cat iſland lies about eight miles eaſtward of the bay of St. Louis, and ſeven miles from the coaſt: it is ſix miles in length, very narrow, and of an irregular ſhape, with a large ſhoal from the eaſt end of it, extending within two miles of Ship iſland. The ſoil is poor, producing nothing but pine, ſome live oak and graſs, and its ſhore is almoſt everywhere covered or bordered with an immenſity of ſhells.

The marſhy iſlands near the peninſula of Orleans, are diſtant about three miles ſouth of Cat iſland; and between them there is a channel of nine feet, which continues to the Regolets through a number of ſhoals.

Ship iſland is ſituated between ſeven and eight miles eaſt of Cat iſland, and about ten miles ſouth of the bay of Biloxi. This iſland is nine miles in length and two miles in width where broadeſt. It produces pine trees and graſs, and there is a well of tolerable water on it. The weſtern part of this iſland is very narrow, and for better than three miles there is not a tree on it. A ſhoal runs out due ſouth, about a mile from the weſt end. The channel is better than a mile wide, with from four to five and ſix fathoms; but the bar has only 21 feet. In going over it from the ſea the courſe to be ſteered is due north, keeping the above ſhoal near half a mile to the eaſtward, and after fairly paſſing the end of the iſland, from the inner part of which lies a ſhoal, the courſe proceeds N. E. until the broadeſt part of the point of the iſland bears due ſouth about one mile and a half, where there is between four and five fathoms. This is a good place to anchor in the ſummer-time; but is very much expoſed in winter, when the northerly winds prevail; and is a very convenient place for ſhipping the produce of the rivers Pearl, Ibberville, and Amit, and the lakes Maurepas and Ponchartrain.

From Ship iſland to Horn iſland is between five and ſix miles, with a ſmall key called Dog iſland between, about two thirds of the way, and with a ſhoal all the way from the former to about a quarter of a mile of the latter, where there is a channel of five fathoms. The above ſhoal extends ſouth of the channel nearly two miles, where there is a bar of 15 feet: in croſſing of which it behoves the mariner to keep about half a mile from the ſhore, and to ſteer for the end of the iſland, and on approaching it to give it a birth of about a cable's length, to avoid a ſhoal on the left; after

paſſing of which he ought to keep a little to the weſtward, on account of a ſhoal that runs from the inſide of the iſland, then to haul round to the eaſtward, where there is better than 15 feet water, a little more than a mile from the iſland.

Horn iſland is nearly 17 miles in length, and about half a mile in width. There are more trees on the middle of the iſland than in any other part of it; and for about three miles from the eaſt end there are no trees at all, but there are a number of ſandy hillocs.

Round iſland lies about five miles north from oppoſite the middle of Horn iſland, and is well timbered.

The iſland of Maſſacre is upwards of two miles to the eaſtward of Horn iſland, from which a ſhoal extends better than a mile and a half between them, leaving a channel of about 11 feet round the weſt end of Maſſacre iſland; but within the iſland there is between three and four fathoms.

Maſſacre is nearly nine miles long and very narrow; it is remarkable for a grove of trees in the middle, which is the more particular, as there is not a tree any where elſe on the iſland.

The diſtance between Maſſacre iſland and the main is about ten miles, from two to three fathoms all the way acroſs; except one large ſhoal called la Grand Bature, which ſtretches out from the main land about a league, with two or three feet water on it, and in ſome places not ſo much. Behind it, there is a large bay called l'Ance de la Grand Bature, eight miles eaſt of Paſcagoula bluff.

The land here and to the eaſtward, as far as the bay of Mobille, is ſwampy towards the ſea, with a clay bottom for two or three miles back; but afterwards it is covered chiefly with pines, live oak, and hiccory, and the ſoil is ſandy or gravelly for ſeveral miles, before it becomes truly fit for culture; notwithſtanding which it is good for paſture.

From Maſſacre to Dauphin iſland is five miles, with a ſhoal all the way between them. Theſe are ſuppoſed formerly to have been but one, which went by the general name of Maſſacre, ſo called by monſ. d'Ibberville, from a large heap of human bones found thereon at his firſt landing; but it was afterwards called Dauphin iſland, in honour of the dauphin of France, and to take off the diſagreeable idea excited by the other name.

Dauphin iſland is about ten miles long, and in the broadeſt part not quite two miles. The weſt end, for between three and four miles, is a narrow ſlip of land, with ſome dead trees;

trees; the reſt is covered with thick pines, which come cloſe to the water's edge on the eaſt ſide, forming a large bluff. There are the remains of an old french poſt on the ſouth ſide of the iſland; about two miles from that bluff are a few old houſes on the north ſide oppoſite to it, near which are large hillocks of oyſter-ſhells, now covered with dwarf cedar and live oak. There are many ſuch veſtiges of the ancient inhabitants in ſeveral bays and other places on the coaſt; and as theſe are always found on high banks, the uſual places where the native encamp, it cannot well be ſuppoſed they were left there by the ſea, though many are of that opinion.

Gillori iſland is divided from Dauphin iſland on the north ſide by a narrow channel, through which a boat may paſs with ſome difficulty; and between Gillori and the main land, on the weſt ſide of Mobille bay, there is a chain of ſmall iſlands, and oyſter-ſhells, through which there is a paſſage of four feet, called Paſſe au Heron, where ſmall craft may go from Mobille bay to the weſtward within the iſlands. There is likewiſe a paſſage for ſmall boats and canoes from the weſt ſide of the bay of Mobille, through what the French call Riviere aux Poules, which falls in oppoſite to the weſt end of Dauphin iſland, and cuts off a conſiderable ſpace of ground.

Juſt oppoſite the old fort, on the ſouth ſide of Dauphin iſland, diſtant one mile, lies great Pelican iſland, which is about a mile in length, and very narrow. It ſtretches to the S. E. in form of a half moon, the concave ſide being towards the eaſt end of Dauphin iſland. There are neither trees nor buſhes on it, but here and there large tufts of graſs like ſmall reeds, on the ſandy parts near the ſea ſide.

Hawk's bay is between Pelican and Dauphin iſlands. There is a broad channel of 11 and 12 feet, afterwards ſafe anchorage in four fathoms good holding ground, and well ſheltered from moſt winds; on which account it is very convenient for ſmall veſſels.

There is a ſmall ſand key called little Pelican iſland, about a league S. E. from great Pelican iſland, forming a curve to the eaſtward, and there it meets a large ſhoal extending from Mobille point

The deepeſt water on the bar of Mobille, or rather of Mobille bay (for there is another bar at the entrance of the river near the town), is only 15 or 16 feet. The mark for going over it in the deepeſt channel, is to bring little Peli-

can iſland well on with the bluff on the eaſt end of Dauphin iſland, bearing about N. N. W. ¾ W. and then to ſteer in for the key in that direction. The point of Mobille bears from the bar nearly due north four miles, and the key is more than a mile and half within it. Both the eaſt and weſt reefs, as well as the bar itſelf, are ſteep towards the ſea, there being from three to ſeven and eight fathoms immediately without; this occaſions a conſtant ſwell with a heavy ſea when it blows from the ſouthward: and therefore, in rough weather, it would be imprudent to go over it in a veſſel that draws above ten or eleven feet water. Within the bar it deepens gradually towards little Pelican iſland, between which and the eaſt reef the channel is not more than a quarter of a mile broad with ſix or ſeven fathoms water. This depth continues all the way round Mobille point, where is tolerable good anchorage in four or five fathoms, but it is at beſt an open road-ſtead, the bay being too large to afford much ſhelter.

From Mobille point to the town the diſtance is about 11 leagues nearly due north, and the breadth of the bay in general is about three or four leagues. At the lower part of it is a deep bite that runs about ſix leagues to the eaſtward of the point, having a narrow peninſula between it and the ſea. The river Bon Secour falls into the bottom of this bay or bite, and Fiſh river with that of la Sant on the north ſide of it; on all of which there are ſeveral habitations.

On the weſt ſide of the bay of Mobille there are likewiſe ſome ſmall rivers, but none conſiderable, beſides la Riviere aux Poules, by which there is a ſmall inland communication to the weſtward, and Dog river, which falls into the bay about nine miles below Mobille. The former has five or ſix feet in the entrance, and is navigable for a boat ſeveral miles back into the country. With regard to the general depth of the water in the bay, there is from two to three fathoms two-thirds of the way from Mobille point towards the town, and the deepeſt water to be depended on in the upper part of the bay is only 10 or 12 feet, and in many places not ſo much; but there is no danger, as the bottom is ſoft mud. Large veſſels cannot go within ſeven miles of the town.

Notwithſtanding all theſe inconveniences in point of navigation, Mobille having hitherto been the frontiers of the french dominions in Louiſiana, always was, and now is, a very

very conſiderable place. It has a ſmall regular fort, built with brick, and a neat ſquare of barracks for the officers and ſoldiers. The town is pretty regular, of an oblong figure, on the weſt bank of the river, where it enters the bay.

There is a conſiderable indian trade carried on here. Mobille, when in poſſeſſion of his britannic majeſty, ſent yearly to London, ſkins and furs amounting from 12 to 15,000 pounds ſterling: it was then the only ſtaple commodity in this part of the province. The britiſh garriſon at Mobille ſurrendered to the arms of his catholic majeſty in the year 1780.

The bay of Mobille terminates a little to the north-eaſtward of the town, in a number of marſhes and lagoons: which ſubject the people to fevers and agues in the hot ſeaſon.

The river of Mobille is divided into two principal branches, about 40 miles above the town: one of which, called the Tanſa, falls into the eaſt part of the bay; the other empties itſelf cloſe by the town, where it has a bar of ſeven feet; but there is a branch a little to the eaſtward of this, called Spaniſh river, where there is a channel of nine or ten feet, when the water is high; but this joins Mobille river about two leagues above the town.

Two or three leagues above the Tanſa branch, the Alibama river falls into Mobille river, after running from the N. E. a courſe of about 130 miles; that is, from Alibama fort, ſituated at the confluence of the Couſſa and Talpouſe, both very conſiderable rivers; on which and their branches are the chief ſettlements of the upper Creek Indians.

The french fort at Alibama was evacuated in 1763, and has not been ſince garriſoned. Above the confluence of Alibama and Mobille, the latter is called the Tombecbe river, from the fort of Tombecbe, ſituated on the weſt ſide of it, about 96 leagues above the town of Mobille. The ſource of this river is reckoned to be about 40 leagues higher up, in the country of the Chickaſaws. The fort of Tombecbe was taken poſſeſſion of by the Engliſh, but abandoned again in 1767, by order of the commandant of Penſacola. The river is navigable for ſloops and ſchooners about 35 leagues above the town of Mobille. The banks, where low, are partly overflowed in the rainy ſeaſons, which adds greatly to the ſoil, and adapts it particularly to the cultivation of rice. The ſides of the river are covered in many places

with large canes, ſo thick that they are almoſt impenetrable; there is alſo plenty of remarkable large red and white cedar, cypreſs, elm, aſh, hiccory, and various kinds of oak. Several people have ſettled on this river, who find the ſoil to anſwer beyond expectation.

The lands near the mouth of the Mobille river are generally low: as you proceed upwards, the land grows higher, and may with great propriety be divided into three ſtages: firſt, low rice lands on or near the banks of the river, of a moſt excellent quality: ſecondly, what are called by the people of the country ſecond low grounds, or level flat cane lands, about four or five feet higher than the low rice lands: and, thirdly, the high upland or open country. The firſt, or low lands, extend about an half or three quarters of a mile from the river, and may almoſt everywhere be eaſily drained and turned into moſt excellent rice fields, and are capable of being laid under water at almoſt all ſeaſons of the year. They are a deep black mud or ſlime, which have, in a ſucceſſion of time, been accumulated, or formed by the overflowing of the river.

The ſecond low grounds being, in general, formed by a regular riſing of about four or five feet higher than the low lands, appears to have been originally the edge of the river. This ſecond claſs or kind of land is in general extremely rich, and covered with large timber and thick ſtrong canes, extending in width upon an average three quarters of a mile, and in general a perfect level. It is excellent for all kinds of grain, and well calculated for the culture of indigo, hemp, flax, or tobacco.

At the extremity of theſe ſecond grounds, you come to what is called the high or upland, which is covered with pine, oak, and hiccory, and other kinds of large timber. The ſoil is of a good quality, but much inferior to the ſecond or low land. It anſwers well for raiſing indian corn, potatoes, and every thing elſe that delights in a dry light ſoil. Further out in the country again, on the weſt ſide of this river, you come to a pine barren, with extenſive reed ſwamps and natural meadows or ſavannas, which afford excellent ranges of innumerable herds of cattle.

On the eaſt of the river Mobille, towards the river Alibama, is one entire extended rich cane country, not inferior perhaps to any in America.

Whenever portages are made between the Mobille and Cherokee river, or their branches, which are probably but a few

a few miles apart, the Mobille will be the firſt river for commerce (the Miſſiſſippi excepted) in this part of the world, as it affords the ſhorteſt and moſt direct communication to the ſea.

The land to the eaſtward of Mobille point, for about three leagues on the peninſula, is remarkable for alternate ſpaces of thick and thin trees. The point is covered with a grove of thick but not very tall ones. There is a ſmall lagoon about four leagues to the eaſtward of the point, with hardly water at the entrance for a boat, the trees about which are very tall and thick. There are ſeveral hillocs to the eaſtward along ſhore, all the way from thence to the river Perdido, except at one place, about two-thirds of the way; where double lands may be ſeen over a lagoon which ſtretches to the weſtward of that river.

The river Perdido empties itſelf into the ſea about ten leagues to the eaſtward of Mobille point, and four leagues to the weſtward of the bar of Penſacola. The entrance is narrow, with a bar of ſix feet; but afterwards it widens conſiderably, ſtretching firſt to the N. E. upwards of a league, where it goes within a mile of the head of the great lagoon weſt of the entrance of Penſacola harbour. From this the Perdido turns to the weſtward for three or four miles, where it forms a large bay. This river was formerly the boundary between Florida and Louiſiana, dividing the french and ſpaniſh dominions.

There is nothing remarkable between the river Perdido and the bar of Penſacola, except the grand lagoon, which reaches near to the Perdido, with ſome ſtraggling trees on the peninſula, and the high red bank on the north ſide of it, before mentioned. The ſoundings between the bars of Mobille and Penſacola are pretty regular, except near the bars, where there is deep water along ſhore, as they ſtretch out. It is neceſſary in nearing them, to keep a good offing till their reſpective marks are on for going over in the deepeſt channel. Immediately without them there is very deep water, from 7 to 12 and 13 fathoms, oozy bottom, and good holding ground. At the ſame diſtance from the ſhore between them there is only ſix or eight fathoms; the bottom in general is fine white ſand with black ſpecks and broken ſhells: in ſome places a coarſer bottom, and in others oozy ſand.

The weſt end of the iſland of St. Roſa ſtretches athwart the

the mouth of the harbour, and defends it from the ſea. It would be difficult to aſcertain the entrance, were it not for a remarkable red cliff which not only diſtinguiſhes the place, but is a mark for going over the bar in the deepeſt water.

The bar of Penſacola is of a ſemicircular form, with the convex ſide to the ſea, and lies at a conſiderable diſtance from the land, occaſioned, no doubt, by the conflict between the ſea and the bay. The bar runs in a curve from the weſt breakers all the way to the eaſtward of the fort, or ſignal-houſe, on Roſe iſland, the outer end of it extending about a mile without the breakers; it is a flat, hard ſand, but the bottom on both ſides is ſoft, oozy ground. After entering on the bar in the deepeſt channel, the old fort on Roſe iſland bears N. E. ¼ N. two miles and a half; the middle or higheſt red cliff, N. ¼ W. three miles and a half. In coming from the eaſtward or weſtward it is beſt to keep in ſix or ſeven fathoms, till the weſt declivity of the higheſt part of the red cliff bears about N. ½ W. as above; and then to continue in that direction. The water ſhoals gradually from four to three and three-fourths fathoms; on the ſhoaleſt part it is 21 feet; then it regularly deepens, and the bottom grows ſofter.

The latitude of the bar of Penſacola is 30° 22′ north, and longitude 87° 40′ weſt from London, the variation of the compaſs near 5° eaſt.

When over the bar in five or ſix fathoms, it is neceſſary to incline a little towards the weſtern reef, which has deep water cloſe to it, in order to avoid the 10 feet bank that there extends about half a mile S. W. from the point of Roſe iſland. As the line of direction for the deepeſt water over the bar leads juſt over the weſt point of this bank, therefore it is proper to keep within one and a half or two cables length of the breakers (on the north end of which there are two dry ſandy keys), till the weſt point of Roſe iſland is open with the ſtraggling trees to the ſouthward of Deer point, at the entrance of St Roſa channel, when one muſt haul up to the eaſtward between them clear of the 10 feet bank. There is a narrow channel of 13 feet between this bank and the point of Roſe iſland. There is alſo a ſhoal ſtretching in a ſweep from the red cliff towards the above-mentioned ſandy key, therefore care muſt be taken not to ſhut in Tartar point with Deer point; but as the

ſoundings

ſoundings are regular, there is no fear, unleſs there be little wind, with the tide of ebb, which ſets directly on this ſhoal, and in that caſe it is neceſſary to anchor in time.

Within Tartar point the bay is about five or ſix miles broad, ſtretching to the north-eaſt towards the town; which is ſituated on the main land, about eight miles from Roſe iſland. From thence the bay turns more to the eaſtward, and is divided into two large branches or arms; one of which continues to the eaſtward about 18 miles from Penſacola, and the other to the northward nearly the ſame diſtance, from three to five miles broad.

Between Tartar point and Penſacola there are two large lagoons, the ſouthernmoſt of which runs behind the red cliff.

All the weſt ſide of the bay, which forms a ſweep towards the town, is ſhoal for upwards of half a mile off ſhore, but the ſoundings are regular to it. There is no danger in the bay between Penſacola and Roſe iſland, except a ſhoal that runs from Deer point, which ought to be attended to in working up or down the harbour. It is the more dangerous, as there is no warning given by the ſoundings; for from ſix fathoms, in a few caſts of the lead, you have but as many feet. It runs more than half a mile to the weſtward from the point. The governor's houſe in the fort bears from the extremity of it N. ½ E. three miles and a half, and Engliſh point N. N. E. ¼ E. five miles. The beſt anchorage for large veſſels is juſt abreaſt of the town, in four fathoms, about one-third of a mile off ſhore; taking care not to bring the governor's houſe more to the weſtward than N. W. ¼ W. on account of a ſhoal that runs off from Indian point at the eaſt end of the town. As the tides in that offing run nearly eaſt and weſt, ſhips ſhould be moored accordingly.

The bay of Penſacola was firſt diſcovered by Pamphilio de Narvaez in 1525 *. After him, ſeveral other ſpaniſh adventurers viſited it, who gave it different names; as Porta da Anchuſe, Bahia de St. Maria, &c. But Penſacola was the proper name of it among the Indians, which it will henceforth probably retain. The firſt eſtabliſhment the Spaniards made here was in 1696; when don Andrea de

* But the Florida coaſt was previouſly diſcovered by Sebaſtian Cabot in 1497, and by John Ponce de Leon in 1512.

Arrivola

Arrivola was appointed governor of this province, which then comprehended a very large tract of land on the gulf of Mexico. He built a ſmall ſtockado, which he called fort St. Charles, with a church, &c. juſt by the red cliff at the entrance of the harbour.

This place was taken in the year 1719, by the French from Mobille. Penſacola fell at that time an eaſy prey, having only about 150 men to defend it. Shortly afterwards it was retaken by the Spaniards, who were again diſpoſſeſſed by the French in the ſame year.

The ſecond time the French made themſelves maſters of it, they kept poſſeſſion till the year 1722, when it was reſtored to the crown of Spain by treaty. The Spaniards in the interim removed to St. Joſeph's bay. About the year 1726, they built a ſmall town on the weſt ſide of Roſe iſland, near the preſent fort, or ſignal-houſe, which was originally conſtructed by them, but greatly improved by general Haldimand. The ſettlement remained there till about the year 1754; but being then partly overflowed in a gale of wind, the town was removed to the place where it now ſtands. After this country was ceded to the Engliſh by the peace of 1762, many places were pointed out as conveniently ſituated for the purpoſe of building a town; but on due examination, the preſent ſituation was generally preferred, and the preſent town regularly laid out in the beginning of the year 1765.

The town of Penſacola is of an oblong form, and lies almoſt parallel to the beach. It is about a mile in length, and a quarter of a mile in breadth, but contracts at both ends. At the weſt end is a fine rivulet, from which veſſels are ſupplied with water. The preſent fort was built by the writer of this narrative, in 1775, with cedar pickets, with four blockhouſes at proper diſtances, which defend or flank the works. It takes up a large ſpace of ground juſt in the middle of the town, which it divides in a manner into two ſeparate towns, and can be of no great ſervice towards the defence of the place, in caſe an attack be made on it, either by the natives or a civilized enemy.

The town of Penſacola is ſurrounded by two pretty large brooks of water, which take their riſe under Gage hill, a ſmall mount behind the town, and diſcharge themſelves into the bay, one at each extremity of the town.

The town and fort of Penſacola ſurrendered to the arms of

of his catholic majeſty in the year 1781, and with them the whole province of Weſt-Florida became ſubject to the king of Spain, as before mentioned.

The hopes of a ſpaniſh trade induced many people to ſettle here, at a great expence; but it did not anſwer their expectation. The principal objects ought to be the indian trade, indigo, cotton, rice, hemp, tobacco, and lumber, theſe being the natural produce of the country. Though Penſacola ſtands in a very ſandy ſituation, yet with pains the gardens produce great plenty of vegetables. Fruit-trees, ſuch as orange, fig, and peach trees, are here in perfection. And the bay abounds with a variety of fine fiſh.

About a mile to the eaſtward of Penſacola, between it and the Engliſh point, is the eaſt lagoon, which after turning to the N. W. four or five miles, receives the Six Mile brook. This is a pretty little winding ſtream, on the eaſt ſide of which is an iron mine, where a large natural magnet was found. There is a fine mineral ſpring of the chalybeate kind, near the mouth of the lagoon, of which there are ſeveral others in this country.

From Engliſh point, the bay ſtretches to the northward. On the weſt ſide, near the mouth of the river Eſcambia, lies Campble-town, a ſettlement of french proteſtants, about 10 miles from Penſacola by land, and 13 by water. The ſpot on which it ſtands is high, and a very light ſoil; but its ſituation being near to the marſhes, it is thereby rendered unhealthy, and has been the means of carrying off many of the inhabitants who were ſent out in 1766, and were for ſome time ſupported by government, in order to manufacture ſilk; but either for want of proper management, or other reaſons, nothing of that kind was attempted, and the place is ſince abandoned and the town deſtroyed.

The river Eſcambia, the moſt conſiderable that falls into the bay of Penſacola, empties itſelf near the head of the north branch, about 12 or 15 miles from Penſacola, through ſeveral marſhes and channels, which have a number of iſlands between them, that are overflowed when the water is high. There is a ſhoal near the entrance, and veſſels that draw more than five or ſix feet cannot be carried into it, even through the deepeſt channel; but there is from two to four fathoms afterwards. I aſcended it with a boat upwards of 80 miles, where from the depth of water it appeared to be navigable for pettiaugers many miles further. It is uncertain where the ſource of this river is; but ſuppoſed

poſed to be at a conſiderable diſtance, and is very winding in its courſe.

The lands in general, on each ſide of the river, are rich, low, or ſwamp, admirably adapted for the culture of rice or corn, as may ſuit the planter beſt; and what gives theſe low lands a ſuperiority over many others is the great number of rivulets that fall into this river from the high circumjacent country, which may eaſily be led over any part of, or almoſt all the rice lands at any ſeaſon of the year whatever. Near the mouth of this river are a great number of iſlands, ſome of very conſiderable extent, and not inferior for rice to any in America. The ſettlements made by meſſieurs Tait and Mitchell, captain Johnſon, Mr. M'Kinnon, and ſome others, are very evident proofs of this aſſertion, who, in the courſe of two years from their firſt ſettlement, had nearly cleared all the expences they had been at in making very conſiderable eſtabliſhments; and I am well aſſured would entirely have done it in another year, had not the Spaniards taken poſſeſſion of the country.

Further up the river, we meet with other iſlands, having much higher banks than thoſe below, very fit for raiſing indian corn, or pulſe of all kinds, with a ſufficient proportion of rice land on them alſo. The large iſland on which Mr Marſhall made his ſettlement, nearly oppoſite the old ſtockaded fort, about 28 miles from Penſacola by land, and 40 by water, is the uppermoſt iſland of any note in the river Eſcambia, and is, without doubt, in point of fertility of ſoil, equal to any thing to be met with in the country. The weſterly part of this laſt mentioned iſland is high, and not ſubject to be overflown, unleſs in remarkable high freſhes, and then only ſome particular low parts of it; the reſt is high, and well ſecured againſt floods: the eaſtern part of it is low, and liable to be overflowed at ſome times of the year; the high land extends from about a mile to a mile and a half, from the weſternmoſt branch of the river that ſurrounds it, and is equal to any on the Miſſiſſippi, Amit, or Comit. A more advantageous place for ſmall ſettlements than this, is not to be met with any where near Penſacola.

The country on each ſide of the river above this iſland is higher, and as the water is confined in one channel, forms a moſt beautiful river, with great plenty of good low lands on each ſide of it for many miles up. The low lands generally extend from a mile and a half to two miles from the banks

banks of the river, and ſome places more, when we come to a fine high pine country, intermixed with oak and hiccory land. There are, on both ſides of this river, a number of riſing grounds or bluffs, which afford delightful proſpects on the river, and would be elegant ſituations for gentlemen's ſeats. The low lands and iſlands abound with great quantities of white and red oak for ſtaves, which anſwer well for the Weſt-India market, and an inexhauſtible quantity of cypreſs for lumber and ſhingles, together with plenty of red and white cedar for building. The open country, or high lands bordering on theſe low rich lands, are generally pine, but of a quality ſuperior to moſt other pine countries, having generally a good ſoil for five or ſix inches deep, and well adapted for raiſing corn, beans, peas, turnips, potatoes, &c.

Perhaps there is no country more beautifully diverſified with hills and dales, nor more plentifully ſupplied with fine ſtreams, than that which borders on the low lands upon this river. But what, in a very particular manner, recommends this part of Weſt-Florida, is the fine and extenſive ranges for cattle which are ſo frequently to be met with here; it being very common for an ordinary planter to have 200 heads, and ſome 1000 heads, within the vicinity of Penſacola. There is ſcarcely a ſtream in theſe parts but what has water ſufficient for ſaw-mills, and the country abounds with excellent timber for planks, or lumber of all kinds.

The air is pure and healthy, and the planters and negroes enjoy a good ſtate of health the year round. The Indians emphatically call it, on account of the fine ſtreams of water everywhere to be met with, the ſweet water country. Great plenty of fiſh is to be found in this river, and all kinds of wild game are to be met with in great abundance.

With regard to the face of the country between the Eſcambia and Penſacola, it is varied with vallies and riſing grounds. At about 20 miles from Penſacola the ſoil grows better than it is at the town; the vallies are covered with graſs or canes, interſperſed with thickets of laurel, myrtle, and caſina. There is generally a rivulet running through each of them, either towards the Perdido or Eſcambia. The riſing grounds are chiefly covered with pines, oak, and hiccory.

The north branch of the bay of Penſacola is only navigable for ſmall veſſels. It was formerly well ſettled on each ſide. The middle land between the north bay and the Ouyava-

Ouyavalana, or Yellow water, a branch of the eaſt bay, abounds with large tall pines fit for maſts, yards, &c.

The Yellow water, or Middle river, enters the eaſt branch of the bay at the N. E corner, and after going about five or ſix leagues up the country, the eaſtern branch ends in a baſon or lake at the bottom of a riſing ground; but the weſtern branch I have aſcended ſome leagues further. There are ſeveral ſmall iſlands near the entrance of this river, which produce cypreſs and ſmall cedars, but the ſoil is indifferent.

The Eaſt river empties into the bottom of the eaſt branch, about ſix miles from the Middle river. It is about a quarter of a mile broad for two leagues, and then contracts to the breadth of 30 or 40 feet. This river comes from the eaſtward, running nearly parallel to St Roſe's channel, and its ſource is about 16 miles from its entrance into the bay.

The peninſula between the bay of Penſacola and St. Roſe's channel, which is from one to three or four miles broad, is in general very poor ſandy ſoil. It produces, in ſome places, large pines and live oak.

Roſe iſland extends along the coaſt, for the ſpace of near 50 miles, and is nowhere above half a mile broad. It is very remarkable for its white ſandy hummocks, and ſtraggling trees here and there. There is a clump of four tall trees cloſe together, which, at a diſtance, appears like one, about 18 miles from the weſt end, and another of the ſame kind about a league further to the eaſtward. There are likewiſe ſeveral hummocks, more eaſy to remark than deſcribe; but an attentive perſon, after once or twice ſailing along, can be at no loſs to know what part of the coaſt he falls in with.

The peculiarity of the appearance of Roſe iſland from the ſea, and the deep ſoundings all along it, are of great ſervice to know the coaſt: there are nine or ten fathoms in ſome places, within a mile or two of the ſhore; and, when a frigate is within 16 or 17 fathoms, the tops of the trees on the main land may be deſcried from the quarter-deck. The bottom is generally fine white ſand, with broken ſhells, and black ſpecks; but in one place off the eaſt end of Roſe iſland, out of ſight of land, the bottom is of a coarſe gravel, mixed with coral. This ought particularly to be attended to, as it is the only ſpot with that kind of ſoundings on the coaſt: it is of a conſiderable extent, and there are from 20 to 30 and 40 fathoms on it, or more. There is indeed a coral bottom off the bay of Eſpirito Sancto, and ſome other parts on the coaſt of Eaſt-Florida, but theſe generally begin

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in ſeven or eight fathoms, within ſight of land; from which, and the difference of latitude, one cannot be miſtaken for the other.

This is a very extenſive bay, ſtretching about 30 miles to the north-eaſt, and is from four to ſix miles broad. There is a bar before it with only ſeven or eight feet where deepeſt. But afterwards there is 16 or 17 feet, as far as the red bluff on the main land. The channel between this bluff and the eaſt part of Roſe iſland is but narrow; and a little further on, towards the bay, it is choked up with a large ſhoal in ſome places dry; the deepeſt water on it is only four or five feet; ſo that nothing but very ſmall veſſels can enter this bay from the ſea: and the channel between Roſe iſland and the main is juſt ſufficient for boats or pettiaugers.

On the north ſide of St. Roſe's bay, almoſt oppoſite to the entrance from the ſea, there are three pretty large branches, which ſtretch ſeveral miles: the weſternmoſt, which is the largeſt, is again ſubdivided into ſmaller branches, all which have deep water. The other two receive each a conſiderable rivulet of clear water with a rapid ſtream. On the banks there is plenty of cedar, &c.

The largeſt river that falls into St. Roſe's bay is the Chacta-hatcha, or Pea river, which runs from the N. E. and enters the bottom of the bay through ſeveral mouths, but ſo ſhoal that only a ſmall boat or canoe can paſs them. I aſcended this river about 25 leagues, where there is ſettled a ſmall party of the Couſſac Indians. The banks of this river, in point of ſoil and timber, reſembles very much thoſe of the river Eſcambia.

Between the bays of St. Roſa and St. Andrew's the coaſt runs E. S. E. and S. E by E. for the ſpace of 52 miles, the ſoundings much the ſame as off Roſe iſland; it is to be obſerved that the trees are thick, and come pretty cloſe to the ſhore. There are likewiſe ſome red hummocks as well as white, which with the trenching of the land may be of ſervice to know that part of the coaſt.

The entrance of St. Andrew's bay is between a ſmall iſland on the right hand, and a narrow peninſula on the left. There is a high white ſand hill, which is a remarkable object from the ſea: it lies in latitude 30° 60′ north, and about ten leagues to the north-weſt of cape Blaiſe. From the point of the peninſula, there is a large ſhoal extending for more than two thirds of the way towards the

iſland; which is two miles diſtant, leaving a channel of 17 or 18 feet; but it has a ſmall bar of 13 feet.

There is anchorage juſt within St. Andrew's iſland in three fathoms and an half, but it is more commodious within the point of the peninſula in five fathoms, with the advantage of freſh water, which is eaſily got by digging.

St. Andrew's bay runs firſt to the N. W. nearly parallel to the ſea ſhore, for three leagues; then it turns to the eaſtward for about a league, when a large branch breaks off to the S. E. The main body continues to the northward for two leagues, when it is divided into two large branches, one going to the N. E. and the other to the weſtward. This laſt, which is the leaſt, reaches within a few miles of St. Roſa's bay. The country between them is low and marſhy, and full of freſh-water ponds.

St. Andrew's bay is navigable for any veſſels that can go over the bar. There is a large ſhoal with only three or four feet, about half way up the firſt reach, but there is a deep channel on the weſt ſide of it, and afterwards there is from three to ſeven fathoms all over the bay. There are no rivers of any conſequence, nor can the ſoil immediately on the bay be much commended; there is however great plenty of large pines, live oak, and cedar.

From St. Andrew's iſland to the bay of St. Joſeph's, the middle of the coaſt between them runs about E. S. E. near 15 miles, with a ſhoal all the way between them near the ſhore, which eaſily appears, it being of a whitiſh colour. There is from 12 to 18 feet on the greateſt part of it, except towards the mouth of St. Joſeph's bay, where there is a bank near the middle, between St. Joſeph's point and the main land, with only ſeven or eight feet, and four fathoms juſt within; but there is a very good channel with three fathoms on the bar, between that bank and St. Joſeph's point, on the right hand going in.

In going into St. Joſeph's bay it is requiſite to keep within a cable and a half or two cables length of the peninſula, in five or four and a half fathoms, as it ſhoals regularly towards the point, from which a ſpit of ſand runs out a little way; and when in three fathoms to haul round gradually, ſtill keeping near two cables length off ſhore. The bar is narrow, and immediately within it there is from four to ſix and a half fathoms ſoft ground. The end of the peninſula forms two or three points, from each of which a ſmall ſpit runs off for a little diſtance, which may be known by the

the diſcoloured water on them. This is an excellent harbour; in which the beſt place for anchoring is juſt within the peninſula, oppoſite to ſome ruins that ſtill remain of the village of St. Joſeph. There the Spaniards had a poſt, which they abandoned about the year 1700, but they took poſſeſſion of it again in 1719. There is very good water to be got here by digging, and on the north ſide of the bay are two or three ſmall freſh-water brooks, oppoſite to which are three or four fathoms cloſe to the ſhore. In the year 1717, the French erected a fort which they called Crevcœur, a mile to the northward of a brook in St. Joſeph's bay, oppoſite to the point of the peninſula, but abandoned it the next year, on the repreſentation of the governor of Penſacola that it belonged to his catholic majeſty. The bay is nearly of the figure of a horſe-ſhoe, being about 12 miles in length, and ſeven acroſs where broadeſt. Towards the bottom of it are a few ſmall iſlands, and the water is ſo ſhoal that a boat can hardly go near the ſhore.

The ſoil on the north ſide of the bay is very ſandy, but there are ſome ſpots near the ruins of St. Joſeph's that are covered with a kind of verdure, and produce plenty of grapes, ſome of which are large, of a purple colour, and pretty good to the taſte: they were probably planted there by the Spaniards. There are here likewiſe ſome ſmall cabbage-trees, of which there are great numbers on St. George's iſlands beyond cape Blaiſe, and on all the coaſt to the eaſtward. Theſe cabbage-trees do not grow above the height of 20 feet; the bud, or unformed leaves, in the heart, being boiled, has ſomewhat the taſte of cabbage, but is more delicious.

A very good eſtabliſhment might be made here for a fiſhery, as the ſettlers might make ſalt on the ſpot to cure the baſs, rock, cod, grouper, red mullet, and other kinds of fiſh, which are here in great abundance; and, when well cured, are little if at all inferior to thoſe brought from the northward.

The peninſula between St. Joſeph's and cape Blaiſe is a narrow ſlip of land, in ſome places not above a quarter of a mile broad. The gaps here and there upon it, and the water in the bay appearing through them from the maſt-head, together with the trenching of the land about N. N. W. and S. S. E. for near four leagues, make it eaſily known. the trees about cape Blaiſe are very thick; and there is a remarkable ſingle tree, like a buſh, that ſtands without the

others towards the point. In caſe of an eaſterly wind, there is ſafe anchorage oppoſite the thickeſt trees, in ſix or ſeven fathoms, about one or two miles off ſhore; and there is a large pond of freſh water near the beach, about three or four miles to the eaſtward of cape Blaiſe. There is alſo a remarkable gap among the trees between the ſea and the bottom of St. Joſeph's bay, where is a narrow iſthmus not above 5 or 600 yards broad.

Cape Blaiſe, where it ends in a low point near two miles from the trees, in latitude 29° 40 N. is not only remarkable from the aforeſaid circumſtances, but likewiſe on account of the irregular ſoundings that are found a great way out at ſea from it. There is a ſpit of land that runs about two miles from the point in a S. S. E. direction; and there are ſeveral banks of three or four fathoms, at the diſtance of ſix or ſeven miles, with deep water from ſeven to ten fathoms between them. There are even ſome banks of five and ſix fathoms almoſt out of ſight of land from the maſt-head; but though they may alarm a ſtranger, there is no danger in going near enough to make the land plain.

There is another cape, or point of land, about ſix leagues to the eaſtward of cape Blaiſe, being an elbow of the largeſt of St. George's iſlands, nearly oppoſite to the river Apalachicola. This point lies in 29° 38′ N. There is a large ſhoal running out from it a conſiderable way, but how far has not yet been aſcertained. The coaſt between it and cape Blaiſe forms a kind of hollow bay, with deep ſoundings, and a ſoft bottom. There are two iſlands to the north-weſt of St. George's cape; that neareſt to it is ſmall, and remarkable for a clump of ſtraggling trees on the middle of it; the other is a pretty large iſland of a triangular form, and reaches within three leagues of cape Blaiſe, having a paſſage at each end of it for ſmall craft into the bay, between theſe iſlands and the river Apalachicola: but this bay is full of ſhoals and oyſter banks, and not above two or three feet water at moſt in any of the branches of that river.

Having thus given an account of the ſea-coaſt of Weſt-Florida, I ſhall conclude with a few general obſervations on the ſeaſons, winds, tides, &c. As moſt of the bars lie a conſiderable way without the entrance of the bays and rivers, the water ſeldom riſes or falls on them above a foot; but in the bays or channels it riſes two or three feet. The tides are irregular, and ſeem to be governed in a great meaſure by the winds; but not always by that wind which blows directly

directly on the ſpot. Though there is generally about 12 hours flood and 12 hours ebb, yet it often happens that there are two tides of each in the ſpace of 24 hours; and ſometimes the tide will run one way for the ſpace of 18 hours together, and only five or ſix hours the contrary, ſo that nothing can be ſaid with certainty on this ſubject. By reaſon of the trade winds blowing in the Atlantic ocean, and continuing into the bay of Mexico, it is natural to ſuppoſe that the water, being there hemmed in, will of courſe force a paſſage out where it finds the leaſt reſiſtance; which is through the gulf of Florida. From this general principle it ſhould follow, that on the coaſt of Weſt-Florida it ought to run from weſt to eaſt, which in ſome meaſure would account for the ſhoals being found at the eaſt end of all the iſlands on this coaſt, and deep water on the weſt ends; but in a large bay, or mediterranean ſea, like that of Mexico, where there are ſo many rivers, bays, &c. the general courſe of the current muſt be greatly diſturbed. From this proceeds that irregularity which is obſervable on the north ſide of the bay of Mexico, where the tide of ebb always ſets to the eaſtward near the ſhore, and the flood from the ſouthward, or S. E: what it may do in the offing has not yet been examined, nor will it be eaſily determined.

To the eaſtward of cape Blaiſe, the general obſervations concerning the deep water at the weſt end of the iſlands and peninſulas, and vice verſa, do not ſeem always to hold good. Indeed, as far as has been examined of the weſt part of Eaſt-Florida, it is a ſhoal a conſiderable way from the land (and therefore ought to be known only to be avoided), except the bay of Eſpiritu Sancto *, at the entrance of

* The bay of Eſpiritu Sancto is ſituated on the weſt coaſt of the province of Eaſt Florida, in 27° of north latitude. It has a good harbour; but the land all about that coaſt is very low, and cannot be ſeen from a ſhip's deck when in ſeven fathoms water. Several low ſandy iſlands and marſhes, covered with mangrove buſhes, lie before the main land. Here is the greateſt quantity of fiſh in the ſummer time imaginable; which may be catched with a ſeine, enough to load a ſhip, if the climate would admit of curing them, even in a few days.

Here is ſtone proper for building on this coaſt; alſo great plenty of deer, and ſome wild cattle. But the main land near the coaſt is in general ſandy and barren, and is intermixed in many places with vallies capable of improvement for ſtock of all ſorts. The bay and iſlands before the main land abound with fiſh and various ſorts of wild fowl.

which, in the latitude 27° 8′, there is four fathoms, and safe anchorage.

From the winds that prevail in general on this coast during the months of April, May, and to the middle of June, the weather is mild. The sea and land breezes are pretty regular, and they generally continue so all the summer. In July, August, and most of September, there are frequent squalls, with much rain, thunder, and lightning; and sometimes gales of wind from the south and south-west for several days together. From the middle of October to the end of March, the northerly winds prevail, which at times blow very hard during that season; when the wind changes to the eastward or southward of that point, it is commonly attended with close, hazy, or foggy weather.

It ought to be observed, in sailing in the gulf of Mexico, to be very careful of logs, or driftwood, in the night-time; for when the waters of the Mississippi are high, that river disgorges an immense number of large logs, or trees; which, being driven by the winds and currents all over the gulf, may do considerable damage to vessels under full sail.

I shall here subjoin some remarks on the Tortugas, &c. as heretofore published by George Gauld, esq.

As a competent knowledge of the situation of the Dry Tortugas is absolutely necessary for the navigation to and from the north side of the bay of Mexico, and from the West-Indies through the gulf of Florida, a few general remarks concerning them may not be unacceptable to the public at this time.

They consist of ten small islands, or keys, extending E. N. E. and W. S. W. for ten or eleven miles, at the distance of about 30 leagues from the nearest part of the coast of Florida, 40 from the island of Cuba, and 14 leagues from the westernmost of the Florida keys. They are all very low, but some of them covered with mangrove bushes, and may be seen at four leagues distance. The south-westernmost keys, which, in going from Pensacola, Mobille, or the Mississippi, is the corner to be turned, and coming from cape Antonio, the point to be avoided, lies in 24° 32 north latitude, and about 83° 50′ west longitude, from the royal observatory at Greenwich; the variation of the compass, by a medium of several observations, is seven degrees east. A reef of coral rocks runs about a quarter of a mile S. W. from these keys, the water on which is discoloured; and in general, wherever there is danger, it may easily be seen from

th

the maſt-head in the day-time. There is a large bank of brown coral rocks, intermixed with white patches of ſand, about five or ſix miles to the weſtward of the Tortugas, with very irregular ſoundings from ſix to twelve fathoms; the bottom appears very plainly; and though it may be alarming to ſtrangers, yet there is no danger. You will find from 13 to 17 fathoms between this bank and the Tortugas.

If you are bound to the eaſtward, and meet with a ſtrong eaſterly gale, which is frequent there in the ſummer ſeaſon, you may ſafely come to an anchor in five or ſix fathoms, under the lee of the long ſandy iſland to the northward of the S. W. key, about a quarter of a mile off ſhore. The bank of ſoundings extends only about five or ſix leagues to the ſouthward of the Tortugas, but much farther to the weſtward, and all the way to the northward along the Florida ſhore. This is a lucky circumſtance for the ſafety of navigation in thoſe parts, as caution in ſoundings may prevent any danger in the night-time; for the ſoundings are extremely regular all along this bank to the northward, almoſt to cape Blaiſe, in latitude 29° 41′: ſo that by the latitude and depth of water, we generally know how far we are to the eaſtward or weſtward. There is a ſpace of ſeveral leagues together, from 20 to 50 fathoms; but from 50 or 60 it deepens faſt to 70, 80, and ſoon after no ground.

From the bar of Penſacola to the Dry Tortugas, the true courſe is S. 30° N. 134 leagues, and therefore S. E. by S. by the compaſs will carry you clear of them to the weſtward; but it will be both prudent and neceſſary to ſound frequently when you get into the latitude of 26° 25′, and never ſtand in to leſs than 30 fathoms in the night-time, till you are paſt the latitude of 24° 30′, when you may haul up S. E. by E. or E. S. E. which will carry you near to the Havanna.

There is a broad channel over the bank to the eaſtward of the Tortugas, of 10 to 17 fathoms; which, in going to and from the coaſt of Weſt-Florida, &c. might occaſionally cut off a great deal of the diſtance; but that paſſage is by no means to be attempted, unleſs you can ſee the Tortugas diſtinctly, and keep within two or three leagues of the eaſternmoſt of them, as there is a coral bank of only 12 feet at the diſtance of five leagues; and farther on towards Cayo Marques, the weſternmoſt of the Florida keys, there is a very dangerous and extenſive bank of quickſand, on many parts of which there are no more than four or five

feet of water. It is of a remarkable white colour, and may be eaſily ſeen and avoided in the day-time.

Having now finiſhed my intended narrative, I ſhall cloſe it with the following obſervations upon the probable conſequences that will ariſe to the United States of America, from the poſſeſſion of ſo extenſive a country, abounding with ſuch a variety of climate, ſoil, and productions; referring my reader for his further information upon the ſubject, to the Philoſophical Eſſays publiſhed in London in 1772, concerning the ſtate of the britiſh empire on this continent.

There is ſome amuſement at leaſt in reflecting upon the vaſt conſequences, which ſome time or other muſt infallibly attend the ſettling of America. If we conſider the progreſs of the empires which have hitherto exiſted in the world, we ſhall find the ſhort duration of their moſt glorious periods, owing to cauſes which will not operate againſt that of North America. Thoſe empires were formed by conqueſt; a great many nations different in character, language, and ideas, were by force jumbled into one heterogeneous power: it is moſt ſurpriſing that ſuch diſſonant parts ſhould hold together ſo long. But when the band of union was weakened, they returned to their original and natural ſeparation: language and national character formed many ſovereignties out of the former connected varieties. This, however, will be very different with North America; the habitable parts of which, including the dominions of Britain and of Spain, north of latitude 30°, contain above 3,500,000 ſquare miles. It would be unneceſſary to remark, that this includes what at preſent does not belong to our North America. If we want it, I warrant it will ſoon be ours. This extent of territory is much greater than that of any empire that ever exiſted, as will appear by the following table:

	Square Miles.
The perſian empire under Darius contained -	1,650 000
The roman empire, in its utmoſt extent -	1,610,000
The chineſe empire - - -	1,749,000
The great mogul's - - -	1,116,000

The ruſſian empire, including all Tartary, is larger than any of theſe. But I might as well throw into the american ſcale the countries about the Hudſon's bay, for the one is as likely to be peopled as the other; whereas, all I have taken in will aſſuredly be ſo. Beſides, North America is actually

actually peopl ng very faſt, which is far enough from being the caſe with the ruſſian deſerts. Now the habitable part of what was once the britiſh dominions alone, in North America, contains above 1,200,000 ſquare miles, or almoſt equal to any of the above. But the whole, as I before obſerved, is 3,500,000, or more than the perſian and roman empires together. In reſpect, therefore, to extent, and the means of maintaining numbers of people, it is ſuperior to all. But then comes the advantage which is deciſive of its duration. This immenſe continent will be peopled by perſons whoſe language and national character muſt be the ſame. Foreigners who may reſort to us, will be confounded by the general population, and the whole people, phyſically ſpeaking, one: ſo that thoſe ſeeds of decay, ſown in the very foundation of the ancient empires, will have no exiſtence here. Further, the peopling of this vaſt tract from a nation renowned in trade, navigation, and naval power, has occaſioned all the ideas of the original to be tranſplanted into the copy. And theſe advantages having been ſo long enjoyed, with the amazing and unparalleled ſituation for commerce between Europe, Aſia, and the great ſouthern continent; and America at the ſame time poſſeſſing above other countries, the means of building, fitting out, and maintaining a great navy; the inhabitants of this potent empire, ſo far from being in the leaſt danger from the attacks of any other quarter of the globe, will have it in their power to engroſs the whole commerce of it; and to reign, not only lords of America, but to poſſeſs, in the utmoſt ſecurity, the dominion of ſea throughout the world, which their anceſtors enjoyed before them. None of the ancient empires, therefore, which fell a prey to the Tartars, nor the preſent one of China, can be compared to this of North America; which, as ſurely as the land is now in being, will hereafter be trod by the firſt people the world ever knew.

TABLE of DISTANCES.

	Miles.
From the Balize, or the mouths of the Miſſiſſippi, to the Detour aux Plaquemines, is -	32
to the beginning of the ſettlements - -	20
to the Detour des Anglois - -	35
Carried over -	87

From

	Miles.
Brought over -	87
From the Detour des Anglois to new Orleans -	18
to the villages of the Humas and Alibama Indians	60
to the Fourche de Chetimachas, and indian village of the ſame name - -	3
to the conceſſion of monſ. Paris - -	9
to the Ibberville - - - -	27
to Baton Rouge - - - -	18
to the ſettlement of Point Coupée -	17
to upper end of this ſettlement, where there is a village of Tunica Indians on the eaſt ſide -	20
to the Chefalaya, the uppermoſt mouth of the Miſſiſſippi - - - -	30
to the river Rouge - - -	3
to fort Roſalie, at the Natchez - -	56¼
to the Petit Goufre - - -	31½
to the Grand Goufre - - -	14
to the Yazou cliffs - - -	39¾
to the river Yazou - - -	7½
to the river Arkanſaw - -	158¼
to the river St Francis - -	108
to the river and heights of Margot -	70½
to the Chickaſaw river - - -	104½
to Mine au fer - - - -	67¼
to the river Ohio - - -	15
Total -	964½

No. II.

An account of the ſoil, growing timber, and other productions, of the lands in the countries ſituated in the back parts of the ſtates of New-York and Pennſylvania, in North America; and particularly the lands in the county of Ontario, known by the name of the Geneſee tract, lately located, and now in the progreſs of being ſettled.

THE lands generally known by the name of the Geneſee tract, are ſituated in the back parts of the ſtate of New-York, and contain upwards of 2,000,000 of acres, moſtly good

good arable land, forming nearly an oblong ſquare of 80 miles in length from ſouth to north, and 42 miles wide from eaſt to weſt.

Theſe lands were granted to meſſrs. Gorham and Phelps, the original purchaſers from the ſtate of Maſſachuſſets, in the year 1788. And this grant was afterwards confirmed by the ſix nations of Indians, who, on receiving a valuable conſideration, alienated the whole of this property, and ſoon after theſe nations removed themſelves and families to a diſtant country.

The ſouth-eaſt corner of this tract is in latitude 42°, longitude 82°; lying weſt from the river Delaware; and 77 miles weſt from Philadelphia.

The actual diſtance of the eaſtern boundary, from the Hudſon's river or Albany, is about 140 miles. From Philadelphia, by the neareſt road, the diſtance may be about 180 miles; and not more than 200 miles north of the propoſed new city of Columbia, the intended ſeat of government of the United States.

But the peculiar advantages which diſtinguiſh theſe lands over moſt of the new ſettled countries of America, are theſe following: 1. The uncommon excellence and fertility of the ſoil. 2. The ſuperior quality of the timber, and the advantages of eaſy cultivation, in conſequence of being generally free from underwood. 3. The abundance of graſs for cattle in the woods, and on the extenſive meadow grounds upon the lakes and rivers. 4. The vaſt quantities of the ſugar maple tree, in every part of the tract 5. The great variety of other fine timber, ſuch as oak, hiccory, black walnut, cheſnut, aſh of different kinds, elm, butternut, baſſwood, poplar, pines, and alſo thorn trees of a prodigious ſize. 6. The variety of fruit-trees, and alſo ſmaller fruits, ſuch as apple and peach orchards, in different places, which were planted by the Indians, plum and cherry-trees, mulberries, grapes of different kinds, raſpberries, huckleberries, blackberries, wild gooſeberries, and ſtrawberries in vaſt quantities:—alſo cranberries, and black haws, &c. 7. The vaſt variety of wild animals and game which is to be found in this country, ſuch as deer, mooſe deer, and elk of a very large ſize, beavers, otters, martins, minxes, rabbits, ſquirrels, racoons, bears, wild cats, &c. many of which furniſh excellent furs and peltry. 8. The great variety of birds for game, ſuch as wild turkies, pheaſants, partridges, pigeons, plovers, heath-fowl, and indian hen; together with

with a vaſt variety of water-fowl on the rivers and lakes, ſuch as wild geeſe, and ducks, of many different kinds not known in Europe. 9. The uncommon abundance of very fine fiſh, with which the lakes and rivers abound; among which are to be found excellent ſalmon of two different kinds, ſalmon-trout of a very large ſize, white and yellow perch, ſheep-heads, pike, ſuccos, and eels of a very large ſize, with a variety of other fiſh in their different ſeaſons. 10. The excellence of the climate in that region where theſe lands are ſituated, which is leſs ſevere in winter, and not ſo warm in ſummer, as the ſame latitudes nearer the ſea.—The total exemption from all periodical diſorders, particularly the fever and ague, which does not prevail in the Geneſee country, on account of the riſing grounds and fine ſituations. 11. The vaſt advantages derived from the navigable lakes, rivers, and creeks, which interſect and run through every part of this tract of country, affording a water communication from the northern parts of the grant, by the Geneſee river one way, or by the Seneca river another way, into the great lake Ontario, and from thence, by Cataraqui, to Quebec, or by the ſaid Seneca river, the Oneida lake, and Wood creek, to Schenectady on the Mohawk river, with only a ſhort land carriage, and from thence to Albany, with a portage of 16 miles; affording alſo a water communication from almoſt every townſhip of the ſouthern part of the grant, by means of the different branches of the Tioga river, which joining the Suſquehanna, affords an outlet to produce, through an immenſe extent of country on every hand, to Northumberland, and all the towns upon the great branch of this river, down to Maryland and Virginia; and (with a portage of 12 miles) even to Philadelphia with ſmall boats: and when the improvements are made in the Suſquehanna, and the projected canal cut between the Schuylkill and that river, there will be an uninterrupted good water communication for boats of 10 or 15 tons from the interior parts of the Geneſee country, all the way to Philadelphia. 12. But above all, the uncommon benefits theſe lands derive from the vicinity to the thick ſettled countries in New-York and New-England governments on the one hand, and Northumberland county in Pennſylvania on the other, from all which quarters, from the great advantages that are held out, there muſt be an overflow of emigrants every year, until theſe lands are fully ſettled: which expectation is already completely

pletely evinced, from the rapid population that has taken place on the eaſt boundaries of the grant upon the Tioga river, and between the Seneca and Cayuga lakes, up to lake Ontario *, where, in the courſe of three or four years, above 800 families have fixed themſelves in this fertile country, moſt of whom having emigrated from the eaſtern ſtates of New-England, New-York, and Pennſylvania, have all the advantages which are to be derived from a perfect knowledge of the country, and from that kind of education and local reſource, which ſoon renders the ſituation of a new ſettler comfortable and happy, enabling them, at the ſame time, to aſſiſt new comers, who may be leſs acquainted with the nature of the country.

As a proof the eſtimation in which the Geneſee lands are held by the neighbouring inhabitants, it is only neceſſary to ſtate the following facts, relative to the population, ſoil, and produce, &c. which have been extracted from letters and public documents, upon which the utmoſt reliance can be placed. The information is in theſe words: "There are already ſettled in this particular tract, upwards of 1000† people, in different townſhips, although two years ago there was not a ſingle perſon on the whole of the Geneſee lands. This winter there is to be a great addition to the number. The return made by the deputy-marſhal of New-York, ſhews not only the preciſe number of inhabitants that have made ſettlements in theſe lands, but alſo the different townſhips upon which theſe ſettlers have eſtabliſhed their farms, and fixed their reſidence.—Of this return the following is an exact copy:

* Theſe lands are part of the tract of country which was granted to the officers and ſoldiers of the continental army, for military ſervices. The ſoil is in general the ſame as the Geneſee pre-emption: but they do not poſſeſs equal advantages, in being exempted from the land-tax for 15 years. Theſe lands are not only ſubject to the uſual taxes of the ſtate, as ſoon as located, but ſettlements muſt be made, and houſes built, within a limited time, otherwiſe they revert back to the ſtate.

† In 1793 the inhabitants were ſix times that number.—EDIT.

A re-

A return of the settlers on the pre-emption lands in the county of Ontario, December 1790.

Ranges	Families	Males above 16	Males under 16	Females	Indians	Free Negroes	Slaves	No. of Townships	Total Number
In the 1st range, —	10	22	11	26	0	0	0	No. 2	59
ditto, —	12	24	16	25	0	0	0	7	65
ditto, —	3	12	4	9	0	0	0	8	25
ditto, —	10	30	13	7	0	0	0	9	50
ditto, —	8	33	5	17	0	0	0	10	55
ditto, —	2	4	3	4	0	0	0	11	11
In the 2d range, —	6	8	7	12	0	0	7	No. 1	34
ditto, —	5	9	7	9	0	0	0	2	25
ditto, —	1	1	2	6	0	0	0	5	9
ditto, —	7	20	9	9	0	0	0	8	38
ditto, —	6	12	1	0	0	0	0	10	13
ditto, —	2	4	0	0	0	1	0	11	5
In the 3d range, —	18	70	8	20	0	0	1	No. 10	99
ditto, —	12	32	10	13	0	0	0	11	55
ditto, —	4	10	1	3	0	0	0	12	14
In the 4th range, —	4	18	2	0	0	0	0	No. 8	20
ditto, —	3	7	4	2	0	0	0	9	13
ditto, —	10	38	6	20	0	1	0	10	65
ditto, —	4	13	2	4	0	0	1	11	20
In the 5th range, —	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	No. 9	2
ditto, —	7	18	4	4	0	0	0	10	26
ditto, —	2	5	3	2	0	0	0	11	10
ditto, —	8	15	4	9	0	0	0	12	28
ditto, —	4	10	6	4	0	0	0	13	20
5th and 6th, —	10	17	12	21	0	0	0	3and4	50
In the 6th range, —	4	7	5	11	0	0	0	No 10	23
ditto, —	9	26	12	18	0	0	0	11	56
ditto, —	1	3	1	4	0	0	0	12	8
In the 7th range, —	1	1	3	1	0	0	0	No. 6	5
ditto, —	8	16	4	11	1	0	2	9	34
ditto, —	8	18	15	26	0	0	0	10	59
West of the Genesee river,	7	10	9	15	0	0	0	0	34
Indian lands opposite to No 5, 8, and 9, in the 7th range —	4	8	3	6	0	0	0	0	17
Total,	201	523	192	318	1	2	11	—	1047*

* By advices received in March 1793, the inhabitants had increased to 7000, and settlers were daily going on the lands. In two years hence, the Genesee lands may be estimated to contain 15,000. —EDIT.

"Besides

" Beſides theſe ſettlers who actually occupy the Geneſee tract, there is an eſtabliſhment of quakers, called the Friends ſettlement, ſituated on the eaſtern ridge of the grant, and at the outlet of the Crooked lake, conſiſting of 260 perſons, who are very induſtrious, and have already made conſiderable improvements, having completed an excellent griſt and ſaw mill ſome time ſince.—It is expected there will be double that number before a twelvemonth.—To the northward of this ſettlement, 12 or 15 miles diſtant, at the north-weſt corner of the Seneca lake, and about three miles from the boundary of the grant, is the town of Geneva, in the neighbourhood of which there are many ſettlers, and ſo on northwardly to lake Ontario, and in different directions for about 30 miles. About 20 miles ſouth from the Friends ſettlement, near the head of the Seneca lake, is the village of Culvers, and four miles further on is Cathrines town. In the neighbourhood of theſe villages there is a diſtrict of country bounded by the Pennſylvania line on the ſouth, and the heads of the Seneca and Cayuga lakes on the north, and running eaſt from the Geneſee ſouthern boundary, to Owega creek, in which there are near 600 families ſettled. Between the Seneca and Cayuga lakes, and particularly to the eaſtward of the latter, the country is ſettling very faſt, and ſo on along the eaſt branch of the Suſquehanna, to its ſource at lake Oceſega.—It would be difficult to aſcertain the preſent population of the lands adjoining the Geneſee grant, but it may be ſafely concluded, from the progreſſion of ſettlements for two or three years paſt, that in the courſe of a very few years, the whole country to the eaſtward of the pre-emption line will be well and thickly inhabited *. The New-England ſettlers, who have already

* An idea of the rapid population may be formed, from a detail of the towns and villages which have been built within the laſt three years, and which are now in a ſtate of progreſſive increaſe, namely,

	Inhabitants.
1. The town of Cannandarqua, at the north end of the lake of that name, lying within the Geneſee grant, and intended to be the head town of the county of Ontario *	99
2. The Friends ſettlement, at the outlet of the Crooked lake - - - - - -	260
Carried over	359

3. The

already fixed themſelves on the Geneſee tract, have made ſuch favourable reports of the climate and ſoil, that there are vaſt numbers of their countrymen preparing to remove thither. Some of theſe, who at firſt bought townſhips of the original grantees, are ſelling farms to new ſettlers from two to three dollars an acre, according to quality, ſituation, and other local advantages.

"It is in contemplation at preſent to make a water communication between the Suſquehanna and the Skuylkill *, which, if effected, will lay open the market of Philadelphia for the reception of the produce of all the Geneſee country. And as the ſoil and climate are ſuppoſed to be the beſt in the world for raiſing large and productive crops of hemp, flax, indian corn, wheat, rye, barley, oats, buckwheat, peas, beans, and every other ſpecies of grain produced in North America, much benefit will be derived to the ſettlers, by every improvement which can be made in facilitating carriage by inland navigations.

"At preſent wheat can be ſent from the Geneſee ſettlements to Philadelphia, at one ſhilling ſterling per buſhel; but if the water communication be opened between the two rivers, the coſt will not exceed four pence.

"Dry goods can now be ſent to theſe new ſettlements at about eight ſhillings ſterling per hundred weight, which will probably be reduced to three ſhillings, when the navigation is completed.

	Inhabitants.
Brought over	359
3. The town of Geneva, at the north-weſt corner of the Seneca lake (ſuppoſed to be) - - -	100
4. The village of Culvers, near the head of the Seneca lake (ſuppoſed to be) - - -	70
5. The village of Cathrines town, ſituated on the head of the Seneca lake, four miles from Culvers -	30
6. New town, a beautiful village on the eaſtern forks of the Tioga river (ſuppoſed) - -	100
7. Cheeming town, three miles below New town -	50
	709
The ſettlements on the lands ſurrounding theſe towns, in a ſquare of about 80 miles - - -	5931
Total	6640

* 1793. This communication is actually begun, and promiſes the greateſt advantage to the Geneſee lands.—EDIT.

"No

" No country in the world is better adapted for raiſing cattle than the Geneſee grant. One of the firſt ſettlers in that country aſſerts, that he can every ſeaſon cut wild graſs on his own farm, in the Geneſee flats, ſufficient to maintain 2000 head of cattle through the winter; and that ſuch hay, with ruſhes and vegetables which are found above the ſnow, generally keep the cattle fat without any expence. Hogs can alſo be reared in the woods at little or no expence to the farmer.

" As the diſtance from Philadelphia (between which and the Geneſee lands a road was to be completed in 1791) is ſomewhat leſs by land than 200 miles, there can be no difficulty in driving fat cattle and hogs to that market for ſale: as they can tranſport themſelves at a very ſmall expence, and as the demand for proviſion increaſes every year, and a liberal price is given for beef and pork, there can be no doubt but the rearing of cattle and hogs, as well as horſes, for ſale, in the low countries, will ſoon become a great object of profit to the ſettlers, as the extenſive ranges of meadow ground on the flats, and the blue graſs, white clover, and pea vine in the woods, muſt enable the farmer to feed almoſt any number he can raiſe, or find capital to purchaſe *. In many parts of the tract there is little or no underwood, and excellent paſture in the foreſts between the trees, in conſequence of their being in general of an enormous ſize, and of the conſiderable diſtance between them; thereby affording even a wide range for cattle in the upland country, as well as in the flats and meadows, which have already been repreſented to be luxuriant beyond deſcription, in a ſpecies of coarſe graſs, very fit for hay. It is ſaid that there are many wild horſes upon the tract, which is an additional proof of there being winter food in the flat lands and in the foreſts."

The farming lands exhibit a variety of different ſoils adapted to every ſpecies of cultivation. The bottoms between the riſing grounds being univerſally rich, and the ſoil deep in every part of the tract, may be turned ſucceſsfully to the raiſing of hemp and flax of the very firſt quality, alſo indian corn. On the riſing grounds, wheat, rye, oats, barley, buck-wheat, potatoes (which are ſaid to be the beſt

* 1793. Sheep are alſo found to proſper on theſe lands, and the gentlemen who reſide there have a vaſt number, beſides hogs, cows, and poultry, &c.—EDIT.

in the world), turnips, and all kinds of vegetables, may be cultivated in the greateſt perfection; and conſiderable advantages may be derived from making aſhes from the timber conſumed in clearing the grounds.

Indeed the woods of America furniſh much reſource, independent of agriculture, not only in the article of pot and pearl aſhes, and in the ſugar extracted from the ſap of the maple; but alſo in furs and ſkins, from the woods ſurrounding the farm: and ſuch articles always produce ready money to the new ſettler, to aſſiſt him in his agricultural purſuits. On the Geneſee lands, iron ore has alſo been diſcovered, which, at a future period, may be productive of great advantage to the proprietors. Already very good ore has been found on one of the townſhips, and information has been actually received, that iron founderies are ſoon to be erected on another townſhip, ſituated upon the property of a Mr. Facit.

"Every part of the tract abounds with ſprings of excellent water.

"It has alſo been aſſerted, that there are ſalt ſprings on the grant, and that ſome of them are now worked by the new ſettlers, ſo as to ſupply the whole with good ſalt, at a moderate price.

"There is likewiſe a natural ſulphur ſpring in the tract.

"The preſent ſettlers have already got a fine ſtock of cattle and hogs, and find that they thrive and increaſe very faſt; but as yet, there are few ſheep, although, it is ſuppoſed, they would ſucceed well on the hills, after the country is more fully peopled. Several genteel families are preparing to ſettle on the tract this ſeaſon, which will greatly facilitate the population of theſe lands.

"The crops of wheat, indian corn, and other ſmall grains, were very abundant laſt year; ſo that the preſent ſettlers are in a ſituation to aſſiſt and to ſupply the wants of new comers.

"The market for grain and proviſion raiſed in the Geneſee country, will be on the ſpot for ſome time to come, and the conſtant influx of ſettlers, who may be expected, until the whole of theſe lands are occupied, will, at leaſt for a time, conſume all the ſurplus produce; afterwards the city of Philadelphia will probably be the beſt market; and while the country is in the progreſs of being ſettled, the hemp and flax raiſed by the Geneſee farmers, and alſo the aſhes

and

and ſugar made upon theſe lands, and the ſkins and furs procured by hunting, muſt ultimately go to Philadelphia and New-York; but this will be the buſineſs of the merchant, who will receive all theſe articles from the farmer in return for dry goods, implements of huſbandry, ſalt and rum, and ſuch other articles as the ſettlers may want."

It is the conſtant practice in America, for ſmall traders to eſtabliſh what is called flying ſtores, for the ſale of goods wherever new ſettlements are made. And already there are actually ſuch merchants eſtabliſhed in the Geneſee country, at the county town of Canandraqua, at the north end of the lake of that name, where all kind of produce is bought and ſold by the merchants already ſettled there.

Wheat is, at preſent, 1791, one dollar per buſhel (4s. 6d. ſterling); indian corn, 2s. 6d. ditto; ſalt, from the Onondago works, 60 miles eaſt of the grant, is half a dollar a buſhel; in time it will be cheaper.

At a future period, when population ſhall have rendered various markets neceſſary, the heavy articles raiſed on the northern part of the grant, will probably be tranſported to Quebec, by the way of lake Ontario, Catoroqui, and Montreal; and ſuch articles as will bear land-carriage, by the way of the Mohawk river and New-York. As the crops are extremely uncertain in Canada, it is by no means improbable that this country muſt often be reſorted to in order to ſupply the Canadians with bread.

It has been already mentioned, that the climate of this country is reckoned more mild in winter, and leſs ſultry in the ſummer, than the ſame latitudes nearer the atlantic ocean; and as agriculture advances, and the country becomes more open, the climate will improve. At preſent it is extremely healthy, and none of thoſe periodical diſorders are known among the ſettlers which prevail in thoſe parts of America which are nearer the ſea, ſuch as intermitting fevers, agues, and bilious complaints.

The ſevere weather generally ſets in about the beginning of December, with ſharp cold, black froſts, and falls of ſnow. About chriſtmas the grounds are covered with ſnow, which continues about two months, or till the firſt week in March, during which interval there is a clear ſerene ſky, with fine weather. It is then that the farmer tranſports his corn and other produce to a market, or to the granaries and ſtores at the landing-places, to be in readineſs when the weather opens for water communication. This tranſporta-

tion is managed with great eaſe by means of ſlays over the ſnow, where one horſe will perform more than four times the number in thoſe latitudes in North America, where ſnows do not lie in the winter.

This period, when the ſnows are upon the ground, is alſo the ſeaſon of feſtivity with the american farmers, as it affords an eaſy and expeditious, as well as a cheap mode of travelling, and of paying viſits to one another, and in holding a friendly intercourſe with their relations at a diſtance, in which they appear to have more real enjoyment than the ſame claſs of people in any other country in the world

Theſe ſnows are therefore reckoned extremely beneficial; for while they meliorate the ground, and aſſiſt the farmer in removing his heavy timber and produce, at an eaſy expence, they contribute much to his comfort and happineſs, in the intercourſe with his friends and neighbours, in the facility of travelling from one place to another, and in the fine, ſerene, and clear atmoſphere which is experienced during the whole of the winter.

The ſnows are generally off the ground about the middle of March, when the ſpring weather commences, by mild ſhowers of rain, which continue occaſionally during the whole of the months of April and May, gradually becoming warmer and warmer; which occaſions a quick vegetation. During this ſeaſon the country is delightfully beautiful, with the whole fruit-trees in bloom, as well as every ſhrub or vine which bears any wild fruit in the woods.

In June the weather begins to grow warm. In July and Auguſt it is occaſionally ſultry, with frequent thunder-ſhowers, which are ſucceeded immediately by fine ſerene weather, without the intervention of any ſettled rains. During this ſeaſon the flies are very troubleſome; but this will be leſs and leſs the caſe as the country is cleared.

The months of September, October, and November, are delightfully pleaſant. The mornings and evenings are ſometimes foggy; but the middle part of the day is clear and ſerene, without any rains to diſtreſs the farmer in ſaving his different crops, or to prevent him from reaping the full extent of the fruits of his induſtry.

The great variety of fruits and game alſo, at this ſeaſon of the year, adds not a little to the pleaſure and comfort of the ſettlers. But ſtill theſe comforts are not to be acquired without induſtry and labour.

The

The Geneſee country making a part of the new county of Ontario, in the ſtate of New-York, is conſequently under the government of the congreſs of the United States, which government is perfectly free. Every inhabitant is eligible to be choſen a member of the legiſlative body, or to be appointed a public magiſtrate. Religious opinions exclude no man from any public ſituation in the government, and every ſectary or ſociety are at perfect liberty to exerciſe their own mode of worſhip, under the protection of the ſame laws which give the moſt perfect ſecurity to their property.

The native Indians have wholly retired from the Geneſee country*. In this particular quarter of America, theſe tribes are now perfectly tranquillized, and diſpoſed to cultivate the arts of peace and civilization. After ceding any tract of country, for a valuable conſideration paid, and after a treaty ſigned for that purpoſe, as in the preſent caſe, no inſtance occurs of theſe Indians ever ſettling upon the ſame lands. They are remarkable for keeping faith in this reſpect. Indeed they always retire from the ſettled countries, on account of the ſcarcity of game, upon which they principally depend for ſubſiſtence.

But above all, the extended ſociety of white inhabitants, amounting to upwards of 6000 perſons†, already eſtabliſhed in this new country, half of whom may be preſumed able to bear arms, gives the moſt perfect ſecurity to the ſettlers, and the more eſpecially as their numbers will daily increaſe.

With this increaſe will alſo be introduced, in a greater degree every year, public ſchools and other ſeminaries of learning for the education of youth of both ſexes, as well as places of public worſhip. Some churches and chapels are already built in this new country; and the lateſt advices ſtate, that the rev. Mr. Roſs was to eſtabliſh an academy, for the education of youth, in the county town of Cannandarqua, in the Geneſee tract, in the courſe of the ſpring or ſummer 1791.

To theſe improvements in civil ſociety are added, courts of juſtice, and public magiſtrates; and judges for the new country of Ontario; where court-houſes, and other public buildings, are either erected or in progreſs, ſo as to extend

* The Geneſee lands are nearly 800 miles from the Kentucky lands, and are by that means diſtantly ſeated from the preſent war with the Indians(1793).—EDIT.

† This number is almoſt doubled, and laſt year upwards of 500 Germans went from Hamburgh, &c. for the purpoſe of improving the lands, and were to be embodied as militia.—EDIT.

to the inhabitants the ſame civil and political privileges, in well-executed laws, and in ſending repreſentatives to congreſs and to the aſſembly, which are enjoyed by other citizens of America.

IN addition to what has been already ſaid concerning the maple ſugar, it may here be remarked that no cultivation is neceſſary; that no contingency, ſuch as hurricanes or bad ſeaſons, can diſturb the proceſs; that neither the heavy expence of mills, engines, machinery, or a ſyſtem of planting, which occupies negroes for the whole of the ſeaſon, is neceſſary at all to make the maple ſugar:—the proceſs occupies ſix weeks, from the middle of February to the end of March; and the whole of the buildings, and other articles neceſſary for carrying it on, are to be obtained at ſo trifling an expence, as to be within the reach of any perſon of common induſtry, whoſe conduct in life can entitle him to the moſt moderate credit.

Upon the ſcale of four men, and for the purpoſe of making 40 cwt. of ſugar, all the implements that are neceſſary, are theſe following;

	Expence.
1. Sixteen kettles of 15 gallons each, to boil the ſap, with pot racks for each kettle	£ 16 0 0
2. Two iron ladles, with bowls of a gallon, to ſhift the ſap from one kettle to another	1 5 0
3. Four ſcrew augers, ½ to ¾ inch, for boring the trees - - -	0 6 0
4. Ten buckets with covers, of three gallons each, for collecting the ſap, and yokes for carrying two between the ſhoulders -	2 10 0
5. Sixteen hundred wooden troughs, of three gallons each, to receive the ſap from the trees, threepence each - -	20 0 0
N. B. One man, acquainted with the buſineſs, may cut down wood and make 20 troughs in a day (or eight days work of ten men).	
6. Six wooden troughs, dug out from large timber, like a canoe, for holding the ſap	4 10 0
Carried over	£ 44 11 0

	Brought over	£ 44	11 0
In a new country, where ciſterns cannot be had, ſuch large troughs, made of well-ſeaſoned timber (of which there is vaſt abundance, of an uncommon ſize, wherever the maple tree grows), anſwer the purpoſe very well. Upon the top of this ciſtern there ſhould be a linen ſtrainer fixed, through which the ſap brought in the buckets ſhould paſs.			
7. A ſhed and walls for the fire-places, to be erected, of ſtone or clay (of both which there are plenty in the country), of ſufficient length for the 16 boilers; which ſhed ſhould be covered ſo as to keep out the weather		10 10	0
8. Sugar moulds may be made of ſeaſoned boards, until earthen ones can be procured		1 10	0
9. Pickers (ſo called by the ſugar-bakers), to run up the moulds, may be alſo made of hard wood found in the country -		0 9	0
10. Spouts for the trees, 3,200 in all		6 10	0
11. Wooden gutters and narrow troughs for facilitating labour - -		1 10	0
	Total coſt	£ 65 0	0

Theſe are the whole implements that are required for a ſugar-work in America, all which, it is to be obſerved, excepting the 16 kettles, the two iron ladles, and the four augers, are prepared by the workmen themſelves from the reſources they find in the country. If, however, a large work were to be eſtabliſhed, the expence would probably be leſs, in proportion, than upon the ſcale of four men engaged in this purſuit.

SEASON FOR TAPPING.—By trials in February each year, it will be diſcovered when the maple tree ought to be bored, for the purpoſe of extracting the ſyrup or ſap; as in that month, ſometimes earlier and ſometimes later, it begins to yield a ſufficient quantity for commencing buſineſs.

TAPPING OR BORING.—Four hundred trees, each tree bored with two holes on the ſouth ſide, and alſo with two holes on the north ſide of the tree in the early part of the ſeaſon, with ſcrew augers from half to one inch, according to the ſize of the tree. And towards the middle of the ſeaſon a like number of trees to be bored in the ſame

manner. This upon the ſcale of four hands: eight hundred trees in all, to be tapped.

The ſap of the ſecond tapping will be found richer and more productive than the firſt.

At firſt, the auger ſhould go no deeper into the tree than ¾ of an inch, and to be deepened afterwards to the extent of two inches and a half, as the manner of the ſap's running may render neceſſary.—The hole to be made in a ſlanting or deſcending poſition, that the ſap may run freely in froſty weather.—In theſe holes there ſhould be fixed ſpouts to project from the tree 12 inches, but not to enter the orifice more than half an inch. Elder wood ſpouts to be prepared in the ſeaſon.

PRESERVING THE SAP OR SYRUP.—In the early part of the ſeaſon, the ſap will keep during froſt, but as the ſpring advances, it will be neceſſary to boil it the day after it is drawn from the tree, to prevent ſouring and fermentation.

BOILING THE SAP.—A ſmart fire ſhould be kept up while the ſap is boiling, and a table ſpoonful of ſlacked lime put into each 15 gallon kettle, while the ſap is warming, and before it boils, to raiſe the ſcum, and give the ſugar a grain.

When the ſcum riſes, it ſhould be ſkimmed off. When the liquor is reduced one half, diſcharge it into the one half of the kettles, continuing the proceſs till the whole is placed in one kettle, filling up the empty ones as ſoon as poſſible with freſh ſap.

When the liquor in the laſt or aggregate kettle becomes a ſyrup, it ſhould be ſtrained through a woollen cloth, before it becomes too thick.

When thus cleaned, it ſhould ſtand in buckets or other proper veſſels 12 hours, that the whole ſediment may fall to the bottom, and the clarified ſyrup to be poured off into a kettle or boiler. The ſediment to be boiled up again with freſh ſap.

In graining, cleaning, and whiteing the ſugar, the method of the ſugar-bakers to be uſed.

In graining the ſugar, pour the ſyrup into a boiler, after having ſtood 12 hours, and place it over a ſmart fire of charcoal, ſo as to prevent any flame, uſing butter or hog's lard to keep down the ſap when it riſes to the top. This ſhould be carefully attended to when the ſugar is graining.

The mature ſtate of the boiling is known by taking a little

little of the ſyrup from the boiling-ſtick, and trying if it ropes or draws into a thread between the finger and thumb; then it ſhould be put into a tub or cooler, and ſtirred inceſſantly until the grain can be felt, when it is in a fit ſtate to be poured into the moulds.

MOLASSES AND VINEGAR.—When the trees of the ſecond tapping become poor, which may be about the 31ſt of March, or perhaps not till the 10th of April, the number of freſh-tapped trees will yield a ſap, of which may be made good molaſſes, and excellent vinegar.

Rum has alſo been made of an exceeding good quality from the rich ſap.

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS.

In maple plantations, it may be uſeful to cut down all other timber which grow intermixed with the ſugar-trees, and alſo thoſe of that ſpecies which are not thriving.

It is not yet aſcertained from experience, how long a tree may be tapped with ſucceſs.—But there are inſtances among old ſettlers on the North river of trees being tapped for 50 years, and ſtill continue to yield their ſap in ſeaſon, the ſame as new trees; and it is even aſſerted by perſons of ſome experience, that theſe trees become more valuable, yielding a ſap of a richer quality the more they are tapped.

How far a careful cultivation in plantations may ſtill increaſe the quantity, and enrich the juices drawn from this valuable tree, remains to be aſcertained by experiment.

The preſumption, however, is in favour of ſtill greater advantages from cultivation and art.

THOUGHTS ON EMIGRATION.

IF any country in Europe has more people than can be comfortably ſubſiſted in it, ſome of thoſe who are incommoded may be induced to emigrate. As long as the new ſituation ſhall be found to be preferable to the old, emigration may poſſibly continue; but when many of thoſe, who in the old countries in Europe interfered with others in the ſame rank in the competition (for farms, ſhops, buſineſs, and other means of ſubſiſtence), are gradually withdrawn to another country, the inconvenience of that competition ceaſes. The numbers remaining no longer half ſtarve each other.

other.—They find they can now ſubſiſt comfortably; and though perhaps not quite ſo well as thoſe who left them, yet the inbred attachment to a native country is ſufficient to overbalance a moderate difference; and thus the emigration ceaſes naturally of itſelf, without the neceſſity of any legiſlative reſtrictions, which are neither neceſſary nor politic.

The waters of the ocean may move in currents from one quarter of the globe to another, as they happen in ſome places to be accumulated, and in others diminiſhed; but no law beyond the law of gravity, is neceſſary to prevent their abandoning any coaſt entirely. Thus the different degrees of happineſs of different countries and ſituations find, or rather make, their level by the flowing of people from one to another; and where that level is once found, the removals ceaſe. Add to this, that even a real deficiency of people in any country, occaſioned by a waſting war or peſtilence, is ſpeedily ſupplied by earlier, and of courſe more prolific marriages, encouraged by the greater facility of obtaining the means of ſubſiſtence; ſo that a country half depopulated would ſoon be repeopled, till the means of ſubſiſtence were equalled by the population. All increaſe beyond that point muſt periſh, or flow off into more favourable ſituations. Such overflowings there have been of mankind in all ages, or we ſhould not now have had thirteen ſtates in America, containing near four millions of people; but to apprehend abſolute depopulation from that cauſe, is to ſuppoſe that, by the ebbing and flowing of a great river, in time its waters would be exhauſted.

That great national advantages may be acquired to the old countries in Europe, from whence people emigrate, has been ſhewn in one point of view: but if ſuch overflowing of people ſhould go to another country where land is eaſily acquired, and population encouraged by early marriages, there is another point of view in which the parent ſtate may be benefited by the removal of the people it can ſpare. This benefit will ariſe from predilections for the manufactures of their native country: hence an extended conſumption of the labour of the people who are engaged in manufactures in the old countries, from whence theſe people emigrated; and in ſo far as theſe people multiply in a greater degree than they could have done in Europe, and in ſo far alſo as they, by means of cheap land and agricultural purſuits, can conſume more of the manufactures than they could

could have done in their own country, from being richer and better able to buy them; in the ſame proportion are theſe people rendered more uſeful to the ſtate, than if no emigration had taken place, ſeeing that their labour is rendered productive abroad, which was not the caſe in their own country.

The new ſettlers in America finding plenty of ſubſiſtence, and land eaſily acquired whereon to ſeat their children, ſeldom poſtpone marriage through fear of poverty. This natural increaſe is therefore in proportion far beyond what it would have been had they remained in Europe.

New farms are daily everywhere forming in thoſe immenſe foreſts, new towns and villages riſing: hence a growing demand for the manufactures of their mother-country, to the greater employment of the manufacturer, and enrichment of the merchant. By this natural augmentation of the demand for manufactures, the ſtrength of an empire is increaſed, and its members are multiplied.

Was this country already attached to Great Britain by the tie of conſanguinity, a ſimilarity of language, religion, and natural affection ſecured by theſe means, and the mutual advantages which would ariſe from a treaty of commercial alliance; it would afford an additional ſtrength to the britiſh empire, far ſuperior, and more to be depended on, than any advantage that ever could have been acquired by the moſt ſucceſsful conqueſt.

Theſe national advantages would certainly more than equiponderate with any ideal inconveniences that might be ſuffered by the emigration of ſuperfluous cottagers, who would remain in poverty and miſery in Europe, uſeleſs to themſelves, and a burden to their country. By removing to enjoy plenty and happineſs, in cultivating the vaſt unoccupied tracts of fertile land in North America, they would not only eaſe their own country of its ſupernumerary inhabitants, but, as they advance in opulence, conſume its manufactures.

The overflowings of Germany and France are now emigrating to America; and it might, in the courſe of a few years, be matter of ſerious regret if Britons and Irelanders, who have a much better right, did not endeavour to cement, by this intimate connexion and a natural alliance, countries which are by nature deſigned for the mutual aggrandizement and ſupport of each other.

However great the advantages are which reſult to the ſettlers

ſettlers of new lands in choſen good ſituations in America, it is by no means inſinuated or ſuggeſted that the comforts or benefits to be derived from ſuch ſettlements are to be obtained without labour and induſtry. It is ſufficient to ſay, that in no country in Europe does labour and induſtry produce to the farmer ſo ample and ſo certain a return, where good judgment and perſeverance are exerciſed. And perhaps the beſt way to elucidate the nature of the employment of the firſt ſettlers in ſuch a country as has been already deſcribed, is, by a detail of the routine of his occupation as a farmer and planter in the american woods for the three firſt years, which will be nearly as follows:

FIRST YEAR.

The farmer or planter is ſuppoſed to be a man of ſmall property, young, active, and originally bred in this line; ſuch a perſon ſetting himſelf down in the Geneſee country, may enter upon the buſineſs of life, with an aſſurance of being ſoon in eaſy circumſtances and independent, if he either poſſeſſes money or credit to ſtock his little farm, as follows:

1. With one breeding mare, one milch cow with calf, two oxen or ſteers, two ſows with pig, a few turkies, geeſe, ducks, and dunghill fowls; in all ſterling -	£	30	0 0
2. Farming implements: Two axes; two grubbing hoes, and two common hoes; a plow and harrow, with their appendages; a grindſtone, ditto; a croſs-cut ſaw, ditto; other farming implements; with two guns, powder and ſhot; and fiſhing tackle -		15	0 0
3. Houſehold furniture -		15	0 0
4. Corn, flour, and other proviſions for ſix months - - - -		10	0 0
Total in ſterling, about	£	70	0 0

With this ſtock of cattle, implements of huſbandry, and other conveniences, the ſettler chooſes his ſpot of ground, and commences his operations in the month of March, having previouſly cut down and prepared a ſmall quantity of timber.

In March, he builds himſelf a log houſe or cabin, which, with the aſſiſtance of his friends and neighbours, is generally completed in one day. He grubs three acres of his beſt

beſt ground for indian corn, &c. and occaſionally employs himſelf in ſhooting game and i fi ſhing, for ſubſiſtence through the year.

April—he plows the land which he has grubbed, and cuts rail timber for fencing it.

May—he plants his indian corn (one peck to three acres), and between the rows, pumpkins, cucumbers, and ſquaſhes are planted. He alſo plants half an acre of potatoes; and he likewiſe makes a ſmall garden for peas, beans, collards, and other vegetables.

June—he weeds and hills his indian corn and potatoes; and he proceeds to clear land for ſowing wheat in the fall.

July—he continues to weed and hill his indian corn, and to clear more land for wheat; he alſo clears half an acre for turnips.

Auguſt—he ſows his turnips, tops his indian corn, and blades it for the cattle—Continues to clear and prepare his wheat land.

September—he continues clearing his wheat land, and begins to plough it up.

October—he ſows his wheat (one buſhel to an acre), harrows it in; alſo ſows wheat between the rows of his indian corn. Kills game for the family.

November—he fences his wheat land, which ſhould extend to ten acres, if he is induſtrious.

December—he takes in his indian corn, potatoes, and turnips, and builds a crib for holding his corn, and a pit in the ground for ſecuring the potatoes and turnips againſt the froſt. Builds a ſhed for ſhelter for the cattle, alſo a ſmall houſe for the hogs.

January—he cuts and ſplits timber for fence rails; and he alſo cuts logs for enlarging his houſe, which he hauls upon the ſnow.

February—he continues cutting timber for fence rails, and deading trees on ſuch land as he intends to prepare for cultivation during the enſuing ſeaſon.

Having thus detailed the progreſſive employment of the american farmer for the firſt twelve months after he ſettles in a new country, it may be proper to ſtate the probable produce of his farm, which may be eſtimated as follows: 1. Ninety buſhels of indian corn; 2. One hundred buſhels of potatoes; 3. Two hundred buſhels of turnips; 4. One hundred and fifty buſhels of aſhes; 5. One colt; 6. One calf; 7. Eight or ten pigs; 8. Three or four dozen

of

of turkies, geese, and fowls; 9. Vegetables for family use, such as squashes, pumpkins, melons, cucumbers, garden stuffs; 10. Game and fish equal to half the subsistence of his family, such as deers, elk, wild turkies, wild geese, ducks, pigeons, pheasants, &c. &c. also salmon, salmon-trout, cat-fish, chub, &c. 11. Furs and peltry from deer, elk, moose-deer, minx, otter, &c.

SECOND YEAR.

March—the farmer must now, in consequence of the additional quantity of land, be assisted with one labourer. He clears more land for corn, to the extent of six acres, and prepares railing for fencing it.

April—he plows the land, and completes the fencing.

May—he plants his corn land, with pumpkins, squashes, and cucumbers between the rows. He clears more ground for potatoes. He now extends his garden ground, by converting a part of his last year's potatoe land into that use. He plants all kinds of vegetables, peas, beans, &c. He sows hemp and flax on the remainder of his potatoe ground and turnip ground cleared the former year.

June—he plants his potatoes on new ground, grubbed for the purpose, to the extent of an acre. He clears more land for wheat.

July—he reaps his wheat (about 13 acres), with a cradle scythe; after he has reaped one acre, he carries the grain off; plows the ground immediately, and sows buck-wheat on that one acre (half a bushel is sufficient for an acre). He then proceeds to cut the rest of his grain, and brings it to his barn-yard, and stacks it up.

August—pulls his flax early this month, and preserves the seed. Prepares half an acre of new ground for turnips, and sows them. Tops his indian corn, and blades it for the cattle. Continues to clear more ground for wheat, and to prepare fence railing. Pulls his hemp towards the end of the month.

September—begins to plow his wheat ground, which is generally a boy's work. Spreads out his flax, after being watered. Spreads out his hemp also in the weather, to remain till winter.

October—sows his wheat on his new ground; also sows wheat between the rows of his indian corn. Cuts his buck-wheat; threshes it in the field; takes home the grain, and stores it in the loft of his house.

November—

November—fences his wheat land about 10 acres more. Alſo ſows rye on ten of the acres which formerly bore wheat; the other three he reſerves to ſow with oats in April.

December—takes in and ſecures his indian corn, turnips, and potatoes, early in the month; and cuts down rail timber.

January—begins to cut logs to carry over the ſnow to the neareſt ſaw-mill, for boards to aſſiſt in building a better houſe, and alſo for planks for doors, and for building a proper barn and threſhing-floor. Beats out his hemp and flax with a brake.

February—continues to dead more trees, and to clear more land for indian corn. Begins, for the firſt time this month, to draw the ſap from the ſugar-tree, and to make as much ſugar, molaſſes, and vinegar, as will ſerve for the family uſe.

Second year's crop ought to be nearly as follows:

Indian corn	180 buſhels	Hemp, about	150 lb.
Wheat	260 ditto	Flax, ditto	100 lb.
Buck wheat	30 ditto	Aſhes, ditto	200 buſhels
Turnips	200 ditto	Skins and furs for ſale.	
Potatoes	200 ditto		

N. B. The wheat is carried to the neareſt griſt-mill, and there ground into flour for family uſe, and for ſale.

Live ſtock increaſed, one mare, two colts, one cow, two calves, two ſteers, 20 hogs and ſhoats, poultry in abundance.

The OPERATIONS of the AMERICAN FARMER for the THIRD YEAR.

He is then aſſiſted with two ſtout hands, on account of the additional quantity of lands which are by this time cleared for cultivation; and his crops will now afford him the means of paying wages. He purchaſes an additional horſe and yoke of oxen.

March—he continues, with the aſſiſtance of his wife and domeſtics, to draw off the ſap of the ſugar-tree, and to boil it up for ſugar, molaſſes, and vinegar. This month, for the firſt time, he turns his attention to meadow ground. He chooſes for this purpoſe his loweſt land, which he prepares and ſows with timothy graſs, which is deemed ſuperior to clover for new lands in America.

April—he ſows a little ſpring wheat on new land. He ſows oats on the three acres formerly reſerved. He ſows ſpring barley on the ſix acres in corn laſt year.

May, June, July—he proceeds in the ſame routine as the former year, in clearing land, planting corn and potatoes,

toes, ſowing hemp and flax, pumpkins, ſquaſhes, cucumbers, and melons. Improves and extends the garden ground, and ſows and plants all kinds of vegetables. Sows buck-wheat in July. Alſo finiſhes his harveſt of wheat, oats, and barley, and ſtacks it up in his barn-yard.

Auguſt—he clears and prepares ground for an additional quantity of turnips, alſo for wheat. Tops his indian corn, pulls his hemp, waters his flax, and ſaves his flax ſeed. He alſo ſows his meadow ground with turnips, along with the timothy graſs.

September, October—he proceeds in the ſame routine of agricultural purſuits as the former years, but on a larger ſcale.

November—the neceſſary parts of the improvement of the farm being then pretty well advanced, the farmer now thinks of planting orchards. For this purpoſe he appropriates the ground neareſt his houſe, which had been cleared and cultivated the firſt year, to the following purpoſes: 1ſt, For an apple orchard, three acres; 2d, for a peach orchard, 1 acre; 3d, for cherry-trees, plum and pear-trees, &c. 1 acre; all of which bear fruit in four years. Between the rows of trees in the orchard may be raiſed every year, indian corn, wheat, oats, &c. At the end of the third year the aggregate produce of the farm ſhould be nearly as follows:

	Acres.	Buſhels.	s. d.	Sterling.
1. Indian corn	10	300	2 6	£37 10 0
2. Wheat	20	400	4 0	80 0 0
3. Spring wheat	3	60	3 6	10 10 0
4. Buck wheat	5	100	1 9	8 15 0
5. Oats	3	120	1 6	9 0 0
6. Barley	3	120	1 9	10 10 9
7. Potatoes	1	200	1 6	15 0 0
8. Turnips	3	900	0 5	17 15 0
9. Hemp	1	1000 lb.	0 2	8 6 8
10. Flax	1	500 lb.	0 5	8 6 8
11. Garden	1	Vegetables, 10 buſh. of peas, alſo flax ſeed		10 0 0
	51			
12. Meadow ground	4 for hay next year.			
Total	55 acres.			
13. Aſhes		500 buſh.	0 3	6 5 0
14. Hogs for ſale		10	10 0	5 0 0
				£226 18 4

Live

Live ſtock increaſed, viz. one horſe, purchaſed this year; one mare; three colts; two cows; two calves; two yoke of oxen, or four ſteers; twenty hogs and ſhoats, &c; turkies, geeſe, ducks, and fowls, in abundance, for family uſe.

This is the routine of farming which a man of ſmall property, or who went upon credit, would conſider it as moſt prudent to purſue: but to ſettlers of ſubſtance, who could afford to hire ſervants, and purchaſe a ſtock of cattle and horſes, the plan would be different.—1. A good houſe of framed timber, brick, or ſtone, would be built at once; 2. a barn, ſtable, and all other conveniences; 3. an aſh-work, with ſheds, for making pot and pearl aſhes; 4. ſheds, and proper apparatus, for making ſugar in the ſeaſon; 5. a corn-mill, and alſo a ſaw-mill, upon ſome ſtream near the houſe, the coſt of both would not exceed 250l. ſterling; 6. meadow ground would be taken in the firſt year, for hay for the cattle; 7. a large tract of ground would be cleared for corn, wheat, oats, barley, rye, buck-wheat, potatoes, turnips, hemp, flax, &c.; 8. a garden and orchard would alſo be completed the firſt year; 9. a ſeine, or fiſhing net, would be procured for providing the family with fiſh; and other meaſures would be purſued for a conſtant ſupply of game of all kinds.

No. III.

Remarks for the information of thoſe who wiſh to become ſettlers in America. The production of a very celebrated american ſtateſman and philoſopher*, written a ſhort time previous to his deceaſe.

THE governments in America give every aſſiſtance to ſtrangers that can be deſired from protection, good laws, and perfect liberty.—Strangers are welcome, becauſe there is room enough for them all; and therefore the old inhabitants are not jealous of them, the laws protect them ſufficiently, ſo that they have no need of the patronage of great men; and every one will enjoy, in ſecurity, the profits of his own induſtry: but if he does not bring a

* Dr. Franklin.

fortune with him, he muſt work and be induſtrious to live. One or two years reſidence give him all the rights of a citizen; but the government does not hire people to become ſettlers.

Land being cheap in that country, from the vaſt tracts ſtill void of inhabitants, ſo that the property of an hundred acres of very fertile ſoil may be obtained at an eaſy rate; hearty young men, who underſtand the huſbandry of corn and cattle, which is nearly the ſame as in Europe, may eaſily eſtabliſh themſelves there. A little money ſaved of the good wages they receive there, while they work for others, enables them, in a few years, to buy land and begin their plantation, in which they are aſſiſted by the good will of their neighbours adding ſome credit. Multitudes of poor people from England, Ireland, Scotland, and Germany, have, by this means, in a few years, become wealthy farmers; who, in their own countries, where all the lands are fully occupied, and the wages of labour low, could never have emerged from their low condition wherein they were born.

From the ſalubrity of the air, the healthineſs of the climate, the plenty of good proviſions, and the encouragement to early marriages, by the certainty of ſubſiſtence in cultivating the earth, the increaſe of inhabitants by natural generation is very rapid in America, and becomes ſtill more ſo by the acceſſion of ſtrangers:—hence there is a continual demand for more artiſans of all the neceſſary and uſeful kinds, to ſupply thoſe cultivators of the earth with houſes, and with furniture, and with utenſils of the groſſer ſorts, which cannot ſo well be brought from Europe. Tolerable good workmen in any of theſe mechanic arts, are ſure to find employ, and to be well paid for their work; there being no reſtraints preventing ſtrangers from exerciſing any art they underſtand, nor any permiſſion neceſſary. If they are poor, they begin firſt as ſervants or journeymen; and if they are ſober, induſtrious, and frugal, they ſoon become maſters, eſtabliſh themſelves in buſineſs, raiſe families, and become reſpectable citizens.

Laſtly, perſons of moderate fortunes and capitals, who having a number of children to provide for, are deſirous of bringing them up to induſtry, and to ſecure eſtates for their poſterity, have opportunities of doing it in America, which Europe does not afford. There they may be taught uſeful and profitable mechanic arts, and may follow the ſame without incurring reproach on that account; but, on the contrary,

contrary, acquiring reſpect by ſuch purſuits and abilities. The ſmall capitals laid out in lands, which daily become more valuable by the increaſe of people, afford a ſolid proſpect of ample fortunes thereafter for their children. Inſtances have been often known of large tracts of land being bought on what was then the frontiers of Pennſylvania, 20 years after, ſelling at a profit of many hundred per cent, without any improvement whatever made on them.

The eſtabliſhment of manufactures has rarely ſucceeded in America, the country not being yet ſo ripe as to encourage private perſons to ſet them up; labour being generally too dear there, and hands difficult to be kept together, every one deſiring to become a maſter, and the cheapneſs of land inclining many to leave trades for agriculture. Things that are bulky, and of ſo ſmall value as not well to bear the expence of freight, may often be made cheaper in the country than they can be imported; and the manufacture of ſuch things will be profitable whenever there is a ſufficient demand. The farmers in America produce, indeed, a good deal of wool and flax, and none is exported, it is all worked up; but it is in the way of domeſtic manufacture, for the uſe of the family. The buying up quantities of wool and flax, with the deſign to employ ſpinners, weavers, &c. and to form great eſtabliſhments, producing quantities of linen and woollen goods for ſale, has been ſeveral times attempted in different provinces: but theſe projects have generally failed, goods of equal value being imported cheaper; for theſe unnatural operations muſt be ſupported by mutual prohibitions, or high duties on the importation of goods, by which means the manufacturers are enabled to tax the home conſumer by greater prices. Therefore the government of America does nothing to encourage ſuch projects; the people are by this means not impoſed on either by the merchant or mechanic: if the merchant demands too much profit on imported ſhoes, they buy of the ſhoemaker; and if he aſks too high a price, they take them of the merchant; thus the two profeſſions are checks to each other. The ſhoemaker however has, on the whole, a conſiderable profit upon his labour in America, beyond what he had in Europe, as he can add to his price a ſum nearly equal to all the expences of freight and commiſſion, riſque, or inſurance, &c. neceſſarily charged by the merchant, and the caſe is the ſame with the workmen in every other mechanic art. Hence it is that artiſans live better and more eaſily in America than in Europe; and

ſuch as are good economiſts, make a comfortable proviſion for age, and for their children. Such may therefore remove with advantage to America.

In the old long-ſettled countries of Europe, all arts, trades, profeſſions, farms, &c. are ſo full, that it is difficult for a poor man, who has children, to place them where they may gain or learn to gain a decent livelihood. The artiſans who fear creating future rivals in buſineſs, refuſe to take apprentices, but upon conditions of money, maintenance, and the like, which the parents are unable to comply with. Hence the youth are brought up in ignorance of every gainful art, and are obliged to become ſoldiers, or ſervants, or thieves, for a ſubſiſtence. In America, the rapid increaſe of inhabitants takes away that fear of rivalſhip; and artiſans willingly receive apprentices, from the hope of profit by their labour during the remainder of the time ſtipulated after they ſhall be inſtructed. Hence it is eaſy for poor families to get their children inſtructed; for the artiſans are ſo deſirous of apprentices, that many of them will even give money to the parents, to have boys from ten to fifteen years of age bound apprentices to them till the age of twenty-one; and many poor parents have, by that means, on their arrival in the country, raiſed money enough to buy land ſufficient to eſtabliſh themſelves, and to ſubſiſt the reſt of their family by agriculture. Theſe contracts for apprentices are made before a magiſtrate, who regulates the agreement according to reaſon and juſtice; and having in view the formation of a future uſeful citizen, obliges the maſter to engage, by a written indenture, not only that during the time of ſervice ſtipulated, the apprentice ſhall be duly provided with meat, drink, apparel, waſhing, and lodging, and at its expiration with a complete new ſuit of clothes, but alſo that he ſhall be taught to read, write, and caſt accompts, and that he ſhall be well inſtructed in the art or profeſſion of his maſter, by which he may afterwards gain a livelihood, and be able in his turn to raiſe a family. A copy of this indenture is given the apprentice, or his friends, and the magiſtrate keeps a record of it, to which recourſe may be had in caſe of failure, by the maſter, in any point of performance.

This deſire among maſters to have more hands employed in working for them, induces them to pay the paſſages of young perſons of both ſexes, who on their arrival agree to ſerve them two, three, or four years; thoſe who have already learnt a trade, agreeing for a ſhorter term, in proportion

portion to their ſkill, and the conſequent immediate value of their ſervice; and thoſe who have none, agreeing for a longer term, in conſideration of being taught an art their poverty would not permit them to acquire in their own country.

The almoſt general mediocrity of fortune that prevails in America, obliging its people to follow ſome buſineſs for ſubſiſtence, thoſe vices that ariſe generally from idleneſs, are in a great meaſure prevented. Induſtry and conſtant employment are great preſervations of the morals and virtue of a nation. Hence bad examples to youth are more rare in America, which muſt be a comfortable conſideration to parents. To this may be truly added, that ſerious religion, under its various denominations, is not only tolerated, but reſpected and practiſed. Atheiſm is unknown there, infidelity rare and ſecret; ſo that perſons may live to a great age in that country, without having their piety ſhocked by meeting either an atheiſt or an infidel. And the Divine Being ſeems to have manifeſted his approbation of the mutual forbearance and kindneſs with which the different ſects treat each other, by the remarkable proſperity with which he has been pleaſed to favour the whole country.

No. IV.

A topographical deſcription of Virginia, Pennſylvania, Maryland, and North-Carolina; comprehending the rivers Ohio, Kanhaway, Sioto, Cherokee, Wabaſh, Illinois, Miſſiſſippi, &c. the climate, ſoil, and produce, whether animal, vegetable, or mineral; the mountains, creeks, roads, diſtances, latitudes, &c. of thoſe countries. By Thomas Hutchins, captain in the 60th regiment of foot. With a plan of the rapids of the Ohio, a plan of the ſeveral villages in the Illinois country, a table of the diſtances between fort Pitt and the mouth of the Ohio: and an appendix, containing Mr. Patrick Kennedy's journal up the Illinois river; and a correct liſt of the different nations and tribes of Indians, with the number of fighting men, &c. [1778]

THE preſent topographical deſcription of the parts abovementioned, comprehends almoſt the whole of the country lying between the 34th and 44th degrees of latitude, and the 79th and 93d

degrees of longitude, and deſcribes an extent of territory of about 850 miles in length, and 700 miles in breadth; and one which, for healthineſs, fertility of ſoil, and variety of productions, is not perhaps ſurpaſſed by any on the habitable globe.

Thoſe parts of the country lying weſtward of the Allegany mountain, and upon the rivers Ohio and Miſſiſſippi, and upon moſt of the other rivers and lakes here deſcribed, were done from my own ſurveys, and corrected by my own obſervations and latitudes, made at different periods preceding, and during all the campaigns of the laſt war, in ſeveral of which I acted as an engineer, and ſince in many reconnoitring tours, which I made through various parts of the country, between the years 1764 and 1775.

I have compared my own obſervations and ſurveys, reſpecting the lakes, with thoſe made by captain Brehm, of the 60th regiment of foot (who was for many years employed as an engineer in North America), and I find that they correſpond with more exactneſs than ſurveys uſually do, which are made by different perſons at different times; and I am happy in this opportunity of expreſſing my obligations to this gentleman, for the cheerfulneſs with which he furniſhed me with his ſurveys and remarks.

It is fit alſo, that I ſhould take notice that, in the account which I have given of ſeveral of the branches of the Ohio and Allegany rivers, I have adopted the words of the late ingenious Mr. Lewis Evans, as I found he had properly deſcribed them in the analyſis to his map of the middle colonies.—And as to that portion which repreſents the country lying on the eaſtern ſide of the Allegany mountain I take the liberty of informing my readers, that my reaſon for inſerting it, was to ſhew the ſeveral communications that are now made, and others which may be hereafter eaſily made, between the navigable branches of the Ohio and Allegany rivers, and the rivers in Virginia and Pennſylvania, which fall into the atlantic ocean, from the weſt and north-weſt.

London, Nov. 1, 1778.

THE lands lying on a weſterly line, between the Laurel mountain and the Allegany river, and thence northerly up that river for 150 miles, on both ſides of the ſame, though not much broken with high mountains, are not of the ſame excellent quality with the lands to the ſouthward of fort Pitt. They conſiſt chiefly of white oak and cheſnut ridges; and in many places of poor pitch pines, interſperſed with tracts of good land and low meadow grounds.

The

The lands comprehended between the river Ohio at fort Pitt, and the Laurel mountain, and thence continuing the ſame breadth from fort Pitt to the great Kanhaway river, may, according to my own obſervations, and thoſe of the late Mr. Gift, of Virginia, be generally and juſtly deſcribed as follows.

The vallies adjoining to the branches or ſprings of the middle forks of Youghiogeny, are narrow towards its ſource; but there is a conſiderable quantity of good farming grounds on the hills, near the largeſt branch of that river. The lands within a ſmall diſtance of the Laurel mountain (through which the Youghiogeny runs) are in many places broken and ſtony, but rich and well timbered, and in ſome places, and particularly on Laurel creek, they are rocky and mountainous.

From the Laurel mountain to Monongahela, the firſt ſeven miles are good level farming grounds, with fine meadows; the timber white oak, cheſnut, hiccory, &c. The ſame kind of land continues ſoutherly 12 miles to the upper branches, or forks, of this river, and about 15 miles northerly to the place where the Youghiogeny falls into the Monongahela. The lands, for about 18 miles in the ſame courſe of the laſt-mentioned river, on each ſide of it, though hilly, are rich and well timbered. The trees are walnut, locuſt, cheſnut, poplar, and ſugar, or ſweet maple. The low lands, near the river, are about a mile, and in ſeveral places two miles wide: for a conſiderable way down the river, on the eaſtern ſide of it, the intervals are extremely rich, and about a mile wide. The uplands for about 12 miles eaſterly, are uncommonly fertile and well timbered; the low lands, on the weſtern ſide, are narrow; but the uplands, on the eaſtern ſide of the river, both up and down, are excellent, and covered with ſugar-trees, &c.

Such parts of the country which lie on ſome of the branches of the Monongahela, and acroſs the heads of ſeveral rivers that run into the Ohio, though in general hilly, are exceedingly fruitful and well watered. The timber is walnut, cheſnut, aſh, oak, ſugar-trees, &c.; and the interval, or meadow lands, are from 250 yards to a quarter of a mile wide.

The lands lying nearly in a north-weſterly direction from the great Kanhaway river to the Ohio, and thence north-eaſterly, and alſo upon Le Tort's creek, little Kanhaway river, Buffalo, Fiſhing, Weeling, and the two upper, and

two lower, and ſeveral other very conſiderable creeks (or what in Europe would be called large rivers), and thence eaſt and ſouth-eaſt to the river Monongahela, are, in point of quality, as follows.

The borders, or meadow lands, are a mile, and in ſome places near two miles wide; and the uplands are in common of a moſt fertile ſoil, capable of abundantly producing wheat, hemp, flax, &c.

The lands which lie upon the Ohio, at the mouths of, and between the above creeks, alſo conſiſt of rich intervals, and very fine farming grounds. The whole country abounds in bears, elks, buffalo, deer, turkies, &c.—an unqueſtionable proof of the extraordinary goodneſs of its ſoil *.

Fort Pitt ſtands at the confluence of the Allegany and Monongahela rivers, in latitude 40° 31′ 44″, and about five degrees weſtward of Philadelphia. In the year 1760, a ſmall town, called Pittſburgh, was built near fort Pitt, and about 200 families reſided in it; but upon the indian war breaking out in the month of May 1763, they abandoned their houſes, and retired into the fort.

In the year 1765 the preſent town of Pittſburgh was laid out. It is built on the eaſtern bank of the river Monongahela, about 200 yards from fort Pitt.

The junction of the Allegany and Monongahela rivers forms the river Ohio, and this diſcharges itſelf into the Miſſiſſippi, in latitude 36° 43′, about 1188 computed miles from fort Pitt. The Ohio, in its paſſage to the Miſſiſſippi, glides through a pleaſant, fruitful, and healthy country, and carries a great uniformity of breadth, from 400 to 600 yards, except at its confluence with the Miſſiſſippi, and for 100 miles above it, where it is 1000 yards wide. The Ohio, for the greater part of the way to the Miſſiſſippi, has many meanders, or windings, and riſing grounds upon both ſides of it.

The reaches in the Ohio are in ſome parts from two to four miles in length; and one of them, above the Muſkingum river, called the Long reach, is ſixteen miles and a half long. The Ohio, about 100 miles above, or northerly

* Indiana lies within the territory here deſcribed. It contains about three millions and an half of acres; and was granted to Samuel Wharton, William Trent, and George Morgan, eſqrs. and a few other perſons, in the year 1768.

of

of the rapids (formerly called the falls), is in many places 700 yards wide; and as it approaches them, the high grounds on its borders gradually diminiſh, and the country becomes more level. Some of the banks, or heights, of this river are at times overflowed by great freſhes; yet there is ſcarce a place between fort Pitt and the rapids, a diſtance of 705 computed miles, where a good road may not be made; and horſes employed in drawing up large barges (as is done on the margin of the river Thames in England, and the Seine in France), againſt a ſtream remarkably gentle, except in high freſhes. The heights of the banks of the Ohio admit them everywhere to be ſettled, as they are not liable to crumble away.—And to theſe remarks it may be proper to add the following obſervations of the ingenious Mr. Lewis Evans, as publiſhed in the analyſis to his map of the middle colonies of North America, in the year 1755:—he ſays, that "the Ohio river, as the winter ſnows are thawed by the warmth or rains in the ſpring, riſes in vaſt floods, in ſome places exceeding 20 feet in height, but ſcarce any where overflowing its high and upright banks. Theſe floods," Mr. Evans adds, "continue of ſome height for at leaſt a month or two, according to the late or early breaking up of the winter. Veſſels from 100 to 200 tons burden, by taking the advantage of theſe floods, may go from Pittſburgh to the ſea with ſafety, as then the falls, rifts, and ſhoals, are covered to an equality with the reſt of the river;" and though the diſtance is upwards of 2000 miles from fort Pitt to the ſea, yet as there are no obſtructions to prevent veſſels from proceeding both day and night, I am perſuaded that this extraordinary inland voyage may be performed, during the ſeaſon of the floods, by rowing, in 16 or 17 days.

The navigation of the Ohio in a dry ſeaſon is rather troubleſome from fort Pitt to the Mingo town (about 75 miles), but from thence to the Miſſiſſippi there is always a ſufficient depth of water for barges carrying from 100 to 200 tons burden, built in the manner as thoſe are which are uſed on the river Thames between London and Oxford;—to wit, from 100 to 120 feet in the keel, 16 to 18 feet in breadth, and four feet in depth, and when loaded, drawing about three feet water.

The rapids, in a dry ſeaſon, are difficult to deſcend with loaded boats or barges, without a good pilot; it would be adviſeable therefore for the bargemen, in ſuch ſeaſons,

rather

rather than run any riſk in paſſing them, to unload part of their cargoes, and reſhip it when the barges have got through the rapids. It may however be proper to obſerve, that loaded boats in freſhes have been eaſily rowed againſt the ſtream up the rapids, and that others, by means only of a large ſail, have aſcended them.

In a dry ſeaſon, the deſcent of the rapids in the diſtance of a mile, is about 12 or 15 feet; and the paſſage down would not be difficult, except perhaps for the following reaſons: two miles above them the river is deep, and three quarters of a mile broad; but the channel is much contracted, and does not exceed 250 yards in breadth (near three-fourths of the bed of the river, on the ſouth-eaſtern ſide of it, being filled with a flat limeſtone rock, ſo that in a dry ſeaſon there is ſeldom more than ſix or eight inches water); it is upon the northern ſide of the river, and being confined as above mentioned, the deſcending waters tumble over the Rapids with a conſiderable degree of celerity and force. The channel is of different depths, but no where, I think, leſs than five feet: it is clear, and upon each ſide of it are large broken rocks, a few inches under water *. The rapids are nearly in latitude 38° 8; and the only indian village (in 1766) on the banks of the Ohio river between them and fort Pitt, was on the north-weſt ſide, 75 miles below Pittſburgh, called the Mingo town: it contained 60 families.

Moſt of the hills on both ſides of the Ohio are filled with excellent coal; and a coal-mine was in the year 1760 opened oppoſite to fort Pitt on the river Monongahela, for

* Colonel Gordon, in his journal down the Ohio, mentions, "that theſe falls do not deſerve that name, as the ſtream on the north ſide has no ſudden pitch, but only runs rapid over the ledge of a flat rock; ſeveral boats," he ſays, "paſſed it in the dryeſt ſeaſon of the year, unloading one-third of their freight. They paſſed on the north ſide, where the carrying-place is three quarters of a mile long. On the ſouth-eaſt ſide, it is about half that diſtance, and is reckoned the ſafeſt paſſage for thoſe who are unacquainted with it; but it is the moſt tedious, as during part of the ſummer and fall the batteaux-men drag their boats over the flat rock. The fall is about half a mile rapid water; which however is paſſable, by wading and dragging the boat againſt the ſtream, when loweſt, and with ſtill greater eaſe, when the water is raiſed a little."

See the annexed plan. It is a correct deſcription of theſe rapids, made by the editor on the ſpot, in the year 1776.

the

the uſe of that garriſon. Salt ſprings, as well as iron ore, and rich lead mines, are found bordering upon the river Ohio. One of the latter is opened on a branch of the Sioto river; and there the indian natives ſupply themſelves with a conſiderable part of the lead which they uſe in their wars, and hunting.

About 584 miles below fort Pitt, and on the eaſtern ſide of the Ohio river, about three miles from it, at the head of a ſmall creek or run, where are ſeveral large and miry ſalt ſprings, are found numbers of large bones, teeth, and tuſks, commonly ſuppoſed to be thoſe of elephants; but the celebrated doctor Hunter, of London, in his ingenious and curious obſervations on theſe bones, &c. has ſuppoſed them to belong to ſome carnivorous animal, larger than an ordinary elephant *.

On the north-weſtern ſide of Ohio, about 11 miles below the Cherokee river, on a high bank, are the remains of fort Maſſac, built by the French, and intended as a check to the ſouthern Indians. It was deſtroyed by them in the year 1763. This is a high, healthy, and delightful ſituation: a great variety of game; buffalo, bear, deer, &c. as well as ducks, geeſe, ſwans, turkies, pheaſants, partridges, &c. abounds in every part of this country.

The Ohio, and the rivers emptying into it, afford green and other turtle, and fiſh of various ſorts, particularly carp, ſturgeon, perch, and cats; the two latter of an uncommon ſize, viz. perch, from eight to twelve pounds weight, and cats from 50 to 100 pounds weight.

The lands upon the Ohio, and its branches, are differently timbered according to their quality and ſituation. The high and dry lands are covered with red, white, and black oak, hiccory, walnut, red and white mulberry, and aſh trees, grape-vines, &c. The low and meadow lands are filled with ſycamore, poplar, red and white mulberry, cherry, beech, elm, aſpin, maple, or ſugar-trees, grape-vines, &c. and below, or ſouthwardly of the rapids, are ſeveral large cedar and cypreſs ſwamps, where the cedar and cypreſs-trees grow to a remarkable ſize, and where alſo is a great abundance of canes, ſuch as grow in South-Carolina. The country on both ſides the Ohio, extending ſouth-eaſterly and ſouth-weſterly from fort Pitt to the Miſſiſſippi, and watered by the Ohio river and its branches, contains at leaſt

* See Philoſophical Tranſactions, 1768.

a mil-

a million of ſquare miles; and it may with truth be affirmed, that no part of the globe is bleſſed with a more healthful air or climate *; watered with more navigable rivers and branches communicating with the atlantic ocean, by the rivers Potowmac, James, Rappahannock, Miſſiſſippi, and St. Lawrence; or capable of producing with leſs labour and expence, wheat, indian corn, buck-wheat, rye, oats, barley, flax, hemp, tobacco, rice, ſilk, pot-aſh, &c. than the country under conſideration. And although there are conſiderable quantities of high lands for about 250 miles (on both ſides of the river Ohio) ſouthwardly from fort Pitt, yet even the ſummits of moſt of the hills are covered with a deep, rich ſoil, fit for the culture of flax and hemp; and it may alſo be added, that no ſoil can poſſibly yield larger crops of red and white clover, and other uſeful graſs, than this does.

On the north-weſt and ſouth-eaſt ſides of the Ohio, below the great Kanhaway river, at a little diſtance from it, are extenſive natural meadows, or ſavannas. Theſe meadows are from 20 to 50 miles in circuit. They have many beautiful groves of trees interſperſed as if by art in them, and which ſerve as a ſhelter for the innumerable herds of buffalo, deer, &c. with which they abound.

Having made theſe obſervations, I proceed to give a brief account of the ſeveral rivers and creeks which fall into the river Ohio.

Canawagy, when raiſed by freſhes, is paſſable with ſmall batteaux, to a little lake at its head; from thence there is a portage of 20 miles to lake Erie, at the mouth of Jadäghque. This portage is ſeldom uſed, becauſe Canawagy has ſcarcely any water in it in a dry ſeaſon.

* Colonel Gordon, in his journal, gives the following deſcription of the ſoil and climate: "The country on the Ohio, &c. is everywhere pleaſant, with large level ſpots of rich land, remarkably healthy.—One general remark of this nature may ſerve for the whole tract of the globe, comprehended between the weſtern ſkirts of the Allegany mountains, beginning at fort Ligonier, thence bearing ſouth-weſterly to the diſtance of 500 miles oppoſite to the Ohio falls, then croſſing them northerly to the heads of the rivers that empty themſelves into the Ohio; thence eaſt along the ridge that ſeparates the lakes and Ohio's ſtreams to French creek, which is oppoſite to the above-mentioned fort Ligonier, northerly. This country may, from a proper knowledge, be affirmed to be the moſt healthy, the moſt pleaſant, the moſt commodious, and moſt fertile ſpot of earth known to european people."

Bug-

Bughaloons is not navigable; but is remarkable for extenſive meadows bordering upon it.

French creek affords the neareſt paſſage to lake Erie. It is navigable with ſmall boats to Le Beuf, by a very crooked channel; the portage thence to Preſquile, from an adjoining peninſula, is 15 miles. This is the uſual route from Quebec to Ohio.

Licking and Lacomic creeks do not afford any navigation; but there is plenty of coals, and ſtones for building, in the hills which adjoin them.

Toby's creek is deep enough for batteaux for a conſiderable way up; thence, by a ſhort portage to the weſt branch of Suſquehannah, a good communication is carried on between Ohio and the eaſtern parts of Pennſylvania.

Moghulbughkitum is paſſable alſo by flat-bottom boats in the ſame manner as Toby's creek is to Suſquehannah, and from thence to all the ſettlements in Northumberland county, &c. in Pennſylvania.

Kiſhkeminetas is navigable in like manner as the preceding creeks, for between 40 and 50 miles, and good portages are found between Kiſhkeminetas, Juniatta, and Potowmac rivers. Coal and ſalt are diſcovered in the neighbourhood of theſe rivers.

Monongahela is a large river, and at its junction with the Allegany river ſtands fort Pitt. It is deep and gentle, and navigable with batteaux and barges beyond Red-ſtone creek, and ſtill farther with lighter craft. At 16 miles from its mouth, is Youghiogeny; this river is navigable with batteaux or barges to the foot of Laurel hill.

Beaver creek has water ſufficient for flat-bottom boats. At Kiſhkuſkes (about 16 miles up) are two branches of this creek, which ſpread oppoſite ways; one interlocks with French creek and Cherâge, the other with Muſkingum and Cayahoga; on this branch, about 35 miles above the forks, are many ſalt-ſprings. It is practicable with canoes about 20 miles farther.

Muſkingum is a fine gentle river, confined by high banks, which prevent its floods from overflowing the ſurrounding land. It is 250 yards wide at its confluence with the Ohio, and navigable, without any obſtructions, by large batteaux or barges, to the Three Legs's, and by ſmall ones to a little lake at its head.

From thence to Cayahoga (the creek that leads to lake Erie) the Cayahoga is muddy, and not very ſwift, but not where

where obſtructed with falls or rifts. Here are fine uplands, extenſive meadows, oak and mulberry trees fit for ſhip-building, and walnut, chefnut, and poplar trees ſuitable for domeſtic ſervices. Cayahoga furniſhes the beſt portage between Ohio and lake Erie; at its mouth it is wide and deep enough to receive large ſloops from the lake. It will hereafter be a place of great importance.

Muſkingum, in all its wide-extended branches, is ſurrounded by moſt excellent land, and abounds in ſprings, and conveniences particularly adapted to ſettlements remote from ſea navigation; ſuch as ſalt-ſprings, coal, clay, and freeſtone. In 1748 a coal-mine oppoſite to Lamenſhicola mouth took fire, and continued burning above twelve months; but great quantities of coal ſtill remain in it. Near the ſame place are excellent whetſtones, and about eight miles higher up the river is plenty of white and blue clay for glaſs-works and pottery.

Hockhocking is navigable with large flat-bottom boats between 70 and 80 miles; it has fine meadows with high banks, which ſeldom overflow, and rich uplands on its borders. Coal, and quarries of freeſtone, are found about 15 miles up this creek.

Big Kanhaway falls into the Ohio upon its ſouth-eaſtern ſide, and is ſo conſiderable a branch of this river, that it may be miſtaken for the Ohio itſelf by perſons aſcending it. It is ſlow for ten miles, to little broken hills; the low land is very rich, and about the ſame breadth (from the Pipe hills to the falls) as upon the Ohio. After going ten miles up Kanhaway the land is hilly, and the water a little rapid for 50 or 60 miles further to the falls, yet batteaux or barges may be eaſily rowed thither. Theſe falls were formerly thought impaſſable; but late diſcoveries have proved, that a waggon-road may be made through the mountain which occaſions the falls, and that by a portage of a few miles only, a communication may be had between the waters of great Kanhaway and Ohio, and thoſe of James river in Virginia.

Tottery lies upon the ſouth-eaſtern ſide of the Ohio, and is navigable with batteaux to the Ouaſioto mountains. It is a long river, has few branches, and interlocks with Red creek, or Clinch's river (a branch of the Cherokee), and has below the mountains, eſpecially for 15 miles from its mouth, very good land. Here is a perceptible difference of climate between the upper and this part of Ohio. Here the large

large reed or Carolina cane grows in plenty, even upon the upland, and the winter is ſo moderate as not to deſtroy it. The ſame moderation of climate continues down Ohio, eſpecially on the ſouth-eaſt ſide, to the rapids, and thence on both ſides of that river to the Miſſiſſippi.

Great Salt lick creek is remarkable for fine land, plenty of buffaloes, ſalt-ſprings, white clay, and limeſtone. Small boats may go to the croſſing of the war-path without any impediment. The ſalt-ſprings render the waters unfit for drinking, but the plenty of freſh ſprings in their vicinity make ſufficient amends for this inconvenience.

Kentucky is larger than the preceding creek; it is ſurrounded with high clay banks, fertile lands, and large ſalt-ſprings. Its navigation is interrupted by ſhoals, but paſſable with ſmall boats to the gap, where the war-path goes through the Ouaſioto mountains.

Sioto is a large gentle river, bordered with rich flats, or meadows. It overflows in the ſpring, and then ſpreads about half a mile, though when confined within its banks it is ſcarce a furlong wide.

If it floods early, it ſeldom retires within its banks in leſs than a month, and is not fordable frequently in leſs than two months.

The Sioto, beſides having a great extent of moſt excellent land on both ſides of the river, is furniſhed with ſalt, on an eaſtern branch, and red bole on Necunſia Skeintat. The ſtream of Sioto is gentle, and paſſable with large batteaux or barges for a conſiderable way, and with ſmaller boats, near 200 miles, to a portage of only four miles to Sanduſky.

Sanduſky is a conſiderable river abounding in level land, its ſtream gentle all the way to the mouth, where it is large enough to receive ſloops. The northern Indians croſs lake Erie here from iſland to iſland, land at Sanduſky, and go by a direct path to the lower Shawanoe town, and thence to the gap of the Ouaſioto mountain, in their way to the Cuttawa country.

Little Mineami river is too ſmall to navigate with batteaux. It has much fine land and ſeveral ſalt-ſprings; its high banks and gentle current prevent its much overflowing the ſurrounding lands in freſhes.

Great Mineami, Aſſereniet, or Rocky river, has a very ſtony channel; a ſwift ſtream, but no falls. It has ſeveral large branches, paſſable with boats a great way; one extending weſtward towards the Wabaſh river, another towards

wards a branch of Mineami river (which runs into lake Erie), to which there is a portage; and a third has a portage to the weſt branch of Sanduſky, beſides Mad creek, where the French formerly eſtabliſhed themſelves. Riſing ground, here and there a little ſtony, which begins in the northern part of the peninſula, between the lakes Erie, Huron, and Michigan, and extends acroſs little Mineami river below the forks, and ſouthwardly along the Rocky river, to Ohio.

Buffalo river falls into the Ohio on the eaſtern ſide of it, at the diſtance of 925 computed miles from fort Pitt. It is a very conſiderable branch of the Ohio; is 200 yards wide, navigable upwards of 150 miles for batteaux or barges of 30 feet long, five feet broad, and three feet deep, carrying about ſeven tons, and can be navigated much farther with large canoes. The ſtream is moderate. The lands on both ſides of this river are of a moſt luxuriant quality, for the production of hemp, flax, wheat, tobacco, &c. They are covered with a great variety of lofty and uſeful timber; as oak, hiccory, mulberry, elm, &c. Several perſons who have aſcended this river, ſay that ſalt-ſprings, coal, lime, and free-ſtone, &c. are to be found in a variety of places.

The Wabaſh is a beautiful river, with high and upright banks, leſs ſubject to overflow than any other river (the Ohio excepted) in this part of America. It diſcharges itſelf into the Ohio 1022 miles below fort Pitt, in latitude 37° 41′. At its mouth it is 270 yards wide; is navigable to Ouiatanon (412 miles) in the ſpring, ſummer, and autumn, with batteaux or barges drawing about three feet water. From thence, on account of a rocky bottom and ſhoal water, large canoes are chiefly employed, except when the river is ſwelled with rains, at which time it may be aſcended with boats, ſuch as I have juſt deſcribed, 197 miles further, to the Miami carrying-place, which is nine miles from the Miami village; and this is ſituated on a river of the ſame name, that runs into the ſouth-ſouth-weſt part of lake Erie. The ſtream of the Wabaſh is generally gentle to fort Ouiatanon, and nowhere obſtructed with falls, but is by ſeveral rapids, both above and below that fort, ſome of which are pretty conſiderable. There is alſo a part of the river for about three miles, and 30 miles from the carrying-place, where the channel is ſo narrow that it is neceſſary to make uſe of ſetting poles, inſtead of oars. The land on this river is remarkably fertile, and ſeveral parts of it are natural meadows, of great extent, covered with fine long graſs. The timber

is

is large and high, and in ſuch variety, that almoſt all the different kinds growing upon the Ohio, and its branches (but with a greater proportion of black and white mulberry trees), may be found here. A ſilver mine has been diſcovered about 28 miles above Ouiatanon, on the northern ſide of the Wabaſh, and probably others may be found hereafter. The Wabaſh abounds with ſalt-ſprings, and any quantity of ſalt may be made from them, in the manner now done at the Saline in the Illinois country: the hills are repleniſhed with the beſt coal, and there is plenty of lime and free-ſtone, blue, yellow, and white clay, for glaſs-works and pottery. Two french ſettlements are eſtabliſhed on the Wabaſh, called poſt Vincent and Ouiatanon; the firſt is 150 miles, and the other 262 miles from its mouth. The former is on the eaſtern ſide of the river, and conſiſts of 60 ſettlers and their families. They raiſe indian corn, wheat; and tobacco of an extraordinary good quality —ſuperior, it is ſaid, to that produced in Virginia. They have a fine breed of horſes (brought originally by the Indians from the ſpaniſh ſettlements on the weſtern ſide of the river Miſſiſſippi), and large ſtocks of ſwine and black cattle. The ſettlers deal with the natives for furs and deer-ſkins, to the amount of about 5000l. annually. Hemp of a good texture grows ſpontaneouſly in the low lands of the Wabaſh, as do grapes in the greateſt abundance, having a black, thin ſkin, and of which the inhabitants in the autumn make a ſufficient quantity (for their own conſumption) of well-taſted red wine. Hops, large and good, are found in many places, and the lands are particularly adapted to the culture of rice. All european fruits—apples, peaches, pears, cherries, currants, gooſeberries, melons, &c. thrive well, both here, and in the country bordering on the river Ohio.

Ouiatanon is a ſmall ſtockaded fort on the weſtern ſide of the Wabaſh, in which about a dozen families reſide. The neighbouring Indians are the Kickapoos, Muſquitons, Piankaſhaws, and a principal part of the Ouiatanons. The whole of theſe tribes conſiſts, it is ſuppoſed, of about 1000 warriors. The fertility of ſoil and diverſity of timber in this country, are the ſame as in the vicinity of poſt Vincent. The annual amount of ſkins and furs obtained at Ouiatanon is about 8000l. By the river Wabaſh, the inhabitants of Detroit move to the ſouthern parts of Ohio and the Illinois country. Their route is by the Miami river to a carrying-place, which, as before ſtated, is nine miles to the Wa-

baſh, when this river is raiſed with freſhes; but at other ſeaſons, the diſtance is from 18 to 30 miles, including the portage. The whole of the latter is through a level country. Carts are uſually employed in tranſporting boats and merchandiſe from the Miami to the Wabaſh river.

The Shawanoe river empties itſelf on the eaſtern ſide of Ohio, about 95 miles ſouthwardly of the Wabaſh river. It is 250 yards wide at its mouth, has been navigated 180 miles in batteaux of the conſtruction of thoſe mentioned in the preceding article, and from the depth of water, at that diſtance from its mouth, it is preſumed it may be navigated much further. The ſoil and timber of the lands upon this river are exactly the ſame as thoſe upon Buffalo river.

The Cherokee river diſcharges itſelf into the Ohio on the ſame ſide that the Shawanoe river does; that is, 13 miles below or ſoutherly of it, and 11 miles above or northerly of the place where fort Maſſiac formerly ſtood, and 57 miles from the confluence of the Ohio with the river Miſſiſſippi. The Cherokee river has been navigated 900 miles from its mouth. At the diſtance of 220 miles from thence, it widens from 400 yards (its general width) to between two and three miles, and continues this breadth for near 30 miles farther. The whole of this diſtance is called the Muſcle ſhoals. Here the channel is obſtructed with a number of iſlands, formed by trees and drifted wood, brought hither at different ſeaſons of the year, in freſhes and floods. In paſſing theſe iſlands, the middle of the wideſt intermediate water is to be navigated, as there it is deepeſt. From the mouth of the Cherokee river to Muſcle ſhoals the current is moderate, and both the high and low lands are rich, and abundantly covered with oaks, walnut, ſugar-trees, hiccory, &c. About 200 miles above theſe ſhoals is, what is called, the whirl, or ſuck, occaſioned, I imagine, by the high mountain, which there confines the river (ſuppoſed to be the Laurel mountain). The whirl, or ſuck, continues rapid for about three miles: its width about 50 yards. Aſcending the Cherokee river, and at about 100 miles from the ſuck, and upon the ſouth-eaſtern ſide of that river, is Highwaſee river. Vaſt tracts of level and rich land border on this river; but at a ſmall diſtance from it, the country is much broken, and ſome parts of it produce only pine-trees. Forty miles higher up the Cherokee river on the north-weſtern ſide, is Clinch's river. It is 150 yards wide, and about 50 miles up it ſeveral families are ſettled. From Clinch's

Clinch's to Tenaſee river is 100 miles. It comes in on the eaſtern ſide, and is 250 yards wide. About ten miles up this river is a Cherokee town, called Chota, and further up this branch are ſeveral other indian towns, poſſeſſed by Indians called the over-hill Cherokees. The navigation of this branch is much interrupted by rocks, as is alſo the river called Frenchbroad, which comes into the Cherokee river 50 miles above the Tenaſee, and on the ſame ſide. One hundred and fifty miles above Frenchbroad is Long iſland (three miles in length); and from thence to the ſource of the Cherokee river is 60 miles, and the whole diſtance is ſo rocky, as to be ſcarcely navigable with a canoe.

By the Cherokee river, the emigrants from the frontier counties of Virginia and North-Carolina paſs to the ſettlements in Weſt-Florida upon the river Miſſiſſippi. They embark at Long iſland.

I now proceed to give a deſcription of that part of my map called the Illinois country, lying between the Miſſiſſippi weſterly, the Illinois river northerly, the Wabaſh eaſterly, and the Ohio ſoutherly.

The land at the confluence or fork of the rivers Miſſiſſippi and Ohio, is above 20 feet higher than the common ſurface of theſe rivers; yet ſo conſiderable are the ſpring floods, that it is generally overflowed for about a week, as are the lands for ſeveral miles back in the country. The ſoil at the fork is compoſed of mud, earth, and ſand, accumulated from the Ohio and Miſſiſſippi rivers. It is exceedingly fertile, and in its natural ſtate yields hemp, pea-vines, graſs, &c. and a great variety of trees, and in particular, the aſpen tree of an unuſual height and thickneſs.

For 25 miles up the Miſſiſſippi (from the Ohio) the country is rich, level, and well timbered; and then ſeveral gentle riſing grounds appear, which gradually diminiſh at the diſtance of between four and five miles eaſtward from the river. From thence to the Kaſkaſkias river is 65 miles. The country is a mixture of hills and vallies; ſome of the former are rocky and ſteep; but they, as well as the vallies, are ſhaded with fine oaks, hiccory, walnut, aſh, and mulberry-trees, &c. Some of the high grounds afford moſt pleaſant ſituations for ſettlements. Their elevated and airy poſitions, together with the great luxuriance of the ſoil, everywhere yielding plenty of good graſs and uſeful plants,

Engraved for Imlay's American Topography.

T. Conder Sculp.

London, Published June 1st 1795, by J. Debrett, Piccadilly.

promiſe conſtant health, and ample returns, to induſtrious ſettlers.

Many quarries of lime, free-ſtone, and marble, have been diſcovered in this part of the country.

Several creeks and rivers fall into the Miſſiſſippi, in the above diſtance (of 65 miles), but no remarkable ones, except the rivers a Vaſe and Kaſkaſkias; the former is navigable for batteaux about 60, and the latter for about 130 miles. Both theſe rivers run through a rich country, abounding in extenſive natural meadows, and numberleſs herds of buffalo, deer, &c.

The high grounds juſt mentioned, continue along the eaſtern ſide of the Kaſkaſkias river at a ſmall diſtance from it, for the ſpace of five miles and a half, to the Kaſkaſkias village; then they incline more towards that river, and run nearly parallel with the eaſtern bank of the Miſſiſſippi, at the diſtance of about three miles in ſome parts, and four miles in other parts from it. Theſe are principally compoſed of lime and free-ſtone, and are from 100 to 130 feet high, divided in ſeveral places by deep cavities, through which many ſmall rivulets paſs before they fall into the Miſſiſſippi. The ſides of theſe hills, fronting this river, are in many places perpendicular, and appear like ſolid pieces of ſtone-maſonry, of various colours, figures, and ſizes.

The low land between the hills and the Miſſiſſippi, begins on the north ſide of Kaſkaſkias river, and continues for three miles above the river Miſouri, where a high ridge terminates it, and forms the eaſtern bank of the Miſſiſſippi. This interval land is level, has few trees, and is of a very rich ſoil, yielding ſhrubs and moſt fragrant flowers, which, added to the number and extent of meadows and ponds diſperſed through this charming valley, render it exceedingly beautiful and agreeable.

In this vale ſtand the following villages, viz. Kaſkaſkias, which, as already mentioned, is five miles and a half up a river of the ſame name, running northerly and ſoutherly. This village contains 80 houſes, many of them well built; ſeveral of ſtone, with gardens, and large lots adjoining. It conſiſts of about 500 white inhabitants, and between 4 and 500 negroes. The former have large ſtocks of black cattle, ſwine, &c.

Three miles northerly of Kaſkaſkias, is a village of Illinois Indians (of the Kaſkaſkias tribe), containing about 210 perſons

ſons and 60 warriors. They were formerly brave and warlike, but are degenerated into a drunken and debauched tribe, and ſo indolent, as ſcarcely to procure a ſufficiency of ſkins and furs to barter for clothing.

Nine miles further northward than the laſt mentioned village, is another called la Prairie du rocher (or the Rock meadows). It conſiſts of 100 white inhabitants, and 80 negroes.

Three miles northerly of this place, on the banks of the Miſſiſſippi, ſtood fort Chartres. It was abandoned in the year 1772, as it was rendered untenable by the conſtant waſhings of the river Miſſiſſippi in high floods. The village of fort Chartres, a little ſouthward of the fort, contained ſo few inhabitants, as not to deſerve my notice.

One mile higher up the Miſſiſſippi than fort Chartres, is a village ſettled by 170 warriors of the Piorias and Mitchigamias (two other tribes of the Illinois Indians). They are as idle and debauched as the tribe of Kaſkaſkias, which I have juſt deſcribed.

Four miles higher than the preceding village, is St. Philip's. It was formerly inhabited by about a dozen families, but at preſent is poſſeſſed only by two or three. The others have retired to the weſtern ſide of the Miſſiſſippi.

Forty-five miles further northwards than St. Philip's (and one mile up a ſmall river, on the ſouthern ſide of it), ſtands the village of Cahokia. It has 50 houſes, many of them well built, and 300 inhabitants, poſſeſſing 80 negroes, and large ſtocks of black cattle, ſwine, &c.

Four miles above Cahokia, on the weſtern, or ſpaniſh ſide of the Miſſiſſippi, ſtands the village of St. Louis, on a high piece of ground. It is the moſt healthy and pleaſurable ſituation of any known in this part of the country. Here the ſpaniſh commandant, and the principal indian traders, reſide; who by conciliating the affections of the natives, have drawn all the indian trade of the Miſouri, part of that of the Miſſiſſippi (northwards) and of the tribes of Indians reſiding near the Oniſconſing and Illinois rivers, to this village. In St. Louis are 120 houſes, moſtly built of ſtone. They are large and commodious. This village has 800 inhabitants, chiefly french; ſome of them have had a liberal education, are polite and hoſpitable. They have about 150 negroes, and large ſtocks of black cattle, &c.

Twelve miles below, or ſoutherly of fort Chartres, on the weſtern bank of the Miſſiſſippi, and nearly oppoſite to the village of Kaſkaſkias, is the village of St. Genevieve or

Miſſire. It contains upwards of 100 houſes, and 460 inhabitants, beſides negroes. This and St. Louis are all the villages that are upon the weſtern, or ſpaniſh ſide of the Miſſiſſippi.

Four miles below St. Genevieve (on the weſtern bank of the Miſſiſſippi), at the mouth of a creek, is a hamlet called the Saline. Here all the ſalt is made, which is uſed in the Illinois country, from a ſalt-ſpring that is at this place *. The ridge which forms the eaſtern bank of the Miſſiſſippi above the Miſouri river continues northerly to the Illinois river, and then directs its courſe along the eaſtern ſide of that river for about 220 miles, when it declines in gentle ſlopes, and ends in extenſive rich ſavannas. On the top of this ridge, at the mouth of the Illinois river, is an agreeable and commanding ſituation for a fort; and though the ridge is high and ſteep (about 130 feet high), and rather difficult to aſcend, yet when aſcended, it affords a moſt delightful proſpect. The Miſſiſſippi is diſtinctly ſeen from its ſummit for more than 20 miles, as are the beautiful meanderings of the Illinois river, for many leagues; next a level, fruitful meadow preſents itſelf, of at leaſt 100 miles in circuit on the weſtern ſide of the Miſſiſſippi, watered by ſeveral lakes, and ſhaded by ſmall groves or copſes of trees, ſcattered in different parts of it; and then the eye, with rapture, ſurveys, as well the high lands bordering upon the river Miſouri, as thoſe at a greater diſtance up the Miſſiſſippi. In fine, this charming ridge is covered with excellent graſs, large oak, walnut-trees, &c. and at the diſtance of about nine miles from the Miſſiſſippi, up the Illinois river, are ſeen many large ſavannas or meadows abounding in buffalo, deer, &c.

* In the ſeveral villages on and near the Miſſiſſippi, which I have juſt deſcribed (and which are delineated in the annexed plan), there were in the year 1771, 1273 fencible men. To wit—

On the eaſtern ſide of the Miſſiſſippi,	French	300
	Negroes	230
On the weſtern ſide of the Miſſiſſippi,		
At St. Genevieve,	French	208
	Negroes	80
At St. Louis,	French	415
	Negroes	40
		1273

In

In aſcending the Miſſiſſippi, Cape au Gres particularly attracted my attention. It is about eight leagues above the Illinois river, on the eaſtern ſide of the Miſſiſſippi, and continues above five leagues on that river. There is a gradual deſcent back to delightful meadows, and to beautiful and fertile uplands, watered by ſeveral rivulets, which fall into the Illinois river between 30 and 40 miles from its entrance into the Miſſiſſippi and into the latter at Cape au Gres. The diſtance from the Miſſiſſippi to the river Illinois acroſs the country, is leſſened or increaſed, according to the windings of the former river; the ſmalleſt diſtance is at Cape au Gres, and there it is between four and five miles. The lands in this intermediate ſpace between the above two rivers are rich almoſt beyond parallel, covered with large oaks, walnut, &c. and not a ſtone is to be ſeen, except upon the ſides of the river. It is even acknowledged by the french inhabitants, that if ſettlements were only begun at Cape au Gres, thoſe upon the ſpaniſh ſide of the Miſſiſſippi would be abandoned, as the former would excite a conſtant ſucceſſion of ſettlers, and intercept all the trade of the upper Miſſiſſippi.

The Illinois river furniſhes a communication with lake Michigan, by the Chicago river, and by two portages between the latter and the Illinois river; the longeſt of which does not exceed four miles.

The Illinois country is in general of a ſuperior ſoil to any other part of North America that I have ſeen. It produces fine oak, hiccory, cedar, mulberry-trees, &c. ſome dying roots and medicinal plants; hops, and excellent wild grapes; and, in the year 1769, 110 hogſheads of well-taſted and ſtrong wine were made by the french ſettlers from theſe grapes. A large quantity of ſugar is alſo annually made from the juice of the maple-tree; and as the mulberry-trees are large and numerous, I preſume the making of ſilk will employ the attention and induſtry of the ſettlers, when the country is more fully inhabited than it is at preſent, and eſpecially as the winters are much more moderate, and favourable for the breed of ſilk-worms, than they are in many of the ſea-coaſt provinces. Indigo may likewiſe be ſucceſsfully cultivated (but not more than two cuttings in a year); wheat, peas, and indian corn thrive well, as does every ſort of grain and pulſe, that is produced in any of the old colonies. Great quantities of tobacco are alſo yearly raiſed by the inhabitants of the Illinois, both for their own conſumption and that of the Indians; but little has hitherto been exported

ported to Europe. Hemp grows ſpontaneouſly, and is of a good texture; its common height is ten feet, and its thickneſs three inches (the latter reckoned within about a foot of the root), and with little labour any quantity may be cultivated. Flax ſeed has hitherto been only raiſed in ſmall quantities. There has however been enough produced to ſhew that it may be ſown to the greateſt advantage. Apples, pears, peaches, and all other european fruits, ſucceed admirably. Iron, copper, and lead mines, as alſo ſalt-ſprings, have been diſcovered in different parts of this territory. The two latter are worked on the ſpaniſh ſide of the Miſſiſſippi, with conſiderable advantage to their owners. There is plenty of fiſh in the rivers, particularly cat, carp, and perch, of an uncommon ſize. Savannas, or natural meadows, are both numerous and extenſive; yielding excellent graſs, and feeding great herds of buffalo, deer, &c. Ducks, teal, geeſe, ſwans, cranes, pelicans, turkies, pheaſants, partridges, &c. ſuch as are ſeen in the ſea-coaſt colonies, are in the greateſt variety and abundance. In ſhort, every thing that a reaſonable mind can deſire, is to be found, or may with little pains be produced here *.

Niagara fort is a moſt important poſt. It ſecures a greater number of communications, through a larger country, than probably any other paſs in interior America; it ſtands at the entrance of a ſtrait, by which lake Ontario is joined to lake Erie, and the latter is connected with the three great lakes Huron, Michigan, and Superior. About nine miles above fort Niagara the carrying-place begins. It is occaſioned by the ſtupendous cataract of that name. The quantity of water that tumbles over this fall is unparalleled in America; its height is not leſs than 137 feet. This fall would interrupt the communication between the lakes Ontario and Erie, if a road was not made up the hilly country that borders upon the ſtrait. This road extends to a ſmall poſt eighteen miles from fort Niagara. Here the traveller embarks in a batteau or canoe, and proceeds 18 miles to a ſmall fort at lake Erie. It may be proper alſo to add, that at the end of the firſt two miles in the laſt mentioned diſtance of 18 miles, the ſtream of the river is divided by a large iſland, above nine miles in length; and at the upper end of it, about a mile from lake Erie, are three or

* See the annexed plan of the villages in the Illinois country, &c. and ſee Mr. P. Kennedy's journal hereunto annexed, for a farther account thereof.

four

four iſlands, not far from each other. Theſe iſlands, by interrupting and confining the waters diſcharged from the lake, greatly increaſe the rapidity of the ſtream; which indeed is ſo violent, that the ſtiffeſt gale is ſcarcely ſufficient to enable a large veſſel to ſtem it: but it is ſucceſsfully reſiſted in ſmall batteaux or canoes, that are rowed near the ſhore.

Lake Erie is about 225 miles in length, and upon a medium about 40 miles in breadth. It affords a good navigation for ſhipping of any burden. The coaſt on both ſides of the lake is generally favourable for the paſſage of batteaux and canoes. Its banks in many places have a flat ſandy ſhore, particularly to the eaſtward of the peninſula called Long point, which extends into the lake in a ſouth-eaſtern direction for upwards of 18 miles, and is not more than five miles wide in the broadeſt part; but the iſthmus, by which it joins the continent, is ſcarcely 200 yards wide. The peninſula is compoſed of ſand, and is very convenient to haul boats out of the ſurf upon (as is almoſt every other part of the ſhore) when the lake is too rough for rowing or ſailing; yet there are ſome places, where, in boiſterous weather (on account of their great perpendicular height), it would be dangerous to approach, and impoſſible to land.

Lake Erie has a great variety of fine fiſh, ſuch as ſturgeon, eel, white fiſh, trout, perch, &c.

The country northward of this lake is in many parts ſwelled with moderate hills, but no high mountains. The climate is temperate, and the air healthful. The lands are well timbered (but not generally ſo rich as thoſe upon the ſouthern ſide of the lake); and for a conſiderable diſtance from it, and for ſeveral miles eaſtward of Cayahoga river, they appear quite level, and extremely fertile; and except where extenſive ſavannas, or natural meadows, intervene, are covered with large oaks, walnut, aſh, hiccory, mulberry, ſaſſafras, &c. and produce a great variety of ſhrubs and medicinal roots. Here alſo is great plenty of buffalo, deer, turkies, partridges, &c.

Fort Detroit is of an oblong figure, built with ſtockades, and advantageouſly ſituated, with one entire ſide commanding the river called Detroit. This fort is near a mile in circumference, and encloſes about 100 houſes, built in a regular manner, with parallel ſtreets, croſſing each other at right angles. Its ſituation is delightful, and in the centre of a pleaſant, fruitful country.

The ſtrait Saint Clair (commonly called the Detroit river)

river) is at its entrance more than three miles wide; but in aſcending it, its width perceptibly diminiſhes, ſo that oppoſite to the fort (which is 18 miles from lake Erie) it does not exceed half a mile in width. From thence to lake St. Clair it widens more than a mile. The channel of the ſtrait is gentle and wide, and deep enough for ſhipping of great burden, although it is incommoded by ſeveral iſlands; one of which is more than ſeven miles in length. Theſe iſlands are of a fertile ſoil, and from their ſituation afford a very agreeable appearance. For eight miles below, and the ſame diſtance above fort Detroit, on both ſides of the river, the country is divided into regular and well-cultivated plantations; and from the contiguity of the farmers' houſes to each other, they appear as two long-extended villages. The inhabitants, who are moſtly French, are about 2000 in number; 500 of whom are as good markſmen, and as well accuſtomed to the woods, as the indian natives themſelves. They raiſe large ſtocks of black cattle, and great quantities of corn, which they grind by wind-mills, and manufacture into excellent flour. The chief trade of Detroit conſiſts in a barter of coarſe european goods with the natives for furs, deer-ſkins, tallow, &c.

The route from lake St. Clair to lake Huron is up a ſtrait or river about 400 yards wide. This river derives itſelf from lake Huron, and at the diſtance of 33 miles loſes itſelf in lake St. Clair. It is in general rapid, but particularly ſo near its ſource; its channel, and alſo that of lake St. Clair, are ſufficiently deep for ſhipping of very conſiderable burden. This ſtrait has ſeveral mouths, and the lands lying between them are fine meadows. The country on both ſides of it, for 15 miles, has a very level appearance; but from thence to lake Huron, it is in many places broken, and covered with white pines, oaks, maple, birch, and beech.

Mr. Patrick Kennedy's journal of an expedition undertaken by himſelf and ſeveral coureurs de bois in the year 1773, from Kaſkaſkias village in the Illinois country, to the head waters of the Illinois river.

"JULY 23, 1773. We ſet out from Kaſkaſkias in ſearch of a copper mine, and on the 31ſt reached the Illinois river; it is 84 miles from Kaſkaſkias. The ſame day we entered

entered the Illinois river, which is 18 miles above that of the Miſſouri. The water was ſo low, and the ſides of the river ſo full of weeds, that our progreſs was much interrupted, being obliged to row our boat in the deep water, and ſtrong current. The chain of rocks and high hills which begin at the Piaſas about three miles above the Miſſouri, extend to the mouth of the Illinois river, and continue along the ſouth-eaſtern ſide of the ſame in an eaſt-north-eaſt courſe. About 18 miles up this river, on the eaſtern ſide, is a little river called by the natives Macopin or White potatoe river; it is 20 yards wide, and navigable nine miles to the hills. The ſhore is low on both ſides; the timber, bois connu, or paccan, maple, aſh, button-wood, &c. The courſe of the Illinois river here is N. N. E; the land is well timbered, and covered with high weeds. There are fine meadows at a little diſtance from the river; the banks of which do not crumble away as thoſe of the Miſſiſſippi do. We paſſed numbers of ſmall iſlands, ſome of them between nine and twelve miles in length, and three miles in breadth.—The general width of the river in this day's journey was about 400 yards.

"Auguſt 1. About twelve o'clock, we ſtopped at the Piorias wintering ground. About a quarter of a mile from the river, on the eaſtern ſide of it, is a meadow of many miles long, and five or ſix miles broad. In this meadow are many ſmall lakes, communicating with each other, and by which there are paſſages for ſmall boats or canoes, and one in particular leads to the Illinois river: the timber in general very tall oaks. We met with ſome beautiful iſlands in this part of the river (48 miles from the Miſſiſſippi), and great plenty of buffalo and deer.

"Auguſt 2. At one o'clock we paſſed an iſland called Pierre. A fleche or arrow ſtone is gotten by the Indians from a high hill on the weſtern ſide of the river near the above iſland; with this ſtone the natives make their gun-flints, and point their arrows. Half a league above this iſland, on the eaſtern ſide of it, the meadows border on the river, and continue ſeveral miles; the land is remarkably rich, and well watered with ſmall rivulets from the neighbouring hills. The banks of the river are high, the water clear, and at the bottom of the river are white marl and ſand.

"Auguſt 3. Paſſed the Mine river. It comes into the Illinois river on the north-weſtern ſide of it, 120 miles from the Miſſiſſippi. It is 50 yards wide, and very rapid.

"Auguſt

"Auguſt 4. Here the land on both ſides of the Illinois river is low, but riſes gradually. The prairie or meadow-ground on the eaſtern ſide, is at leaſt 20 miles wide; it is fine land for tillage, or for grazing cattle, and is well watered with a number of ſprings. About 12 o'clock we paſſed the river Sagamond, 135 miles from the Miſſiſſippi. It is a river 100 yards wide, and navigable for ſmall boats or canoes upwards of 180 miles; and about ſun-ſet we paſſed the river Demi-Quian. It comes in on the weſtern ſide of the Illinois river (165 miles from the Miſſiſſippi); is 50 yards wide, and navigable 120 miles. We encamped on the ſouth-eaſtern ſide of the Illinois river, oppoſite to a very large ſavanna, belonging to, and called, the Demi-Quian ſwamp. The lands on the ſouth-eaſtern ſide are high and thinly timbered; but at the place of our encampment are fine meadows, extending farther than the eye can reach, and affording a delightful proſpect. The low lands on the weſtern ſide of the Illinois river, extend ſo far back from it, that no high grounds can be ſeen. Here is plenty of buffalo, deer, elk, turkies, &c.

"Auguſt 5. It rained all day, which detained us till the evening, when we embarked, and rowed till dark; in our way we paſſed the lake Demi-Quian, 200 yards weſt from the river of that name; it is of a circular figure, ſix miles acroſs, and diſcharges itſelf by a ſmall paſſage four feet deep into the Illinois river. This lake is 171 miles from the Miſſiſſippi. The general courſe of the Illinois river varies very little; it rather however inclines to the eaſtward. The lands are much the ſame as before deſcribed, only the prairies (meadows) extend further from the river. By our reckoning, we are 177 miles from the Miſſiſſippi.

"Auguſt 6. Set out early, and at 11 o'clock we paſſed the Seſeme-Quian river. It is on the weſtern ſide of the Illinois river; is 40 yards wide, and navigable 60 miles; the land bordering on this river is very good. About four o'clock we paſſed the river De la March (on the weſtern ſide alſo of the Illinois river); it is 30 yards wide, and navigable about eight or nine miles only. Though the De la March is not ſo long as the Seſeme-Quian, yet it is much handſomer. Theſe rivers are about nine miles diſtant from each other. Here the land begins to riſe gradually on the weſtern bank. At ſun-ſet we paſſed a river called Michilimackinac. It is on the ſouth-eaſtern ſide of the Illinois river; is 50 yards wide, navigable for about 90 miles, and

has

has between 30 and 40 ſmall iſlands at its mouth; which at a diſtance appear like a ſmall village. On the banks of this river is plenty of good timber, viz. red and white cedar, pine, maple, walnut, &c; and finding ſome pieces of coal, I was induced to walk up the river a few miles, though not far enough, to reach a coal-mine. In many places I alſo found clinkers, which inclined me to think that a coal-mine, not far diſtant, was on fire, and I have ſince heard there was. The land is high on the eaſtern bank of the river, but on the weſtern are large plains or meadows, extending as far as can be ſeen, covered with fine graſs. This river is 195 miles from the Miſſiſſippi.

"Auguſt 7. The morning being very foggy, and the river overgrown with weeds along its ſides, we could make but little way. About 12 o'clock we got to the old Pioria fort and village on the weſtern ſhore of the river, and at the ſouthern end of a lake called the Illinois lake; which is 19 miles and a half in length, and three miles in breadth. It has no rocks, ſhoals, or perceivable current. We found the ſtockades of this Pioria fort deſtroyed by fire, but the houſes ſtanding. The ſummit on which the fort ſtood, commands a fine proſpect of the country to the eaſtward, and up the lake to the point where the river comes in at the north end; to the weſtward are large meadows. In the lake is great plenty of fiſh, and in particular, ſturgeon, and picannau. On the eaſtern ſide of the lake, about the middle of it, the chain of rocks, that extends from the back of Kaſkaſkias, to Cahokia, Piaſa, the mouth of the Illinois river, &c. terminates. The country to the weſtward is low and very level, covered with graſs, weeds, flags, &c. Here is abundance of cherry, plum, and other fruit-trees. This lake is 210 miles from the Miſſiſſippi.

"Auguſt 8. The wind being fair we made a ſail of our tent, and reached the upper end of the lake by ſun-ſet; and the wind continuing fair we aſcended the river, and about four o'clock paſſed Crows-meadows river, which comes from the eaſtward; and over againſt it, on the weſt ſide, are the meadows juſt mentioned, 240 miles from the Miſſiſſippi. This river is 20 yards wide, and navigable between 15 and 18 miles. The land on both ſides of the Illinois river, for 27 or 30 miles above the lake, is generally low and full of ſwamps, ſome a mile wide, bordered with fine meadows, and in ſome places the high land comes to the river in points, or narrow necks.

"Auguſt

"Auguſt 9. At ten o'clock we paſſed the Riviere de l'iſle de pluye, or Rainy iſland river: on the ſouth-eaſt ſide it is 15 yards wide, and navigable nine miles to the rocks. After paſſing this river, which is 255 miles from the Miſſiſſippi, we found the water very ſhallow, and it was with difficulty that we got forward, though we employed ſeven oars, and our boat drew only three feet water. The graſs which grows in the interval or meadow ground, between the Illinois river and the rocks, is finer than any we have ſeen, and is thicker and higher and more clear from weeds than in any of the meadows about Kaſkaſkias or fort Chartres. The timber is generally birch, button, and paccan. The wind continuing fair, about ten o'clock we paſſed the Vermilion river, 267 miles from the Miſſiſſippi. It is 30 yards wide, but ſo rocky as not to be navigable. At the diſtance of a mile further, we arrived at the little rocks, which are 60 miles from the forks, and 270 miles from the Miſſiſſippi. The water being very low, we could get no further with our boat, and therefore we proceeded by land to the forks. We ſet out about two o'clock on the weſtern ſide of the river; but the graſs and weeds were ſo high, that we could make but little way.

"Auguſt 10. We croſſed the high land, and at ten o'clock we came to the Fox river (or a branch of it), after walking 24 miles. It falls into the Illinois river, 30 miles beyond the place where we left our boat. The Fox river is 25 yards wide, and has about five feet water; its courſe is from the weſtward by many windings through large meadows. At three miles diſtance, after croſſing this river, we fell in with the Illinois river again, and kept along its bank; here we found a path. About ſix o'clock we arrived, after walking about 12 miles, at an old encampment, 15 miles from the fork. The land is ſtony, and the meadows not ſo good as ſome which we formerly paſſed. From hence we went to an iſland, where ſeveral french traders were encamped; but we could get no intelligence from them about the copper mine which we had ſet out in ſearch of. At this iſland we hired one of the french hunters to conduct us in a canoe to our boat.

"Auguſt 11. We ſet off about three o'clock, and at night got within nine miles of our boat. We computed it to be 45 miles from the iſland we laſt departed from, to the place where we left our boat.

"Auguſt 12. We embarked early, and proceeded three miles down the Illinois river. On the north-weſtern ſide of this

this river is a coal-mine, that extends for half a mile along the middle of the bank of the river, which is high. On the eaſtern ſide, about half a mile from it, and about the ſame diſtance below the coal-mine, are two ſalt ponds, 100 yards in circumference, and ſeveral feet in depth; the water is ſtagnant, and of a yellowiſh colour; but the French and natives make good ſalt from it. We taſted the water, and thought it ſalter than that which the French make ſalt from, at the Saline near St. Genevieve. At nine o'clock we arrived at our boat. From the iſland where we found the french traders, and from whence we embarked in a canoe to go to our boat, there is a conſiderable deſcent and rapid all the way. Here it is that the french ſettlers cut their mill-ſtones. The land along the banks of the river is much better than what we met with, when we croſſed the country on the 10th of this month. On the high lands, and particularly thoſe on the ſouth-eaſtern ſide, there is abundance of red and white cedar, pine-trees, &c. We embarked about two o'clock, and proceeded till nine at night.

"Auguſt 13. We lay by half this day, on account of wet weather.

"Auguſt 14. Embarked early, and after croſſing the Illinois lake arrived late in the evening at the Pioria fort.

"Auguſt 15. Rowed very conſtantly all day, and arrived at the Mine river in the evening. Here I met with Mr. Janiſte, a french gentleman, and prevailed on him to accompany me, in an attempt up this river, to diſcover the copper mine.

"Auguſt 16. Embarked early, and aſcended the Mine river in a ſmall canoe, about ſix miles, but could get no further, as the river was quite dry a little higher up. It runs the above diſtance through very high grounds, is rocky and very crooked; the banks of the river are much broken, and the paſſage choked with timber; Mr. Janiſte ſays, that the current is ſo ſtrong in floods, nothing can reſiſt it. The bottom is ſand, green in ſome places, and red in others; it is ſaid that there is an alum hill on this river. As I thought that it was impoſſible to get to the mine by land at this ſeaſon of the year, on account of the rocky mountains, weeds, briars, &c. I determined to return to Kaſkaſkias, and accordingly we went back to our boat, embarked about one o'clock, and continued rowing day and night until 12 o'clock the 18th, when we entered the river Miſſiſſippi on our way to Kaſkaſkias village."

No. V.

A ſhort deſcription of the ſtate of Tenaſee, lately called the territory of the United States ſouth of the river Ohio.—[March 9, 1796]

THE ſtate of Tenaſee, lately called * the territory of the United States ſouth of the river Ohio, is that tract of country which was ceded to the United States by the ſtate of North Carolina, in the year 1789. It is ſituated between the parallels of 35° and 36° 30', extending from the great Iron mountain to the river Miſſiſſippi.

When we caſt our eyes on the map of any country, eſpecially the map of a new country, in which little elſe is ſeen than the ſituation of mountains, rivers, and plains, we are deſirous to know what is the ſtate of its ſoil and climate; what are the advantages its inhabitants may be expected to enjoy, or the difficulties under which they muſt labour. A general anſwer to theſe queſtions, as they reſpect the Tenaſſee government, is the object of this publication.

We diſcover, at firſt ſight, that the ſtate is cut into eaſtern and weſtern diviſions, by Cumberland mountain, a ridge near 30 miles broad; and it is probable that the commercial connexions of people who live in the eaſtern diviſion, may be different from thoſe of the weſtern inhabitants. The great iſland on Holſton river is not above 340 miles from Richmond in Virginia, along a good waggon road;

* The legiſlature of the territory of the United States ſouth of the river Ohio, at their ſeſſion in July 1795, made a law for numbering the inhabitants, in order to determine whether they were not entitled to all the privileges of a ſtate, according to an ordinance of congreſs, paſſed the 13th of July 1787, reſpecting ſtates to be formed in the ceded territory; which provides, that "Whenever any of the ſaid ſtates ſhall have 60,000 inhabitants therein, ſuch ſtate ſhall be admitted by its delegates into the congreſs of the United States, on an equal footing with the original ſtates, in all reſpects whatever." On taking the cenſus, it appeared, that there were in the territory 77,262 inhabitants, of whom 66,649 were free perſons: whereupon the governor, in purſuance of the law, called a convention, who lately met at Knoxville, formed a conſtitution, &c.

whence

whence we may conclude that the ſettlers on Holſton will preſerve a conſiderable intercourſe with the atlantic ſtates: but people who live to the weſtward of Cumberland mountain, will ſend their produce to market by means of the Miſſiſſippi. This remarkable difference in their ſituation will probably induce the inhabitants of thoſe diſtricts to employ themſelves differently; for the moſt proper or profitable productions in one ſettlement, may not be moſt profitable in the other.

The Holſton ſettlement contains 62,338 inhabitants, though in the year 1775 it hardly contained 2000. The land in this ſettlement is generally fertile; but the face of the country is much broken. Placed, as it is, between two large mountains, we may readily ſuppoſe that the farmer never ſuffers by the want of rain. The ſoil produces wheat, barley, indian corn, hemp, and flax, in great perfection. Phyſicians have not hitherto found their way to that country, for the people have not been ſick. They enjoy a temperate climate, eaſe, and abundance.

Iron ore abounds in that country. A capital furnace and forge have lately been erected on Holſton, near the Virginia line. There is a bloomery below the mouth of Wataga, and another 25 miles above the mouth of Frenchbroad. There are alſo ſundry lead-mines in the ſettlement, one in particular on Frenchbroad river, that produces 75 per cent. in pure lead.

The greateſt part of the ſtate of Tenaſee lies on the weſt ſide of Cumberland mountain; and though that country has hardly been ſettled ten years by civilized men, it naturally claims the greateſt ſhare of our attention, becauſe it is extenſive, and will probably become the reſidence of a numerous and powerful colony.

The mean diſtance between Cumberland mountain and the Miſſiſſippi is about 230 miles. This, at 103 miles broad, gives 15 millions of acres; and it is generally agreed, that 11 or 12 millions of that land may be cultivated to advantage; ſuch is the proportion of arable land. The natives, who formerly inhabited that country, muſt have been very numerous; we ſeldom go more than five or ſix miles along the banks of Cumberland river, without finding a large burying-place, the evident remains of a conſiderable town. As the Indians had their choice of land, and do not appear to have been equally numerous in other places, we

may ſuppoſe they found this to be a ſoil on which they could live with the greateſt eaſe.

Boundaries.—It is bounded by the ſtates of Virginia and Kentucky on the north; by North-Carolina on the eaſt; by South-Carolina and Georgia on the ſouth; and by the river Miſſiſſippi, which ſeparates it from the ſpaniſh province of Louiſiana, on the weſt.

Divisions.—It is divided into three diſtricts: Waſhington, Hamilton, and Mero; containing nine counties; Waſhington, Sullivan, Green, Hawkins, Knox, Jefferſon, Davidſon, Sumner, and Tenaſee.

Situation.—It is ſituate between the latitude 35°, and 36° 30′ north, which parallels form its northern and ſouthern boundaries; its breadth therefore is 104 miles, and its length, from the North-Carolina line to the Miſſiſſippi, about 400 miles.

Rivers.—There are few countries ſo well interſected by creeks and rivers: the principal are the Miſſiſſippi, Tenaſee, Cumberland, Holſton, Clinch, Wolf, Hatchee, Forked-deer, Obion, and Reelfoot.

The Tenaſee, formerly called by the French Cherokee, empties itſelf into the Ohio, nearly 60 miles above its junction with the Miſſiſſippi.

The Cumberland, called by the French Shavanon, diſcharges its waters in the Ohio, ten miles above the mouth of the Tenaſee.

Holſton river, the principal north fork of the Tenaſee, receives in its bed, before its junction with the Tenaſee, ſeveral conſiderable rivers, Nolachucky, Wattauga, French-broad, and Little river.

Clinch runs into the Tenaſee below the mouth of Holſton. Duck river empties into the Tenaſee below the Muſcle ſhoals, and Elk river above them.

Emery river is a branch of Clinch.

Obed river, the Caney-fork, Red river, Stone river, and Harpeth, are conſiderable branches of Cumberland river*. This country contains, beſides, a large number of bold, navigable creeks.

Mountains.—Yellow, Bald, Iron, and Uncka mountains, which form the eaſtern boundary of this territory, and ſeparate it from North-Carolina, are a chain of mountains

* For a more particular account of the rivers, ſee before p. 36, 38, 40, and paſſim.

running

running nearly ſouth-weſtwardly. Clinch mountain divides the waters of Holſton and Clinch rivers.

The large Cumberland mountain ſeparates the eaſtern inhabitants of this government from the weſtern ones.

Towns.—Knoxville, the capital and ſeat of government, was eſtabliſhed by William Blount, eſq. the firſt governor of this territory; is ſituate in a beautiful ſpot on the north bank of Holſton river, a few miles below the mouth of Frenchbroad. This town is remarkable for the treaty held by governor Blount in 1791, with the chiefs and head warriors of the Cherokee nation. It is the reſidence of the public officers of government. A printing-office is eſtabliſhed here, and the inhabitants enjoy the advantage of communicating to every part of the United States by poſt. The ſuperior court of law, the court of equity for Hamilton diſtrict, and the court of pleas and quarter ſeſſion for Knox county, are held in this town, which is in a very flouriſhing ſituation.

Naſhville, on the ſouth bank of Cumberland river, is the diſtrict town of Mero: the courts of the diſtrict are held here. The Davidſon academy, which is richly endowed, is in this town.

Joneſborough, the capital of Waſhington diſtrict, is the ſeat of the courts of the diſtrict.

There are ſeveral other ſmall towns that bid fair to increaſe in conſequence.

Roads and Distances.—From Knoxville, the preſent ſeat of government, to Philadelphia, is 650 miles.

	Miles.
From Knoxville to Long-iſland, on Holſton, is -	100
Abingdon - - -	43
Fort Chiffel - - -	64
Engliſh's ferry, New river - -	24
Montgomery town - - -	11
Big lick - - - -	33
Liberty town - - - -	28
New London - - - -	15
Floods - - - -	34
Powhatan court-houſe - -	65
Richmond - - -	32
From Knoxville to Richmond	494

Theſe two roads are very good waggon-roads; and the price of tranſportation of any goods or articles from Richmond to Knoxville does not exceed four dollars per cwt.

From Knoxville to Naſhville the diſtance is 183 miles, viz.

	Miles.
From Knoxville to South-weſt Point -	35
Big lick garriſon, on Cumberland -	80
Bledſoe lick - - -	32
Naſhville - - -	36
	183

The 80 miles between the two garriſons are not yet opened for waggons; but families moving to the ſettlements on Cumberland, ſend generally their baggage by water from Knoxville down the Tenaſee river.

	Miles.
From Naſhville to Lexington, in Kentucky, -	190
Three forks of Red river - -	28
Big Barren river - - -	32
Green river - - -	45
Danville - - -	50
Lexington - - -	35

It is a beautiful road through the barrens.

In the ſummer of 1795, a good waggon-road was cut acroſs Cumberland mountain, and it was paſſed by 30 or 40 waggons in the fall. The late friendly conduct of the Cherokee Indians, in conſequence of a long talk with governor Blount, and the amicable diſpoſition of the ſpaniſh government, have greatly altered the condition of ſettlers on Cumberland river, and made them perfectly happy. Several thouſands croſſed the Cumberland mountain in September, October, and November laſt, in detached families, without a guard, and without danger. The Indians treated them with kindneſs, viſited their camps at night, and ſupplied them plentifully with veniſon.

From Naſhville, on Cumberland river, to Lexington, in Kentucky, is 190 miles.

From Naſhville to New Orleans the diſtance by land is about 450 miles—the country in general level; and a good road might be cut at a ſmall expence.

CLIMATE.—The climate in this country is very temperate; and the experience of ten years aſſures us that it is healthy. The piercing northerly winds that prevail, during the winter, in the atlantic ſtates, ſeldom moleſt the inhabitants on Cumberland river, for they have no great mountains

mountains to the north or the weſtward. The inhabitants of the atlantic ſtates are alſo ſubjected to ſudden changes in the atmoſphere, ariſing from their vicinity to the ocean; the air that comes from the ſurface of the ſea, eſpecially from the warm gulf-ſtream in winter, muſt be very different in its temperature from the air that comes acroſs cold and high mountains; but the great diſtance between the Cumberland ſettlers and the ocean, conſidering that many great mountains are interpoſed, effectually ſecures them againſt the bad effects of thoſe ſudden changes. North-eaſterly ſtorms never reach this country.

Other circumſtances preſent themſelves, by which we may account for the remarkable healthineſs of this ſettlement. Lime-ſtone is common on both ſides of Cumberland mountain. The bottom of a river on the weſt ſide of the mountain is frequently a continued ſtratum of this rock. It is generally known that ſmall ſtreams of water are apt to diſappear in countries that abound in lime-ſtone; this is occaſioned, doubtleſs, by the great fiſſures that are common in thoſe rocks; from the ſame cauſe it probably ariſes, that we ſeldom find marſhes or ſtagnant waters where there is much lime-ſtone. In this ſtate we find no ſtagnant waters; and this is certainly one of the reaſons why the inhabitants are not afflicted with thoſe bilious and intermitting fevers, which are ſo frequent, and often fatal, in the ſame latitude, near the coaſt in Carolina. Whether it proceeds from the goodneſs of the water, the purity of the air, the temperature of the climate, or whatever elſe may have been the cauſe, the inhabitants of that country have certainly been remarkably healthy, ever ſince they ſettled on the waters of Cumberland river, whence it appears the climate is healthy and pleaſant.

Men frequently change their habitations in queſt of a better place; and the man who can enjoy the greateſt degree of health, eaſe, and plenty, is generally ſuppoſed to have the moſt deſirable habitation. Keeping this remark in view, perhaps there are few places that preſent fairer proſpects to the man who is looking for a ſettlement. Few places are more healthy; there is none more fertile; and there is hardly any other place in which the farmer can ſupport his family in ſuch a degree of affluence. The ſoil is not only fertile, but eaſily cultivated. Six hogſheads of tobacco for one man does not require more labour than three hogſheads in the atlantic ſtates; and a difference ſimilar

to this appears in every other crop. In the culture of corn the difference is greater. This circumſtance alone would ſecure abundance to the induſtrious man; but we muſt alſo recollect that, in cold climates, the farmer is ſhut up or prevented from working ſeveral months in the year, during which cold ſeaſon he is conſuming his ſtores, and his cattle are making greater deſtruction. When we conſider the quantity of food that muſt be laid up for the neceſſary ſupport of ſtock in cold climates, we may fairly calculate, that half of the farmer's time is ſpent in making proviſion for his cattle, or in ſheltering himſelf from the weather. In the ſtate of Tenaſee cattle at preſent ſupport themſelves among the reeds, pea-vines, rye-graſs, and clover; but when the progreſs of cultivation ſhall have deſtroyed the wild range, it is obvious that the fodder and ſtraw obtained from the ordinary crops, will be more than ſufficient to ſupport the cattle.

Let us review this account. It is granted that, in cold climates, more than half of the farmer's time is loſt from labour by intemperate weather, or taken up in working for the ſupport of his cattle; this gives an odds of two to one in favour of the country that has been deſcribed. We are next to recollect, that one day's labour in this country produces more than twice as much grain, or other proviſions, as it produces in common land, and in a northern climate; this gives another difference of two to one, which makes four to one throughout the year: but conſidering that induſtry, in all countries, bears ſome proportion to the neceſſities of the inhabitants, we ſhall ſuppoſe that the farmer in this territory during the year raiſes only twice as much proviſion for his family as he could raiſe on common land in a colder climate; and the difference, as it reſpects himſelf, muſt be immenſe. In this country he would live in great affluence, or become rich, by that meaſure of induſtry which, in the other ſituation, would hardly be ſufficient to the ſupport of a miſerable life.

People, however, are ſeldom contented with the mere neceſſaries of life. There are certain luxuries which the progreſs of ſociety has taught us to conſider as neceſſary. Sugar, coffee, and tea, belong to this claſs; as do ſundry articles of foreign dreſs. What is the farmer to ſell in the weſtern part of the ſtate, that he may be enabled to buy foreign articles? He lives at a great diſtance from ſea: how is he to be provided with ſalt?

It

It is very remarkable, that the farmer has more uſe for ſalt in the weſtern country, that in the atlantic ſtates. His cattle, in that country, will not thrive without ſalt; and this is the only thing at preſent he has any occaſion to give them. It has already been obſerved, that lime-ſtone abounds in the weſtern country; this ſtone is not found in the ſouthern ſtates, until we approach the firſt ridge of mountains. As we travel weſtward, we find lead-ore and ſalt-ſprings in abundance. Does this country abound in articles that are ſeldom found in the atlantic ſtates, becauſe it is compoſed of the original mother earth; whereas the land near the coaſt, in the middle and ſouthern ſtates, is adventitious? Be this as it may, the ſalt-ſprings that are found in every part of the weſtern country, afford the utmoſt relief to the inhabitants, whoſe cattle, from the quality of their food, have more need of ſalt than thoſe who are nearer the ſea. Hitherto the ſalt-works have not been judiciouſly managed, either at Kentucky or the Cumberland ſettlement; and yet ſalt, made from the water of ſalt-ſprings, may be purchaſed for one dollar the buſhel. As the ſource can never fail, and the mode of preparing it is capable of great improvement, we may reaſonably ſuppoſe that the average price of ſalt made on Cumberland river, will be three-fourths of a dollar the buſhel.

The ſettlers have not had much experience of bringing loaded boats up the Miſſiſſippi; but they calculate, from the trips they have made, that ſalt may be freighted from New Orleans to Naſhville, at rather leſs than three-eighths of a dollar the buſhel; and it appears, from ſimilar experiments, that pork, flour, or other produce, may be eaſily taken from Naſhville to New Orleans at leſs than three-eighths of a dollar the barrel. Thoſe calculations regard the Miſſiſſippi in its preſent ſtate, with all its circular bendings, the banks covered with trees, and no part of the upper country ſettled; but the river, at preſent, is more than double the neceſſary length. From the mouth of the river Ohio to New Orleans, the preſent diſtance by water is ſuppoſed to be 1000 miles: the direct diſtance is conſiderably ſhort of 500miles. Innavigating that river we often find places like a horſe-ſhe, where we do not gain more than a mile by ſailing or rowing five miles. Every one of thoſe bends may be cut off ata ſmall expence. Let a common ditch, three or four feetdeep, bedug acroſs thoſe necks of land, the roots being cut away when the river is low, and the next flood, by the

rapidity of the ſtream through the ſhort paſſage, will change the ditch to a navigable channel. An experiment of this kind has been made with ſucceſs, at a place called Point Coupée. Two great benefits will ariſe from this proceſs of giving the river a ſtraight courſe; one half of the time and labour in aſcending the river will be ſaved by ſhortening the diſtance. This caſe ſuppoſes that veſſels aſcend the river by the help of oars and poles, without ſails, which is generally the caſe at preſent, becauſe the river is ſo crooked, that no wind can be fair; but in caſe the chief bendings of the river ſhould be cut off, as a ſoutherly wind prevails there for the greater part of the year, every veſſel would aſcend by the uſe of ſails, and the difficulties of that navigation would be reduced to a trifle. Conſidering what would be the utmoſt expence of tranſporting ſalt from New Orleans to Naſhville, and conſidering that Naſhville is 2 or 300 miles by water farther from New Orleans than ſome other parts of the territory, and preſuming that a great ſhare of the preſent expence may be ſaved by practicable improvements in the navigation of the Miſſiſſippi, we may readily conclude, that the mere freight of the luxuries of life muſt be a ſmall object to the inhabitants of that territory. As matters are now circumſtanced, the navigation of the Miſſiſſippi being free *, the ſettlers on Cumberland river can take their produce to a ſhipping port, at leſs expence than it can be waggoned 50 miles in any country.

As the country that has been deſcribed, is capable of producing, in great perfection, every article that grows in the atlantic ſtates, there are no leading circumſtances by which we can poſſibly determine what is likely to be the general courſe of its trade, or the particular articles in which its moſt valuable exports will conſiſt. Iron, lead, pot-aſh, pork, bacon, butter, cheeſe, corn, wheat, barley, flax, hemp, rice, indigo, and cotton, have all been mentioned by different perſons from that country, as articles of export. Each of

* The treaty lately negotiated with Spain by Mr. Pinckney, contains ſuch indiſputable proofs of reciprocity and liberal ſentiment, as cannot fail to beget and cheriſh confidence and affection in every citizen of the United States towards the ſpaniſh nation. Such effects of a treaty are more deſirable, and perhaps more profitable to the conceding party, than thoſe indignant ſentiments that muſt rankle in the breaſt of every freeman, who conſiders himſelf oppreſſed by unequal terms, that might ſeem to be dictated by envy, or the pride of ſtrength.

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thoſe articles will doubtleſs be exported in a greater or leſs quantity, according to the demand; but it appears moſt probable, that the inhabitants will make their chief remittances in tobacco, hemp, rice, indigo, and cotton. The low grounds on the Miſſiſſippi muſt produce great crops of rice; and it has already been obſerved, that the high grounds near that river are particularly favourable to the culture of indigo and cotton. The article laſt mentioned muſt be a conſtant ſource of wealth to the planter, becauſe its value is conſiderable when compared with its weight, and it muſt be in conſtant demand in foreign markets. It is hardly neceſſary to obſerve, that in a country where timber of the beſt and moſt durable quality, and all other materials abound, neceſſary for ſhipping, the inhabitants will doubtleſs build ſhips for a diſtant market

By tracing the ſhort lines which mark the indian boundary, we diſcover, that all the lands on Duck river and Elk river, as well as on the ſeveral rivers which run into the Miſſiſſippi, continue to be claimed by the Indians; and thoſe lands are among the beſt in that country. It may be obſerved, at the ſame time, that all thoſe lands are claimed by the Chickaſaws, a ſmall tribe of friendly Indians. We may be aſſured, that the government of the United States will not permit thoſe lands to be ſettled, without the conſent of the Indians; but we muſt diſcover that the natural progreſs of things, in a ſhort time, will render a conſiderable part of that country, eſpecially the lands on the Miſſiſſippi, uſeleſs to the Indians, and neceſſary to the whites. Numerous boatmen, paſſing up and down the river, will have frequent occaſion to go on ſhore; they will need refreſhments. Many who go down on rafts or boats, will return by land; they will deſtroy the game. In a word, every man who lives on the weſtern waters muſt be intereſted in having ſettlements on the Miſſiſſippi. There can be little difficulty in making a bargain for a country that is of great uſe to the whites, and little uſe to the Indians. The true intereſt of the United States would point out a price for thoſe lands, that would enable the Chickaſaws to live in a degree of eaſe and affluence, which otherwiſe they can never expect. Suppoſe the Indians ſhould cede all the lands to the northward of Wolf river; in that caſe, the amount of the North-Carolina grants being deducted, the United States will have at leaſt ſix millions of acres of good land for ſale. Lands of ſuch a quality, and

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ſo near the ſea, will hardly be ſold, even by the public, for leſs than one dollar the acre, while individuals are ſelling worſe lands, in worſe ſituations, for twice that price. Six millions of acres, at one dollar, would bring 6,000,000 dollars, by which a debt to that amount muſt be extinguiſhed, and 360,000 dollars per annum ſaved to the national treaſury. Suppoſe the twentieth part of the money thus ſaved, or 18,000 dollars, was paid annually to the Chickaſaws, one half in corn, or other proviſions, at a ſtipulated price, and the other half in clothing; is it not obvious that their condition would be greatly mended, and equally clear that the ſtate of our finances would be much improved by ſuch a regulation? It is true, that indian lands have commonly been obtained on terms much leſs profitable to the Indians, and more expenſive to the whites; but it may be preſumed that experience will teach us to forſake the old plan, ſince it is neither recommended by the dictates of humanity nor the rules of economy.

Such is the territory ſouth of the Ohio. The eaſtern diviſion, as we have obſerved, is compoſed of ſmall mountains and vallies, which are extended in the direction of the rivers. There is no plain, or track of arable land, of any conſiderable width, in that ſettlement; but the vallies are generally fertile. In the great weſtern diviſion, there is not a ſingle eminence or ridge, that claims the name of a mountain. This country, nevertheleſs, is ſufficiently diverſified by riſing ground, and bears no reſemblance to the continued plain, which is found near the coaſt, in the middle and ſouthern ſtates. The rich lands near Cumberland river are conſiderably broken by knobs or ſhort hills; but thoſe hills have lime-ſtone for their baſis, and are fertile and fit for cultivation to the very top. Streams that run in oppoſite directions are uniformly divided by riſing ground, and ſome of the ridges are conſiderably elevated; but they are generally covered with good ſoil, and are ſeldom too ſteep for the plough. There are two remarkable ridges, or broken tracts, in that country, of conſiderable dimenſions, which are not included in the above deſcription; for they are ſtony or barren in many places. The firſt of thoſe ridges divides the waters of Cumberland river from thoſe of the Tenaſee; it is broad as it approaches the foot of Cumberland mountain, or rather diverſified in that part by alternate hills and plains; but the plains, being chiefly without timber, are called barrens. The ſecond remarkable

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tract of broken or barren land, begins near the mouth of Tenaſee, dividing the waters of that river from thoſe of the Miſſiſſippi, and extending ſoutherly towards the Chickaſaw towns. The ſmall rivers that run into the Miſſiſſippi, have their heads in this ridge. It is, in ſome parts, above 20 miles broad, riſing at the very margin of the Tenaſee. It is covered with long graſs, having little or no timber, except a ſmall growth on the watercourſes, which are numerous.

The territory weſt of Cumberland mountain has been ſtated at fifteen millions of acres; but this calculation leaves eight millions for the Holſton ſettlement, which is certainly too much. The amount that may remain for ſale on that ſide of the mountain, has, in round numbers, been ſtated at ſix millions; but the quantity, in all probability, will be conſiderably greater, without including the great tract of vacant land ſouth of the Frenchbroad, nor the conſiderable tracts of arable land that are found in Cumberland mountain, nor thoſe in the Cumberland barrens, ſo called, where the land, though without timber, is frequently very good; the Indians formerly, in burning the long graſs, muſt have deſtroyed the trees.

It is probable that all the lands to the northward of the great bend of the Tenaſee, may hereafter be joined to thoſe ceded by North-Carolina, ſo as to form one ſtate; ſuch a ſtate would have a natural boundary; and when we conſider that the Creeks and Chactaws live to the ſouthward, who are numerous nations, together with the Chickaſaws, we ſhall be apt to mark the latitude of the ſouth bend, for a long ſeries of years, as our ſouthern boundary for the purpoſe of ſettlement.

The reader has been informed, that the ſoil, climate, and productions, of the country on the weſtern waters, are different from thoſe in the atlantic ſtates; and it has been intimated, that the whole face of nature in that country bears a different appearance. Obſervations concerning things that are new or uncommon, ſhould be made and received with caution; but the reader cannot fail to realize the narrative, if he takes the trouble of recollecting two or three remarkable facts, to which reference has already been had.

In the atlantic ſtates, the ſtrata of lime-ſtone are broken, and inclined conſiderably to the horizon, being, at a medium, nearly parallel to the axis of the earth. In the weſtern

ern country, the ſtrata are conſtantly found parallel to the horizon.

In the atlantic ſtates, ſalt-ſprings are ſeldom or never found. In the weſtern country they abound in every part.

In the atlantic ſtates, pit-coal is very ſcarce, and is obtained with difficulty. In the weſtern country, it is common, and frequently appears within a few feet of the ſurface.

One of thoſe countries muſt have ſuffered prodigious convulſions; the other may be ſuppoſed to retain more of its original form. Is it at all ſurpriſing, that a country, ſo different in its ſtructure, its appearance, and eſſential qualities, ſhould produce more plentiful crops, or that it ſhould engage a conſiderable degree of public attention?

A ſhort deſcription of the ſouth-weſtern territory, in a letter from a reſident there, dated July 1795 *.

THE territory of the United States, ſouth of the river Ohio, is that tract of country ſituate between 35 and 36½ degrees north latitude, being bounded on the north by Kentucky, on the ſouth by Georgia, on the eaſt by North-Carolina, and on the weſt by the river Miſſiſſippi. It was originally part of North-Carolina, but was ceded to the United States in the year 1789; the Cumberland country and ſettlements are included in its limits, all together forming an extent of country of not leſs than 500 miles in length; its width about 105 miles.

The natural advantages which this temperate climate poſſeſſes, exceed thoſe of any other part of the United States, or perhaps of the world. A circumſtance peculiar to this country is, that the ſoil will yield all the productions common to both the northern and ſouthern climates: here it is cuſtomary to ſee in the ſame field, or fields contiguous to each other, wheat, indian corn, rye, barley, rice, tobacco, hemp, indigo, cotton, and every kind of vegetable, growing to the greateſt perfection. Perſons who have ſeen this country, and who have been accuſtomed to the cultivation of vines, ſay that there is no doubt but that it will be extremely productive of wine, whenever it becomes ſufficiently populated to make it proper to attend to that object; and it is probable that the time is not far diſtant, when population will have made ſuch advances as to enable the people to at-

* From the Philadelphia gazette of Oct. 17, 1795.

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tend to the raiſing thoſe articles which will be moſt proper for exportation: it is generally well known with what rapidity the ſtate of Kentucky has been peopled ſince it became an independent government. This territory has alſo taken ſteps to become a ſeparate ſtate, and will, in the courſe of a few months, be admitted into the union as a ſtate, there being no doubt, from the prodigious emigration which has lately taken place, that under the conſtitution they will be entitled to become a ſeparate ſtate whenever they chooſe. The bounds of this letter do not admit of a detail of the many inſtances of the rapid population of this country: ſuffice it to ſay, that Knoxville, the preſent ſeat of the territorial government, not more than three years ſince was a wood, in which a blockhouſe neceſſary to repel indian invaſions was erected ſince; which time, a town has grown up here, conſiſting of from 2 to 300 houſes, inhabited by a great number of reſpectable families; and although it is not more than two years ſince the Indians appeared at leaſt 1000 ſtrong before this town, ſuch has ſince been the progreſs of population, that many wealthy and reſpectable families have now ſet down with the greateſt ſafety from 30 to 40 miles nearer the indian boundary; and it is already contemplated to remove the ſeat of government to a more central ſituation of the territory, 30 miles from Knoxville, on the banks of the Tenaſee. To a perſon who obſerves the migration to this country, it appears as if North and South Carolina, and Georgia, were emptying themſelves into it. It is not unfrequent to ſee from 2 to 300 people in a body coming from thoſe ſouthern climates, oppreſſed with diſeaſes, to revive and enjoy health in this ſalubrious air. From the northern ſtates the emigration here has been little or none: the greater facility of removing families down the Ohio to Kentucky, is one reaſon of it; and the intercourſe of the inhabitants of it with the northern people being very ſmall, and of courſe no opportunity of their becoming acquainted with its merits, is another; but then there is no doubt that the ſouth-weſtern poſſeſſes many advantages over Kentucky, or the territory north-weſt of the Ohio. One advantage is the abundant ſupplies of water from the beſt ſprings, that are to be found diſperſed all over the face of this country; many of them large enough, at their very ſources, to turn a mill conſtructed for the purpoſes of grinding or other manufactures. The circumſtance of this being as well watered a country as any in the world, added to the general temperature of the air, are

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ſuppoſed to be the real cauſes of the inhabitants enjoying a greater degree of health, than in any other part of America.

So great are the natural advantages of water in this country, that it is aſſerted with truth, there is not a ſpot in it 20 miles diſtant from a boatable navigation, from whence the farmer, planter, or manufacturer, may with cheapneſs, ſafety, and eaſe, convey his different articles for foreign markets, down the great river Tenaſee, or Cumberland, into the Ohio and Miſſiſſippi, and thence to New Orleans. The face of this country may be ſaid to be generally irregular: except on the river bottoms, we find no land entirely level; but ſince lands have become valuable, and the moſt hilly parts, as well as the river bottoms, are peopling, the hills and worſt-looking lands produce not leſs than 30 to 49 buſhels of indian corn to the acre; and although the bottoms will produce more than double as much indian corn, the uplands are found beſt adapted to the growth of ſmall grain; what time may do by reducing thoſe lands, and thereby rendering them more fit for raiſing of wheat, rye, &c. is yet to be experienced; but little or no alteration has been diſcovered in the ſoil by a few years cultivation. This country cannot but be conſidered as offering a welcome to the emigrant; on his arrival in it, even in the moſt inclement ſeaſon of the year, he can eaſily, with his own hands, let him be ever ſo bad an artificer, erect a building entirely ſufficient to repel all the evils which are here felt from the weather: his cattle are ſupported from the ſpontaneous growth of the fields and woods, which afford an excellent range, even in the coldeſt ſeaſon.

So great is the fertility of the ſoil, that the inhabitants with little labour raiſe thrice as much grain as ſupplies their families, and the balance is hoſpitably given up to the emigrant, or thoſe who from accident have been deprived of ſuſtenance. Here there is not the ſame neceſſity to ſecure yourſelf in your houſe from the invaſion of the winds; for they are harmleſs, and do not poſſeſs the injurious qualities of thoſe experienced in the atlantic ſtates. Here are no ſudden changes from heat to cold, effected by the different directions of the winds; but the inhabitants are equally ſecured from the cold chilling blaſts of the north-weſt and north-eaſt winds, as from the warm relaxing breezes of the ſouth. The ſtate of the air is only materially affected by the gradual approach or departure of the ſun; in ſhort, the hand

hand of nature has placed its firſt bleſſings on this land, and proclaimed that, whoever be the inhabitants, they muſt be happy and independent. There is not a neceſſary, and but few luxuries of life, which cannot here be attained with eaſe. Salt, ſugar, iron, lead, ſaltpetre, copperas, &c. abound everywhere. In this climate the ſyſtem of nature ſeems to be in its higheſt vigour; and there is no neceſſary production of the earth, ſea, or air, proper for the comfort of man, that is not found here.

The modes of getting titles to lands have been various here. At the time North-Carolina ceded to congreſs this territory, they reſerved the right of ſtill laying on its lands all warrants then iſſued, which warrants are now all appropriated; and as there is a great deal more land in this territory than they could cover, it is probable they have been laid on the beſt, particularly as there is ſcarcely any annoyance met with by the white people from the Indians; and the country has therefore been freely explored. For the lands on which the warrants have been laid, North-Carolina has iſſued patents agreeable to the ceſſion act. Another mode lately adopted, of obtaining a prior claim to lands in this country, is by a ſurvey and location, which, there is no doubt, will give a priority of entry in the United States' land office, when opened; which, I am told, will be the caſe at the next ſeſſion of congreſs: and, if the form of the bill I have ſeen ſhould be adopted, it will give a perſon in Philadelphia the ſame opportunity of confirming and completing a title to the lands under theſe ſurveys that the people reſident in this country have. Another mode which has been ſuppoſed to ſecure a right to land is, that people have ſet down on the lands which they like beſt, that were not before appropriated, and expect to be allowed a right of pre-emption; but this is ſuppoſed to be the worſt kind of claim, as they have never paid any conſideration for them; and for the ſurveys and locations the ſurveyor general's and other fees have been paid.

The city of Columbia, the new capital of the ſtate of South-Carolina, in America, is finiſhed, and the ſeat of government has been removed there from Charleſton. The new city of Raleigh, intended for the capital of the ſtate of North-Carolina, is in great forwardneſs. The ſtate edifices are all built, and the ſeat of government is ſhortly to be removed there from Newbern. The city of Louiſville, the new capital of the ſtate of Georgia, is completed. The legiſlature

giſlature held their firſt ſeſſion there laſt year. The city of Knoxville is appointed to be the capital of the new ſtate of Tenaſee.

Conſtitution of the ſtate of Tenaſee, unanimouſly eſtabliſhed in convention at Knoxville, on the ſixth day of February, 1796.

We, the people of the territory of the United States ſouth of the river Ohio, having the right of admiſſion into the general government as a member ſtate thereof, conſiſtent with the conſtitution of the United States, and the act of ceſſion of the ſtate of North-Carolina, recognizing the ordinance for the government of the territory of the United States north-weſt of the river Ohio, do ordain and eſtabliſh the following conſtitution, or form of government: and do mutually agree with each other to form ourſelves into a free and independent ſtate, by the name of the ſtate of Tenaſee.

ARTICLE I.

Sect. 1. The legiſlative authority of this ſtate ſhall be veſted in a general aſſembly, which ſhall conſiſt of a ſenate and houſe of repreſentatives, both dependent on the people.

Sect. 2. Within three years after the firſt meeting of the general aſſembly, and within every ſubſequent term of ſeven years, an enumeration of the taxable inhabitants ſhall be made in ſuch manner as ſhall be directed by law; the number of repreſentatives ſhall, at the ſeveral periods of making ſuch enumeration, be fixed by the legiſlature, and apportioned among the ſeveral counties, according to the number of taxable inhabitants in each; and ſhall never be leſs than 22, nor greater than 26, until the number of taxable inhabitants be 40,000; and after that event, at ſuch ratio that the whole number of repreſentatives ſhall never exceed 40.

Sect. 3. The number of ſenators ſhall, at the ſeveral periods of making the enumeration before mentioned, be fixed by the legiſlature, and apportioned among the diſtricts, formed as hereinafter directed, according to the number of taxable inhabitants in each, and ſhall never be leſs than one third, nor more than one half of the number of repreſentatives.

Sect. 4 The ſenators ſhall be choſen by diſtricts, to be formed

formed by the legiſlature, each diſtrict containing ſuch a number of taxable inhabitants, as ſhall be entitled to elect not more than three ſenators. When a diſtrict ſhall be compoſed of two or more counties, they ſhall be adjoining, and no county ſhall be divided in forming a diſtrict.

Sect. 5. The firſt election for ſenators and repreſentatives ſhall commence on the ſecond Thurſday of March next, and ſhall continue for that and the ſucceeding day; and the next election ſhall commence on the firſt Thurſday of Auguſt 1797, and ſhall continue on that and the ſucceeding day; and for ever after, elections ſhall be held once in two years, commencing on the firſt Thurſday in Auguſt and terminating the ſucceeding day.

Sect. 6. The firſt ſeſſion of the general aſſembly ſhall commence on the laſt Monday of March next; the ſecond on the third Monday of September 1797: and for ever after, the general aſſembly ſhall meet on the third Monday of September next enſuing the then election, and at no other period, unleſs as provided for by this conſtitution.

Sect. 7. That no perſon ſhall be eligible to a ſeat in the general aſſembly unleſs he ſhall have reſided three years in the ſtate, and one year in the county immediately preceding the election, and ſhall poſſeſs in his own right in the county which he repreſents, not leſs than 200 acres of land, and ſhall have attained to the age of 21 years.

Sect. 8. The ſenate and houſe of repreſentatives, when aſſembled, ſhall each chooſe a ſpeaker and its other officers, be judges of the qualifications and elections of its members, and ſit upon its own adjournments from day to day. Two thirds of each houſe ſhall conſtitute a quorum to do buſineſs; but a ſmaller number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authoriſed by law to compel the attendance of abſent members.

Sect. 9. Each houſe may determine the rules of its proceedings, puniſh its members for diſorderly behaviour, and with the concurrence of two thirds, expel a member, but not a ſecond time for the ſame offence, and ſhall have all other powers neceſſary for the legiſlature of a free ſtate.

Sect. 10. Senators and repreſentatives ſhall in all caſes, except treaſon, felony, or breach of the peace, be privileged from arreſt during the ſeſſion of the general aſſembly and in going to and returning from the ſame; and for any ſpeech or debate in either houſe they ſhall not be queſtioned in any other place.

Sect. 11. Each houſe may puniſh, by impriſonment, during their ſeſſion, any perſon, not a member, who ſhall be guilty of diſreſpect to the houſe, by any diſorderly or contemptuous behaviour in their preſence.

Sect. 12. When vacancies happen in either houſe, the governor for the time being ſhall iſſue writs of election to fill ſuch vacancies.

Sect. 13. Neither houſe ſhall, during their ſeſſion, adjourn without conſent of the other, for more than three days, nor to any other place than that in which the two houſes ſhall be ſitting.

Sect. 14. Bills may originate in either houſe, but may be amended, altered, or rejected by the other.

Sect. 15. Every bill ſhall be read three times, on three different days in each houſe, and be ſigned by the reſpective ſpeakers before it becomes a law.

Sect. 16. After a bill has been rejected, no bill containing the ſame ſubſtance, ſhall be paſſed into a law during the ſame ſeſſion.

Sect. 17. The ſtyle of the laws of this ſtate ſhall be, Be it enacted by the general aſſembly of the ſtate of Tenaſee.

Sect. 18. Each houſe ſhall keep a journal of its proceedings, and publiſh them, except ſuch parts as the welfare of the ſtate may require to be kept ſecret. And the yeas and nays of the members on any queſtion, ſhall, at the requeſt of any two of them, be entered on the journals.

Sect. 19. The doors of each houſe, and committees of the whole, ſhall be kept open, unleſs when the buſineſs ſhall be ſuch as ought to be kept ſecret.

Sect. 20. The legiſlature of this ſtate ſhall not allow the following officers of government greater annual ſalaries than as follows, until the year 1804; to wit,

The governor not more than 750 dollars.

The judges of the ſuperior courts, not more than 600 dollars each.

The ſecretary not more than 400 dollars.

The treaſurer or treaſurers not more than four per cent. for receiving and paying out all monies.

The attorney or attornies for the ſtate ſhall receive a compenſation for their ſervices, not exceeding 50 dollars for each ſuperior court which he ſhall attend.

No member of the legiſlature ſhall receive more than one dollar and 75 cents per day, nor more for every 25 miles he ſhall travel in going to and returning from the general aſſembly.

Sect.

Sect. 21. No money ſhall be drawn from the treaſury, but in conſequence of appropriations made by law.

Sect. 22. No perſon who heretofore hath been, or hereafter may be, a collector or holder of public monies, ſhall have a ſeat in either houſe of the general aſſembly, until ſuch perſon ſhall have accounted for, and paid into the treaſury, all ſums for which he may be accountable or liable.

Sect. 23. No judge of any court of law or equity, ſecretary of ſtate, attorney general, regiſter, clerk of any court of record, or perſon holding any office under the authority of the United States, ſhall have a ſeat in the general aſſembly; nor ſhall any perſon, in this ſtate, hold more than one lucrative office at one and the ſame time; provided, that no appointment in the militia or to the office of a juſtice of the peace, ſhall be conſidered as a lucrative office.

Sect. 24. No member of the general aſſembly ſhall be eligible to any office or place of truſt, except to the office of a juſtice of the peace, or truſtee of any literary inſtitution, where the power of appointment to ſuch office or place of truſt is veſted in their own body.

Sect. 25. Any member of either houſe of the general aſſembly ſhall have liberty to diſſent from, and proteſt againſt, any act or reſolve which he may think injurious to the public, or any individual, and have the reaſons of his diſſent entered on the journals.

Sect. 26. All lands liable to taxation in this ſtate, held by deed, grant, or entry, ſhall be taxed equal and uniform, in ſuch manner that no 100 acres ſhall be taxed higher than another, except town lots, which ſhall not be taxed higher than 200 acres of land each; no free man ſhall be taxed higher than 100 acres, and no ſlave higher than 200 acres on each poll.

Sect. 27. No article manufactured of the produce of this ſtate, ſhall be taxed otherwiſe than to pay inſpection fees.

ARTICLE II.

Sect. 1. The ſupreme executive power of this ſtate ſhall be veſted in a governor.

Sect. 2. The governor ſhall be choſen by the electors of the members of the general aſſembly, at the times and places where they ſhall reſpectively vote for the members thereof. The returns of every election for governor ſhall be ſealed up, and tranſmitted to the ſeat of government, by the returning officers, directed to the ſpeaker of the

ſenate, who ſhall open and publiſh them in the preſence of a majority of the members of each houſe of the general aſſembly. The perſon having the higheſt number of votes ſhall be governor; but if two or more ſhall be equal, and higheſt in votes, one of them ſhall be choſen governor by joint ballot of both houſes of the general aſſembly. Conteſted elections for governor ſhall be determined by both houſes of the general aſſembly, in ſuch manner as ſhall be preſcribed by law.

Sect. 3. He ſhall be at leaſt 25 years of age, and poſſeſs a freehold eſtate of 500 acres of land, and have been a citizen or inhabitant of this ſtate four years next before his election, unleſs he ſhall have been abſent on the public buſineſs of the United States, or of this ſtate.

Sect. 4. The firſt governor ſhall hold his office until the fourth Tueſday of September 1797, and until another governor ſhall be elected and qualified to office; and for ever after, the governor ſhall hold his office for the term of two years, and until another governor ſhall be elected and qualified; but ſhall not be eligible more than ſix years in any term of eight.

Sect. 5. He ſhall be commander in chief of the army and navy of this ſtate, and of the militia, except when they ſhall be called into the ſervice of the United States.

Sect. 6. He ſhall have power to grant reprieves and pardons, after conviction, except in caſes of impeachment.

Sect. 7. He ſhall, at ſtated times, receive a compenſation for his ſervices, which ſhall not be increaſed or diminiſhed during the period for which he ſhall have been elected.

Sect. 8. He may require information, in writing, from the officers in the executive department, upon any ſubject relating to the duties of their reſpective offices.

Sect. 9. He may, on extraordinary occaſions, convene the general aſſembly by proclamation, and ſhall ſtate to them, when aſſembled, the purpoſe for which they ſhall have been convened.

Sect. 10. He ſhall take care that the laws ſhall be faithfully executed.

Sect. 11. He ſhall, from time to time, give to the general aſſembly information of the ſtate of the government, and recommend to their conſideration ſuch meaſures as he ſhall judge expedient.

Sect. 12. In caſe of his death, or reſignation, or removal from office, the ſpeaker of the ſenate ſhall exerciſe the office

office of governor until another governor ſhall be duly qualified.

Sect. 13. No member of congreſs, or perſon holding any office under the United States, or this ſtate, ſhall execute the office of governor.

Sect. 14. When any officer, the right of whoſe appointment is by this conſtitution veſted in the general aſſembly, ſhall, during the receſs, die, or his office by other means become vacant, the governor ſhall have power to fill up ſuch vacancy by granting a temporary commiſſion, which ſhall expire at the end of the next ſeſſion of the legiſlature.

Sect. 15. There ſhall be a ſeal of this ſtate, which ſhall be kept by the governor, and uſed by him officially, and ſhall be called the great ſeal of the ſtate of Tenaſee.

Sect. 16. All grants and commiſſions ſhall be in the name and by the authority of the ſtate of Tenaſee, be ſealed with the ſtate ſeal, and ſigned by the governor.

Sect. 17. A ſecretary of this ſtate ſhall be appointed and commiſſioned during the term of four years. He ſhall keep a fair regiſter of all the official acts and proceedings of the governor; and ſhall, when required, lay the ſame, and all papers, minutes, and vouchers, relative thereto, before the general aſſembly, and ſhall perform ſuch other duties as ſhall be enjoined him by law.

ARTICLE III.

Sect. 1. Every freeman of the age of 21 years and upwards, poſſeſſing a freehold in the county wherein he may vote, and being an inhabitant of this ſtate, and every free man, being an inhabitant of any one county in the ſtate ſix months immediately preceding the day of election, ſhall be entitled to vote for members of the general aſſembly, for the county in which he ſhall reſide.

Sect. 2. Electors ſhall in all caſes, except treaſon, felony, or breach of the peace, be privileged from arreſt during their attendance at elections, and in going to and returning from them.

Sect. 3. All elections ſhall be by ballot.

ARTICLE IV.

Sect. 1. The houſe of repreſentatives ſhall have the ſole power of impeachment.

Sect. 2. All impeachments ſhall be tried by the ſenate. When ſitting for that purpoſe, the ſenators ſhall be upon oath or affirmation.

Sect. 3. No perſon ſhall be convicted, without the concurrence of two thirds of the members of the whole houſe.

Sect. 4. The governor, and all civil officers under this ſtate, ſhall be liable to impeachment for any miſdemeanour in office; but judgment, in ſuch caſes, ſhall not extend further than to removal from office, and diſqualification to hold any office of honour, truſt, or profit, under this ſtate. The party ſhall, nevertheleſs, in all caſes be liable to indictment, trial, judgment, and puniſhment, according to law.

ARTICLE V.

Sect. 1. The judicial power of the ſtate ſhall be veſted in ſuch ſuperior and inferior courts of law and equity, as the legiſlature ſhall, from time to time, direct and eſtabliſh.

Sect. 2. The general aſſembly ſhall by joint ballot of both houſes appoint judges of the ſeveral courts of law and equity, alſo an attorney or attornies for the ſtate, who ſhall hold their reſpective offices during good behaviour.

Sect. 3. The judges of the ſuperior court ſhall, at ſtated times, receive a compenſation for their ſervices, to be aſcertained by law; but ſhall not be allowed any fees or perquiſites of office, nor ſhall they hold any other office of truſt or profit under this ſtate, or the United States.

Sect. 4. The judges of the ſuperior courts ſhall be juſtices of oyer and terminer and general gaol delivery, throughout the ſtate.

Sect. 5. The judges of the ſuperior and inferior courts ſhall not charge juries with reſpect to matters of fact, but may ſtate the teſtimony and declare the law.

Sect. 6. The judges of the ſuperior courts ſhall have power, in all civil caſes, to iſſue writs of certiorari, to remove any cauſe, or a tranſcript thereof, from any inferior court of record into the ſuperior, on ſufficient cauſe ſupported by oath or affirmation.

Sect. 7. The judges or juſtices of the inferior courts of law, ſhall have power, in all civil caſes, to iſſue writs of certiorari, to remove any cauſe, or a tranſcript thereof, from any inferior juriſdiction into their court, on ſufficient cauſe, ſupported by oath or affirmation.

Sect. 8. No judge ſhall ſit on the trial of any cauſe where the parties ſhall be connected with him by affinity or conſanguinity, except by conſent of parties. In caſe all the judges of the ſuperior court ſhall be intereſted in the event of any cauſe, or related to all or either of the parties, the

governor

governor of the ſtate ſhall in ſuch caſe ſpecially commiſſion three men, of law knowledge, for the determination thereof.

Sect. 9. All writs and other proceſs ſhall run, In the name of the ſtate of Tenaſee; and bear teſt, and be ſigned by the reſpective clerks. Indictments ſhall conclude, Againſt the peace and dignity of the ſtate.

Sect. 10. Each court ſhall appoint its own clerk, who may hold his office during good behaviour.

Sect. 11. No fine ſhall be laid on any citizen of this ſtate, that ſhall exceed 50 dollars, unleſs it ſhall be aſſeſſed by a jury of his peers, who ſhall aſſeſs the fine at the time they find the fact, if they find the fine ought to be more than 50 dollars.

Sect. 12. There ſhall be juſtices of the peace appointed for each county, not exceeding two for each captain's company, except for the company which includes the county town, which ſhall not exceed three, who ſhall hold their offices during good behaviour.

ARTICLE VI.

Sect. 1. There ſhall be appointed in each county, by the county court, one ſheriff, one coroner, one truſtee, and a ſufficient number of conſtables, who ſhall hold their offices for two years. They ſhall alſo have power to appoint one regiſter and ranger for the county, who ſhall hold their offices during good behaviour. The ſheriff and coroner ſhall be commiſſioned by the governor.

Sect. 2. There ſhall be a treaſurer or treaſurers appointed for the ſtate, who ſhall hold his or their offices for two years.

Sect. 3. The appointment of all officers not otherwiſe directed by this conſtitution, ſhall be veſted in the legiſlature.

ARTICLE VII.

Sect. 1. Captains, ſubalterns, and non-commiſſioned officers, ſhall be elected by thoſe citizens in their reſpective diſtricts who are ſubject to military duty.

Sect. 2. All field-officers of the militia ſhall be elected by thoſe citizens in their reſpective counties who are ſubject to military duty.

Sect. 3. Brigadiers-general ſhall be elected by the field-officer of their reſpective brigades.

Sect. 4. Majors-general ſhall be elected by the brigadiers and field-officers of the reſpective diviſions,

Sect. 5. The governor shall appoint the adjutant-general; the majors-general shall appoint their aids; the brigadiers-general shall appoint their brigade majors, and the commanding officers of regiments their adjutants and quarter-masters.

Sect. 6. The captains and the subalterns of the cavalry shall be appointed by the troops enrolled in their respective companies; and the field-officers of the district shall be appointed by the said captains and subalterns; provided, that whenever any new county is laid off, the field-officers of the said cavalry shall appoint the captain and other officers therein, *pro tempore*, until the company is filled up and completed, at which time the election of the captains and subalterns shall take place as aforesaid.

Sect. 7 The legislature shall pass laws, exempting citizens belonging to any sect or denomination of religion, the tenets of which are known to be opposed to the bearing of arms, from attending private and general musters.

ARTICLE VIII.

Sect. 1. Whereas the ministers of the gospel are, by their professions, dedicated to God and the care of souls, and ought not to be diverted from the great duties of their functions; therefore no minister of the gospel, or priest of any denomination whatever, shall be eligible to a seat in either house of the legislature.

Sect. 2. No person who denies the being of God, or a future state of rewards and punishments, shall hold any office in the civil department of this state.

ARTICLE IX.

Sect. 1. That every person, who shall be chosen or appointed to any office of trust or profit, shall, before entering on the execution thereof, take an oath to support the constitution of this state, and also an oath of office.

Sect. 2. That each member of the senate and house of representatives shall, before they proceed to business, take an oath or affirmation to support the constitution of this state, and also the following oath:

"I A. B. do solemnly swear (or affirm) that, as a member of this general assembly, I will in all appointments vote without favour, affection, partiality, or prejudice; and that I will not propose or assent to any bill, vote, or resolution, which shall appear to me injurious to the people, or consent

ſent to any act or thing whatever, that ſhall have a tendancy to leſſen or abridge their rights and privileges, as declared by the conſtitution of this ſtate."

Sect. 3. Any elector who ſhall receive any gift or reward for his vote, in meat, drink, money, or otherwiſe, ſhall ſuffer ſuch puniſhment as the laws ſhall direct. And any perſon who ſhall directly or indirectly give, promiſe, or beſtow any ſuch reward to be elected, ſhall thereby be rendered incapable, for two years, to ſerve in the office for which he was elected, and be ſubject to ſuch further puniſhment as the legiſlature ſhall direct.

Sect. 4. No new county ſhall be eſtabliſhed by the general aſſembly, which ſhall reduce the county or counties, or either of them, from which it ſhall be taken, to a leſs content than 625 ſquare miles. Nor ſhall any new county be laid off, of leſs contents. All new counties, as to the right of ſuffrage and repreſentation, ſhall be conſidered as a part of the county or counties from which it was taken, until entitled by numbers to the right of repreſentation. No bill ſhall be paſſed into a law, for the eſtabliſhment of a new county, except upon a petition to the general aſſembly for that purpoſe, ſigned by 200 of the free male inhabitants within the limits or bounds of ſuch new county prayed to be laid off.

ARTICLE X.

Sect. 1. Knoxville ſhall be the ſeat of government, until the year 1802.

Sect. 2. All laws and ordinances now in force and uſe in this territory, not inconſiſtent with this conſtitution, ſhall continue to be in force and uſe in this ſtate, until they ſhall expire, be altered, or repealed by the legiſlature.

Sect. 3. That whenever two thirds of the general aſſembly ſhall think it neceſſary to amend or change this conſtitution, they ſhall recommend to the electors, at the next election for members to the general aſſembly, to vote for or againſt a convention; and if it ſhall appear that a majority of all the citizens of the ſtate, voting for repreſentatives, have voted for a convention, the general aſſembly ſhall, at their next ſeſſion, call a convention, to conſiſt of as many members as there be in the general aſſembly, to be choſen in the ſame manner, at the ſame place, and by the ſame electors that choſe the general aſſembly, who ſhall meet within three months after the ſaid election, for the purpoſe of reviſing, amending, or changing the conſtitution.

Sect.

Sect. 4. The declaration of rights hereto annexed, is declared to be a part of the conſtitution of this ſtate, and ſhall never be violated on any pretence whatever. And to guard againſt tranſgreſſions of the high powers which we have delegated, we declare, that every thing in the bill of rights contained, and every other right not hereby delegated, is excepted out of the general powers of government, and ſhall for ever remain inviolate.

ARTICLE XI.

Declaration of rights.

I. That all power is inherent in the people, and all free governments are founded on their authority, and inſtituted for their peace, ſafety, and happineſs: for the advancement of thoſe ends, they have at all times an unalienable and indefeaſible right to alter, reform, or aboliſh the government in ſuch manner as they may think proper.

II. That government being inſtituted for the common benefit, the doctrine of non-reſiſtance againſt arbitrary power and oppreſſion is abſurd, ſlaviſh, and deſtructive to the good and happineſs of mankind.

III. That all men have a natural and indefeaſible right to worſhip Almighty God according to the dictates of their own conſciences; that no man can of right be compelled to attend, erect, or ſupport any place of worſhip, or to maintain any miniſtry againſt his conſent; that no human authority can in any caſe whatever control or interfere with the rights of conſcience; and that no preference ſhall ever be given by law to any religious eſtabliſhments or modes of worſhip.

IV. That no religious teſt ſhall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public truſt under this ſtate.

V. That election ſhall be free and equal.

VI. That the right of trial by jury ſhall remain inviolate.

VII. That the people ſhall be ſecure in their perſons, houſes, papers, and poſſeſſions, from unreaſonable ſearches and ſeizures; and that general warrants, whereby an officer may be commanded to ſearch ſuſpected places, without evidence of the fact committed, or to ſeize any perſon or perſons not named, whoſe offences are not particularly deſcribed and ſupported by evidence, are dangerous to liberty, and ought not to be granted.

VIII. That no freeman ſhall be taken, or impriſoned, or diſſeized of his freehold, liberties or privileges, or outlawed, or

or exiled, or in any manner deſtroyed, or deprived of his life, liberty, or property, but by the judgment of his peers, or the law of the land.

IX. That in all criminal proſecutions the accuſed hath a right to be heard by himſelf and his counſel, to demand the nature and cauſe of the accuſation againſt him, and to have a copy thereof; to meet the witneſſes face to face; to have compulſory proceſs for obtaining witneſſes in his favour; and in proſecutions by indictment, or preſentment, a ſpeedy public trial, by an impartial jury of the county or diſtrict in which the crime ſhall have been committed; and ſhall not be compelled to give evidence againſt himſelf.

X. That no perſon ſhall, for the ſame offence, be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb.

XI. That laws made for the puniſhment of facts committed previous to the exiſtence of ſuch laws, and by them only made criminal, are contrary to the principles of a free government; wherefore no ex poſt facto law ſhall be made.

XII. That no conviction ſhall work corruption of blood or forfeiture of eſtate.—The eſtate of ſuch perſons as ſhall deſtroy their own lives, ſhall deſcend or veſt as in caſe of natural death. If any perſon be killed by caſualty, there ſhall be no forfeiture in conſequence thereof.

XIII. That no perſon arreſted, or confined in gaol, ſhall be treated with unneceſſary rigour.

XIV. That no freeman ſhall be put to anſwer any criminal charge, but by preſentment, indictment, or impeachment.

XV. That all priſoners ſhall be bailable by ſufficient ſureties, unleſs for capital offences, when the proof is evident or the preſumption great. And the privilege of the writ of habeas corpus ſhall not be ſuſpended, unleſs when in caſe of rebellion or invaſion the public ſafety may require it.

XVI. That exceſſive bail ſhall not be required, nor exceſſive fines impoſed, nor cruel and unuſual puniſhments inflicted.

XVII. That all courts ſhall be open; and every man, for an injury done him in his lands, goods, perſon, or reputation, ſhall have remedy by due courſe of law, and right and juſtice adminiſtered without ſale, denial, or delay. Suits may be brought againſt the ſtate in ſuch a manner, and in ſuch courts, as the legiſlature may by law direct, provided

the

the right of bringing ſuit be limited to the citizens of this ſtate.

XVII. That the perſon of a debtor, where there is not ſtrong preſumption of fraud, ſhall not be continued in priſon, after delivering up his eſtate for the benefit of his creditor or creditors, in ſuch manner as ſhall be preſcribed by law.

XIX. That the printing-preſſes ſhall be free to every perſon who undertakes to examine the proceedings of the legiſlature, or of any branch or officer of government; and no law ſhall ever be made to reſtrain the right thereof. The free communication of thoughts and opinions, is one of the invaluable rights of man; and every citizen may freely ſpeak, write, and print on any ſubject, being reſponſible for the abuſe of that liberty. But in proſecutions for the publication of papers inveſtigating the official conduct of officers or men in public capacity, the truth thereof may be given in evidence; and in all indictments for libels, the jury ſhall have a right to determine the law and the facts, under the direction of the court, as in other caſes.

XX. That no retroſpective law, or law impairing the obligation of contracts, ſhall be made.

XXI. That no man's particular ſervices ſhall be demanded, or property taken, or applied to public uſe, without the conſent of his repreſentatives, or without juſt compenſation being made therefor.

XXII. That the citizens have a right, in a peaceable manner, to aſſemble together for their common good, to inſtruct their repreſentatives, and to apply to thoſe inveſted with the powers of government for redreſs of grievances, or other proper purpoſes, by addreſs or remonſtrance.

XXIII. That perpetuities and monopolies are contrary to the genius of a free ſtate, and ſhall not be allowed.

XXIV. That the ſure and certain defence of a free people is a well-regulated militia; and as ſtanding armies, in time of peace, are dangerous to freedom, they ought to be avoided, as far as the circumſtances and ſafety of the community will admit; and that in all caſes the military ſhall be in ſtrict ſubordination to the civil authority.

XXV. That no citizen in this ſtate, except ſuch as are employed in the army of the United States, or militia in actual ſervice, ſhall be ſubject to corporeal puniſhment under the martial law.

XXVI.

XXVI. That the freemen of this ſtate have a right to keep and to bear arms for their common defence.

XXVII. That no ſoldier ſhall, in time of peace, be quartered in any houſe without conſent of the owner, nor in time of war, but in a manner preſcribed by law.

XXVIII. That no citizen of this ſtate ſhall be compelled to bear arms, provided he will pay an equivalent, to be aſcertained by law.

XXIX. That an equal participation of the free navigation of the Miſſiſſippi is one of the inherent rights of the citizens of this ſtate: it cannot therefore be conceded to any prince, potentate, power, perſon or perſons whatever.

XXX. That no hereditary emoluments, privileges, or honours, ſhall ever be granted or conferred in this ſtate.

XXXI. That the people reſiding ſouth of Frenchbroad and Holſton, between the rivers Tenaſee and the Big pigeon, are entitled to the right of pre-emption and occupancy in that tract.

XXXII. That the limits and boundaries of this ſtate be aſcertained, it is declared they are as hereafter mentioned; that is to ſay:—Beginning on the extreme height of Stone mountain, at the place where the line of Virginia interſects it, in latitude 36° and 30 north; running thence along the extreme height of the ſaid mountain, to the place where Watauga river breaks through it; thence a direct courſe to the top of the Yellow mountain, where Bright's road croſſes the ſame; thence along the ridge of ſaid mountain, between the waters of Doe river and the waters of Rock creek, to the place where the road croſſes the Iron mountain; from thence along the extreme height of ſaid mountain to where Nolachucky river runs through the ſame; thence to the top of the Bald mountain; thence along the extreme height of ſaid mountain to the Painted rock, on Frenchbroad river; thence along the higheſt ridge of ſaid mountain, to the place where it is called the Great iron or Smoky mountain; thence along the extreme height of ſaid mountain to the place where it is called Unicoi or Unica mountain, between the indian towns of Cowee and Old Chota; thence along the main ridge of the ſaid mountain to the ſouthern boundary of this ſtate, as deſcribed in the act of ceſſion of North-Carolina to the United States of America; and that all the territory, lands, and waters lying weſt of the ſaid line, as before mentioned, and contained within

within the chartered limits of the ſtate of North-Carolina, are within the boundaries and limits of this ſtate, over which the people have the right of exerciſing ſovereignty and right of ſoil ſo far as is conſiſtent with the conſtitution of the United States, recognizing the articles of confederation, the bill of rights and conſtitution of North-Carolina, the ceſſion act of the ſaid ſtate, and the ordinance of the late congreſs for the government of the territory north-weſt of the Ohio; provided nothing herein contained ſhall extend to affect the claim or claims of individuals to any part of the ſoil which is recognized to them by the aforeſaid ceſſion act.

SCHEDULE.

Sect. 1. That no inconvenience may ariſe from a change of the temporary to a permanent ſtate government, it is declared, that all rights, actions, proſecutions, claims, and contracts, as well of individuals as of bodies corporate, ſhall continue, as if no change had taken place in the adminiſtration of government.

Sect. 2. All fines, penalties, and forfeitures, due and owing to the territory of the United States of America ſouth of the river Ohio, ſhall enure to the uſe of the ſtate. All bonds for performance, executed to the governor of the ſaid territory, ſhall be and paſs over to the governor of this ſtate, and his ſucceſſors in office, for the uſe of the ſtate, or by him or them reſpectively to be aſſigned over to the uſe of thoſe concerned, as the caſe may be.

Sect. 3. The governor, ſecretary, judges and brigadier-general, have a right, by virtue of their appointments, under the authority of the United States, to continue in the exerciſe of the duties of their reſpective offices, in their ſeveral departments, until the ſaid officers are ſuperſeded under the authority of this conſtitution.

Sect. 4. All officers, civil and military, who have been appointed by the governor, ſhall continue to exerciſe their reſpective offices until the ſecond Monday in June, and until ſucceſſors in office ſhall be appointed under the authority of this conſtitution, and duly qualified.

Sect. 5. The governor ſhall make uſe of his private ſeal, until a ſtate ſeal ſhall be provided.

Sect. 6. Until the firſt enumeration ſhall be made, as directed in the ſecond ſection of the firſt article of this conſtitution, the ſeveral counties ſhall be reſpectively entitled

titled to elect one ſenator and two repreſentatives, provided that no new county ſhall be entitled to ſeparate repreſentation previous to taking the enumeration.

Sect. 7. That the next election for repreſentatives and other officers to be held for the county of Tenaſee, ſhall be held at the houſe of William Miles.

Sect. 8. Until a land office ſhall be opened, ſo as to enable the inhabitants ſouth of Frenchbroad and Holſton, between the rivers Tenaſee and Big pigeon, to obtain titles upon the claims of occupancy and pre-emption, thoſe who hold land by virtue of ſuch claims, ſhall be eligible to ſerve in all capacities, where a freehold is by this conſtitution made a requiſite qualification.

Done in convention at Knoxville, by unanimous conſent, on the ſixth day of February, in the year of our Lord one thouſand ſeven hundred and ninety-ſix, and of the independence of the United States of America the twentieth.—In teſtimony whereof we have hereunto ſubſcribed our names.

WILLIAM BLOUNT, preſident.

BLOUNT COUNTY.—David Craig, James Greenway, Joſeph Black, James Houſton, Samuel Glaſs.

SULLIVAN COUNTY.—George Rutledge, William C. C. Clairborne, Richard Gammon, John Shelby, jun. John Rhea.

DAVIDSON COUNTY.—John M'Nairy, Andrew Jackſon, James Robertſon, Thomas Hardiman, Joel Lewis.

GREENE COUNTY.—Samuel Frazier, Stephen Brooks, William Rankin, Eliſha Baker, John Galbreath.

HAWKINS COUNTY.—James Berry, Joſeph M'Min, Thomas Henderſon, William Cocke, Richard Mitchell.

JEFFERSON COUNTY.—Alexander Outlaw, Joſeph Anderſon, George Doherty, James Roddye, Archibald Roane.

KNOX COUNTY.—James White, Charles M'Clung, John Crawford, John Adair.

SUMMER COUNTY.—David Shelby, Iſaac Walton, W. Douglaſs, Edward Douglaſs, Daniel Smith.

SEVIER COUNTY.—Peter Bryan, Samuel Wier, Spencer Clack, John Clack, Thomas Buckenham.

TENASEE COUNTY.—Thomas Johnſton, James Ford, William Fort, William Prince, Robert Prince.

WASHINGTON COUNTY.—John Tipton, Samuel Handley, Leeroy Taylor, Landon Carter, James Stuart.

Atteſt. William Maclin, ſecretary.

No. VI.

An act for eſtabliſhing Knoxville on the north bank of the Holſton, and immediately below the ſecond creek that runs into Holſton on the north ſide, below the mouth of Frenchbroad river, and for appointing commiſſioners for the regulation thereof.

WHEREAS in the year 1791 it was found expedient to eſtabliſh a town on the north bank of Holſton, immediately below the ſecond creek that runs into the north ſide of the ſame, below the mouth of Frenchbroad, governor Blount having determined to fix the ſeat of government on the ſaid ſpot: and whereas a town was accordingly laid out by James White at the above deſcribed place, and called Knoxville, in honour of major-general Henry Knox, conſiſting of the neceſſary ſtreets and 64 lots, numbered from one to 64, as will more fully appear, reference being had to the plat of ſaid town:

Sect. 1. Be it enacted by the governor, legiſlative council and houſe of repreſentatives of the territory of the United States of America, ſouth of the river Ohio, that a town be eſtabliſhed on the above deſcribed ſpot of ground, which ſhall continue to be known as heretofore by the name of Knoxville, in honour of major-general Knox, conſiſting of the neceſſary ſtreets and 64 lots, from number one to 64, agreeable to the plan of the ſaid town made in the year 1791.

Sect. 2. And be it enacted, that colonel James King, John Chiſholm, and Joſeph Greer, eſqrs. George Roultone, and Samuel Cowandee, &c. are hereby appointed commiſſioners of the ſaid town, with power to regulate the ſame, and if neceſſary, with the conſent of the proprietor, to enlarge it.

Sect. 3. And be it enacted, that a correct plan of the ſaid town, as originally laid off, in the year 1791, be made by the ſaid commiſſioners, and lodged in the office of the regiſter of the county of Knox, for the benefit of all perſons concerned, with their names, as commiſſioners, ſubſcribed thereto; and that it be the duty of the ſaid commiſſioners to deſignate the firſt and ſecond corners by the fixture of a ſtone or ſtones at each corner, at leaſt 18 inches in the ground,

ground, and fix above, and to uſe good care that the ſame be not removed or defaced.

(Signed) William Blount, governor.
Griffith Rutherford, P. L. C.
David Wilſon, S. H. R.

Prices current at Knoxville.

	Cents.
CORN, per buſhel	25 to 33 1-3
Wheat, per ditto	66 2-3 to 75
Rye, per ditto	41 1-3
Oats, per ditto	33 1-3
Barley (but little ſowed)	50
Potatoes, per buſhel	33 1-3
Beef, per 100 pound	2, 50
Pork, per 100 pound	3, 33 1-3
Veniſon hams dried, each	16 2-3
Butter, per pound	8 1-3
Cheeſe, per pound	8 1-3
Bacon, per pound	8 1-3
Bar iron, per 100 lb.	8, 33 1-3
Caſtings, per 100 lb.	7
Whiſkey, per gallon	50

Prices current at Naſhville.

Corn, per buſhel	16 2-3
Oats, wheat, and rye, the ſame as at Knoxville.	
Potatoes, per buſhel	33 1-3
Beef, per 100 lb.	2
Pork, per ditto	3
Butter, cheeſe, and bacon, the ſame as at Knoxville.	
Bar iron, per pound	16 2-3
Caſtings, per pound	16 2-3
Whiſkey, per gallon	1, to 75

Knoxville, June 4, 1795.

Only one iron ore bank has yet been diſcovered upon the waters of Cumberland, and I have heard of but one in Kentucky.

*** One hundred cents make one dollar.

No. VII.

Report of Mr. ſecretary Hamilton on opening his budget.

	Dollars.	Cents.
The whole of the civil liſt for 1794 is	397,201	6
Extraordinary for public works, benevolencies, &c.	147,693	43
Eſtimate of the war expences for 1794	1,457,936	1
	2,002,830	56

Of this

	Dollars.
The compenſation to preſident Waſhington is	25,000
- - - - the vice-preſident	5000
- - - - chief juſtice	4000
- - - - five aſſociate judges, each	3500
- - - - ſpeaker of the congreſs per day	12
- - - - members (134), per day	6
- - - - ſecretary of the treaſury, per ann.	3300
- - - - treaſurer	2400
- - - - auditor of the treaſury	2400
- - - ſecretary of ſtate	3500
- - - - ſecretary at war	3000

No. VIII.

An act for eſtabliſhing trading-houſes with the Indian Tribes.

Sect. 1. BE it enacted by the ſenate and houſe of repreſentatives of the United States of America, in congreſs aſſembled, That it ſhall be lawful for the preſident of the United States to eſtabliſh trading-houſes at ſuch poſts and places on the weſtern and ſouthern frontiers, or in the indian country, as he ſhall judge moſt convenient for the purpoſe of carrying on a liberal trade with the ſeveral indian nations within the limits of the United States.

Sect.

Sect. 2. And be it further enacted, That the president be authorized to appoint an agent for each trading-house established, whose duty it shall be to receive, and dispose of in trade with the indian nations afore mentioned, such goods as he shall be directed by the president of the United States to receive and dispose of, as aforesaid, according to the rules and orders which the president shall prescribe; and every such agent shall take an oath or affirmation, faithfully to execute the trust committed to him; and that he will not, directly or indirectly, be concerned or interested in any trade, commerce, or barter, with any Indian or Indians whatever, but on the public account: and shall also give bond with sufficient security in such sum as the president of the United States shall direct, truly and honestly to account for all the money, goods, and other property whatever, which shall come into his hands, or for which, in good faith, he ought so to account, and to perform all the duties required of him by this act; and his accounts shall be made up half-yearly, and transmitted to the secretary of the treasury of the United States.

Sect. 3. And be it further enacted, That the agents, their clerks, or other persons employed by them, shall not be, directly or indirectly, concerned or interested in carrying on the business of trade or commerce, on their own, or any other than the public account, or take or apply to his or their own use, any emolument or gain for negotiating or transacting any business or trade, during their agency or employment, other than is provided by this act: and if any such person shall offend against any of the prohibitions aforesaid, he or they shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanour; and shall, upon conviction thereof, forfeit to the United States a sum not exceeding one thousand dollars, and shall be removed from such agency or employment, and for ever thereafter be incapable of holding any office under the United States: provided, that if any other person than a public prosecutor shall give information of any such offence, upon which a prosecution and conviction shall be had, one half the aforesaid penalty, when received, shall be for the use of the person giving such information.

Sect. 4. And be it further enacted, That the prices of the goods supplied to, and to be paid for by the Indians, shall be regulated in such manner, that the capital stock furnished by the United States may not be diminished.

Sect. 5. Be it further enacted, That during the continuance of this act, the president of the United States be,

and he is hereby authorized to draw annually from the treaſury of the United States, a ſum not exceeding 8000 dollars, to be applied, under his direction, for the purpoſe of paying the agents and clerks; which agents ſhall be allowed to draw out of the public ſupplies, two rations each, and each clerk one ration per day.

Sect. 6. And be it further enacted, That 150,000 dollars, excluſive of the allowances to agents and clerks, be, and they are hereby appropriated for the purpoſe of carrying on trade and intercourſe with the indian nations, in the manner afore mentioned, to be paid out of any monies unappropriated in the treaſury of the United States.

Sect. 7. And be it further enacted, That if any agent or agents, their clerks, or other perſons employed by them, ſhall purchaſe, or receive of any Indian, in the way of trade or barter, a gun or other article commonly uſed in hunting; any inſtrument of huſbandry, or cooking utenſil, of the kind uſually obtained by Indians in their intercourſe with white people; any article of clothing (except ſkins or furs); he or they ſhall reſpectively forfeit the ſum of 100 dollars for each offence, to be recovered by action of debt, in the name and to the uſe of the United States, in any court of law of the United States, or of any particular ſtate having juriſdiction in like caſes, or in the ſupreme or ſuperior courts of the territories of the United States: provided, that no fair ſhall be commenced except in the ſtate or territory within which the cauſe of action ſhall have ariſen, or the defendant may reſide: and it ſhall be the duty of the ſuperintendants of indian affairs and their deputies reſpectively, to whom information of every ſuch offence ſhall be given, to collect the requiſite evidence, if attainable, and to proſecute the offender without delay.

Sect. 8. And be it further enacted, That this act ſhall be in force for the term of two years, and to the end of the next ſeſſion of congreſs hereafter, and no longer.

Jonathan Dayton, ſpeaker of the houſe of repreſentatives.
John Adams, vice-preſident of the United States, and preſident of the ſenate.

Approved—
April the 18th, 1796.

G°. Waſhington, preſident of the United States.

Depoſited among the rolls, in the office of the department of ſtate.

Timothy Pickering, ſecretary of ſtate.

Lexington, Kentucky, Feb. 2, 1796.

BY various parties who have been in the woods hunting, we learn that the Indians, who are now out on our frontiers, are friendly, and appear very happy in meeting with the white people, and rendering them any ſervice they poſſibly can.

In many of the frontier towns in this ſtate, the Indians have already come in with their furs and peltry, in order to exchange them for articles which they are in want of; they are well treated by our inhabitants, and ſay, that they receive our commodities on better terms than they have been accuſtomed to from the britiſh traders.

No. IX.

A letter from Lexington, Kentucky, contains the following particulars.

Sir, Saturday morning, 30th Jan. 1796.

PERHAPS the inhabitants of Kentucky never experienced a ſeverer froſt than laſt night. After repeated obſervations this ſeaſon, I find this morning colder ten degrees than any morning this winter. At nine, I hung the thermometer in open air, and in 15 minutes the mercury fell 20° to 0.

James H. Stewart. Thomas Love.

No. X.

Obſervations on the preſent ſituation of landed property in America.

January, 1792.

THERE exiſts at the preſent criſis, the means of employing money to greater advantage, and upon principles (when facts are known) more obviouſly ſecure than has occurred at any former period, in any country in the world. It is by the purchaſe of lands in America.

Speculations of this ſort have not generally attracted the notice of monied men; particularly in Great Britain, for the following obvious reaſons:

Firſt, certain prejudices have exiſted, and do ſtill exiſt, againſt the american people, the american government, and conſequently againſt every ſpecies of property in that country.

Secondly, the diſtance from Europe is ſo great, and the means of obtaining good and accurate information has been ſuppoſed to be ſo deficient, that a general diſtruſt has prevailed.

It is however owing to theſe prejudices, and to this diſtruſt, that theſe immenſe advantages are to be obtained; becauſe they are only acceſſible to thoſe individuals whoſe minds are capable of diſcriminating facts through the gloom of prejudice, and whoſe pecuniary reſources are equal in all reſpects to the object of ſeizing the advantages which the peculiar ſtate of America now offers.

The facts are theſe following; and they are ſo well authenticated and aſcertained, as not to admit even of the ſhadow of a doubt.

Firſt, that the new government of America is not only firmly eſtabliſhed, but that it has given the utmoſt energy and effect to every thing that can beget confidence at home and abroad, while its public meaſures have greatly promoted the general proſperity of the country.

Secondly, that as a proof of this, the public funds have advanced in a ratio beyond all former example, in any country in the world, in ſo ſhort a period. A fund is eſtabliſhed for the payment of the intereſt in ſpecie, at the rate of ſix per cent. per annum, and the creditors of the ſtate are rendered ſecure in the exiſtence of a ſurplus revenue, which muſt ſink the capital in a ſhorter time than can be well conceived, in conſequence of the unexampled rapid population of the country.

Thirdly, that the general expenditure of government is regularly diſcharged, independent of the fund for paying the intereſt of the national debt, which intereſt is now paid regularly in ſpecie every quarter.

Fourthly, that in conſequence of an accurate enumeration, or cenſus, which has been made of the whole people of the United States, it appears that they have nearly doubled within the laſt 20 years, notwithſtanding the war; for the returns

returns which have been made in the year 1791, prove, that the whole inhabitants nearly amount to 4,000,000 of ſouls!

Fifthly, that it alſo appears, from accurate returns made by the different officers of the cuſtoms to the ſecretary to the treaſury in America, that the value of american exports amounted in one year and one month, ending in September 1790, to 20,415,966 dollars, rating the ſaid exports at their original coſt, which in ſterling money, at 4s. 6d. to the dollar, amounts to 4,093,592l. 7s. —an increaſe even more rapid than the population. It alſo appears, that nearly one half of the value of theſe exports were ſent to the dominions of Great Britain.

Sixthly, that the moſt inconteſtable evidence now exiſts, that the government of America is as ſtrong and efficient as any in Europe; that the laws under the new conſtitution are acquiring energy every hour; that juſtice is impartially adminiſtered, and the executive power lodged in the hands of men who hold the firſt rank in point of virtue and integrity, joined to great and acknowledged abilities.

Under all theſe circumſtances, not a doubt can be entertained of a moſt rapid riſe in the population of America, and conſequently of the value of the landed property in that country, which muſt keep pace with the funds, and with the general increaſe of active capital, which will naturally ariſe from the progreſſive proſperity of the country, aided by the foreign ſpeculations in the funds, and perhaps ſtill more aſſiſted by the operations and effects of the national bank, lately eſtabliſhed, which cannot fail to give a ſpring to human labour, in facilitating the increaſe of agriculture, and conſequently of riches, in a country ſo full of reſources.

Independent of the vaſt population of America, which increaſes in geometrical proportion, the preſent ſtate of the continent of Europe affords the moſt ſolid reaſon to conclude, that the emigrations from thence, which have been in progreſs for the laſt five years, will gradually increaſe more and more, and that of courſe, in 20 years, the United States muſt contain above 8 millions of people;

In 40 years, by the ſame rule, the numbers muſt advance to } 16 millions;

In 60 years it is highly probable that the population will increaſe to } 30 millions;

and ſo on, doubling every 20 years; for while there is room enough, and abundance of lands, in general far more fertile than thoſe which have been heretofore occupied on the ſea-ſide, no check can be given to population. No perſon is jealous of another, becauſe there is room enough for every body. And no man is afraid to marry, becauſe there is a certain obvious reſource for maintaining a family comfortably, with moderate induſtry; and not only ſo, but alſo for providing for children, very amply, when they arrive at maturity, ariſing from the cheapneſs of land, and the vaſt produce of the ſoil, enabling the farmer to raiſe corn and cattle, at a ſmall expence, in compariſon to what muſt be incurred in Europe.

For theſe obvious reaſons, America muſt advance in riches as population advances; and as the wealth of the country depends entirely on the ſurplus produce of the ſoil, there appears at preſent, as far as human penetration can diſcover, a greater probability of that country enjoying an uninterrupted courſe of proſperity than any country in the world. It is ſcarce poſſible, in the nature of things, that it can retrograde. The progreſs of wealth may not be ſo rapid as in the great commercial countries in Europe: but it muſt be regular and ſure; and various reſources of the country, which have yet ſcarce been found out, will preſs forward as adventitious aids, in rendering the revenue ſecure, and in reducing the taxes below what are paid in any country in the univerſe.

Among theſe adventitious aids may be reckoned the aſhes made from the timber cut down in clearing the lands, the ſugar extracted from the juice of the maple-tree, and the extenſive diſtilleries of ſpirits for the conſumption of the country, from the ſurplus grain and fruits, with which it abounds.

The pot and pearl-aſhes have already become an immenſe article of productive commerce *, and a ſtrong probability exiſts, that the maple-ſugar will alſo become an object of conſiderable advantage to the farmer, when population is more extended. It is made at a ſeaſon which does not interfere with any agricultural purſuit, and it is not improbable, that the high price of this article will hold out ſufficient encouragement to the northern american farmers,

* Pot and pearl-aſhes, exported 1789 and 1790, in one year amounted to 231,048l. ſterling.

who

who have inexhauſtible foreſts of theſe maple-trees within their reach, to make this manufacture an object of their attention; and when once they get into the train of producing it, large quantities will be brought regularly to market. According to an eſtimate, which has been founded on experiment, four ſtout men will produce about 40 hundred weight of ſugar, from ſix weeks labour, during the months of February and March, before the tillage commences.

The diſtillery is a ſtill more obvious reſource, as the conſumption of ſpirits is immenſe, and muſt daily increaſe, as the means of producing it from ſurplus grain and fruits alſo increaſe.

But perhaps, to a britiſh ſubject, the moſt pleaſing circumſtance in this detail of facts is, that theſe fertile back lands in America, by offering ſuch advantages in the cultivation of the ſoil, will obviouſly divert the attention of the people from manufactures; for few men will chuſe to follow any handicraft employment, ſubjecting them to conſtant labour and confinement, who can occupy rich and productive lands for almoſt nothing, compared to the value of the ſame property in Europe.

On conſidering the ſtate of landed property in America, at the preſent criſis, and after a full inveſtigation of the facts connected with this object, two circumſtances would appear obvious; namely,

1ſt. That in no country in the world are the rights of land better ſecured than in America, or the titles ſo ſimple or ſo indiſputably clear; nor is it poſſible that greater protection can in general be extended to every ſpecies of property, than now exiſts, and will prevail in a greater degree, as the ſyſtem of government advances in energy and perfection.

2d. That in no country, comparatively ſpeaking, are lands ſo cheap as they can be obtained at preſent in America, even by many hundred per cents.

The reaſons to be aſſigned for the very low price of lands are, that the Americans themſelves have not, till of late, had any active capital among them, and Europeans have not been accuſtomed to turn their attention to this object. Where, therefore, there is no competition, and abundance of any article at market, it muſt of courſe ſink under its value.

This has been the caſe hitherto: but the time is faſt approaching, when it will be ſo no longer. An exiſting active

active capital will ſoon embrace this particular object, and an increaſe of people, rapidly advancing, will ſtamp a new and increaſed value on all unoccupied lands, within 300 to 400 miles of the ſea.

The true criterion for aſcertaining the probable value of this ſpecies of property, in time coming, is to mark the progreſs of population in the northern and middle ſtates of America, and the obvious effects of this population in advancing the price: to look alſo at the future increaſe of America, and to form eſtimates from facts alone, of what may be expected as population advances.

The facts now offered, in elucidation of this poſition, are theſe following: and they are inconteſtably true, and to be relied on, as events that have actually occurred.

1ſt. It has happened in the courſe of the laſt three years, that tracts of land in the back parts of New-York government, which had been ſold in townſhips of ſix miles ſquare, containing 23,040 acres, at one ſhilling ſterling per acre, have been ſubdivided and ſold in farms, to ſettlers, from one half to one, two, three, four, and five dollars an acre, according to the ſituation and quality of the ſoil; and the price is yearly advancing, as the ſettlers increaſe.

2d. It has alſo happened, within the laſt three years, that lands, 70 to 80 miles weſt of Albany, which ſold for one dollar an acre, now bring, without any cultivation or improvement, two or three dollars, which lands would not have brought one ſhilling an acre ſeven years ago.

3d. Upon the Mohawk river, weſt of Albany, lands, which ten years ago would not have brought more than from five to fifteen ſhillings an acre, now ſell from 3l. to 10l. an acre; and this price, high as it is, is advancing with the increaſe of population in that part of America, which has been moſt rapid.

From this ſtatement of facts (which apply in general to every part of America in the progreſs of ſettlement), it appears evident, that inhabitants alone are neceſſary, to enhance the value of landed property in thoſe parts of the United States which are neareſt the thick-ſettled countries.

It may therefore be neceſſary to inquire into the facts, relative to the probability of people being found to purchaſe and cultivate theſe lands.

In order to aſcertain this, it will be proper to recur again to the fact already ſtated, relative to the aggregate popu-

lation

lation of the United States, which is eſtimated at nearly four millions *.

Of theſe four millions of people, it is ſuppoſed that at leaſt one-eightieth part, or about 50,000 ſouls, muſt move back into the new lands every year, independent of emigrants from Europe. There not being room in the thick-ſettled countries nearer the ſea, and the lands being not only much leſs fertile, but alſo dearer than the new lands, the young people, who generally marry as ſoon as they are of age, have been for ten years paſt in the regular practice of moving back, from 200 to 400 miles from the ſea, where they become proprietors of lands at a ſmall price, and where the ſoil being much more fertile and productive, they ſoon get forward in the world, and become independent: and this plan having uniformly ſucceeded wherever it has been tried, the courſe of emigration has become regular and periodical; and for the laſt three years, the attention of the New-England ſtates has been principally directed to the back ſettlements in the ſtate of New-York.

In purchaſing lands therefore in America, although little doubt can be entertained of a good ſoil being productive in time, in any ſituation, not exceedingly remote; yet the great advantages which are to be immediately derived, muſt be from the purchaſe of lands particularly ſituated, and particularly circumſtanced; where the ſoil is proved to be good, by unqueſtionable evidence, and where the diſtance is ſo near thick population, as to ſecure a quick and rapid ſettlement: and ſuch ſeem to be the peculiar properties of the lands which are ſituated on the eaſtern boundary of lake Ontario, and on the ſouth ſide of St. Lawrence river.

* The following is an exact copy of the cenſus laſt made of the people of the United States, by which is known the number inhabiting each ſtate.

1 Georgia . . .	82,548		
2 South-Carolina .	250,000		
3 North-Carolina .	393,751		
4 Kentucky . . .	73,677		
5 Virginia . . .	747,610		
6 Maryland . . .	319,728		
7 Delawar . . .	59,094		
8 Pennſylvania . .	434,373		
9 New-Jerſey . .	184,139		
	2,544,920		2,544,920
		10 New-York .	340,120
		11 Connecticut .	237,496
		12 Rhode Iſland .	68,825
		13 Maſſachuſets	378,787
		Main . . .	96,540
		14 New-Hampſhire	141,185
		15 Vermont . .	85,539
		16 Weſtern Territory	40,000
			3,933,412

This

This country, which is within a ſhort diſtance of Albany, and directly oppoſite to the populous ſettlement, and the ſeat of government, of Upper Canada, and in the immediate vicinity of Grand iſle and Buck's iſle, which form the great entrepot of the trade of the lakes, certainly poſſeſſes many advantages calculated to invite ſettlers.

Except one tract in a more weſtern ſituation, it is the only extenſive body of land now to be ſold in the ſtate of New-York, or indeed in any of the northern or middle ſtates, where the very large tracts of unoccupied lands are chiefly diſpoſed of.—The advantages which both theſe diſtricts of country poſſeſs, muſt unqueſtionably ſecure to the proprietors a rapid population; and thoſe who are ſo fortunate as to poſſeſs a part of this property, at the low price at which large tracts of land may now be purchaſed by wholeſale, for money, namely about half a dollar an acre, and can afford to ſpare the money, in the mean time, muſt acquire a large and accumulating fortune in a very few years.

In contemplating the progreſſive increaſe of property inveſted in american lands in the courſe of being ſettled, the mind almoſt grows wild, and is loſt in the magnitude of the object, and in the aſtoniſhing accumulation of wealth, which ariſes from this ſpecies of inveſtment; to elucidate which, the following proſpectus has been formed, upon the ſcale of 800,000 acres, purchaſed at one half dollar an acre.

Proſpectus ſhewing the benefits ariſing from the purchaſe and ſettlement of 800,000 acres of land, in the ſtate of New-York, in North America.

Suppoſe 800,000 acres, purchaſed at 2s. 3d. ſterling per acre is - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -	£	90,000	0 0
Deduct an allowance for ſurveys, roads, expence of deeds, and diſcount for money, &c. to be made by the ſeller		10,000	0 0
Nett coſt of the land, ſuppoſed -	£	80,000	0 0

Eſtimate of the probable progreſs of the ſale of lands to actual ſettlers in America, with the expences and profit, &c. upon the ſcale of ſeven years.

Year	Specification of the proportions to be ſold each year to ſettlers.	Price in ſterling.	Gross ſales to ſettlers in America, in ſterling.	Interest on ſales by inſtalments, 6 per cent.	Original coſt of land, including interest, 5 per cent accumulated.	Expences of ſurveys and ſub-diviſions, &c.	Expence of agency and all other expences, 5 per cent.	Nett profit obtained each year, beſides intereſt accumulated.
		s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
1793	Suppoſe 1-8th part of the whole tract to be ſold the firſt year, in ſmall farms, of 200 to 500 acres, to actual ſettlers, ſay 100,000 acres	3 6	17,500 0 0	— — —	14,000 0 0	416 13 4	875 0 0	2,208 6 8
1794	Suppoſe 1-8th part ſold the ſecond year, after ſettlements are made, at the advanced price of a dollar an acre, 100,000 acres	4 6	22,500 0 0	1,050 0 0	14,200 0 0	416 13 4	1,125 0 0	7,808 6 8
1795	Suppoſe 1-8th part ſold the 3d year, 100,000 acres	5 6	27,500 0 0	2,400 0 0	14,410 0 0	416 13 4	1,375 0 0	13,698 6 8
1796	Suppoſe 1-8th part ſold the 4th year, 100,000 acres	6 9	38,750 0 0	4,050 0 0	14,620 0 0	416 13 4	1,937 10 0	25,825 16 8
1797	Suppoſe 1-4th part ſold the 5th year, 200,000 acres	7 6	72,500 0 0	6,375 0 0	29,660 0 0	833 6 8	3,625 0 0	44,756 13 4
1798	Suppoſe 1-8th part ſold the 6th year, 100,000 acres of reſerved lands	9 0	45,000 0 0	10,725 0 0	15,040 0 0	416 13 4	2,250 0 0	38,018 6 8
1799	Suppoſe 1-8th part ſold the 7th year, 100,000 acres of fine reſerved lands	10 6	52,500 0 0	13,425 0 0	15,260 0 0	416 13 4	2,625 0 0	47,623 6 8
			276,250 0 0	38,025 0 0	117,190 0 0	3333 6 8	13,812 10 0	179,939 3 4

NOTA. This eſtimate ſuppoſes, that the land may be ſold to actual ſettlers, progreſſively in the courſe of ſeven years, and in the proportions above ſtated. Upon an inquiry into the facts, it will be found, that the calculations are under the general retail prices in the country; and that nothing is ſtated that may not with eaſe be accompliſhed within the time limited.

To a mind not familiar to objects of this ſort, it ſeems wonderful, that there ſhould exiſt ſuch an evident means of acquiring great property, without generally attracting the notice of all the great monied men in Europe; but this is eaſily explained, by ſtating, that till within the laſt two years there was no government in America, calculated to beget confidence; and it requires time to wipe away prejudices. Beſides, theſe rich lands, in the back ſettlements of New-York, have only been recently explored, and their true value is alone to be diſcovered by thoſe minds who are capable of diſcerning important and intereſting facts, through the veil of thoſe prejudices which envelope this particular object.

The time however is not remote, when thoſe prejudices will ceaſe to exiſt, and then every monied man in Europe will wiſh to inveſt a part of his property in american lands; but when that period ſhall arrive, the great advantages which now preſent themſelves, will be diminiſhed from an immenſe profit, to a moderate return for money. The preſent, therefore, is the moment to inveſt, as lands will unqueſtionably advance rapidly, after the floating property, now in America, can no longer be employed to advantage in the funds; and all real eſtates will continue to riſe afterwards, every year, until they ſhall reach their true value. As the firſt coſt is next to nothing at preſent, it is a ſpecies of property which can never depreciate; on the contrary, it muſt progreſſively advance in a ratio beyond any thing that ever occurred in Europe; and whoever poſſeſſes american landed property, in good ſituations as to ſoil and climate, will unqueſtionably experience, every year, an increaſe of wealth, far above what ariſes in general from pecuniary inveſtments in Europe, with this ſingular advantage, that ſcarce any trouble, and not even the ſhadow of riſque, attends the object; and conſequently the dread of loſs can never occur, to occaſion a moment's anxiety to thoſe who can ſpare the money for a few years, and ſhall chuſe to inveſt it in this ſpecies of property.

No. XI.

Gentlemen of the ſenate and of the houſe of repreſentatives. *United States, December* 30, 1794.

I LAY before you a report made to me by the ſecretary of war reſpecting the frontiers of the United States. The diſorders and the great expences which inceſſantly ariſe upon the frontiers are of a nature and magnitude to excite the moſt ſerious conſiderations.

I feel a confidence that congreſs will deviſe ſuch conſtitutional and efficient meaſures as ſhall be adequate to the great objects of preſerving our treaties with the indian tribes, and of affording an adequate protection to our frontiers.

G. WASHINGTON.

The ſecretary of war reſpectfully ſubmits to the preſident of the United States, the following obſervations reſpecting the preſervation of the peace with the indian tribes with whom the United States have formed treaties.

TO retrace the conduct of the government of the United States towards the indian tribes, ſince the adoption of the conſtitution, cannot fail to afford ſatisfaction to every philoſophic and humane mind.

A conſtant ſolicitude appears to have exiſted in the executive and congreſs not only to form treaties of peace with the Indians upon principles of juſtice, but to impart to them all the bleſſings of civilized life, of which their condition is ſuſceptible.

That a perſeverance in ſuch principles and conduct will reflect permanent honour upon the national character cannot be doubted. At the ſame time it muſt be acknowledged that the execution of the good intentions of the public is frequently embarraſſed with perplexing conſiderations.

The deſires of too many frontier white people to ſeize by force or fraud upon the neighbouring indian lands has been, and ſtill continues to be, an unceaſing cauſe of jealouſy and hatred on the part of the Indians; and it would appear upon a calm inveſtigation, that until the Indians can be quieted upon this point, and rely with confidence upon the protection of their lands by the United States, no well-grounded hope of tranquillity can be entertained.

The encroachment of white people is inceſſantly watched, and in unguarded moments they are murdered by the Indians,

dians. Revenge is ſought, and the innocent frontier people are too frequently involved as victims in the cruel conteſt. This appears to be a principal cauſe of indian wars. That there are exceptions will not be denied. The paſſion of a young ſavage for war and fame is too mighty to be reſtrained by the feeble advice of the old men. An adequate police ſeems to be wanting, either to prevent or puniſh the depredations of the unruly. It would afford a conſcious pleaſure, could the aſſertion be made on our parts, that we have conſidered the murders of Indians the ſame as the murders of whites, and have puniſhed them accordingly. This however is not the caſe. The irritated paſſions on account of ſavage cruelty are generally too keen in the places where trials are had, to convict and puniſh for the killing of an Indian. It is conſidered as unneceſſary to cite inſtances, although multitudes might be adduced in almoſt every part of the country from its firſt ſettlement to the preſent time.

If this view of the inability of both parties to keep the peace be correct, it would ſeem to follow as a juſt conſequence, that an adequate remedy ought to be provided for an evil of ſuch magnitude.

It is certainly an evil to be involved in hoſtilities with tribes of ſavages, amounting to two or three thouſand, as is the caſe north-weſt of the Ohio. But this evil would be greatly increaſed were a general indian war to prevail ſouth of the Ohio; the indian warriors of the four nations in that quarter not being much ſhort of 14,000, not to advert to the combinations which a general indian war might produce with the european powers, with whom the tribes both north and ſouth of the Ohio are connected.

It ſeems that our own experience would demonſtrate the propriety of endeavouring to preſerve a pacific conduct in preference to a hoſtile one with the indian tribes. The United States can get nothing by an indian war, but they riſque their men, money, and reputation. As we are more powerful and more enlightened than they are, there is a reſponſibility of national character, that we ſhould treat them with kindneſs and even liberality. It is a melancholy reflection, that our modes of population have been more deſtructive to the indian natives than the conduct of the conquerors of Mexico and Peru. The evidence of this is the utter extirpation of nearly all the Indians in the moſt populous parts of the union. A future hiſtorian may mark the cauſes of this deſtruction of the human race in ſable colours. Although the preſent government of the United States cannot

with

with propriety be involved in the opprobrium, yet it ſeems neceſſary however, in order to render their attention upon this ſubject ſtrongly characteriſtic of their juſtice, that ſome powerful attempts ſhould be made to tranquillize the frontiers, particularly thoſe ſouth of the Ohio. The ſituation of the ſettlements on Cumberland loudly demands the interference and protection of government. It is true ſome unauthorized offenſive operations have proceeded from thence againſt the lower Cherokee towns, and victims were ſacrificed. Whether theſe victims were all warriors, or whether women and children were not involved in the deſtruction, ſeems to merit inquiry.

Upon the moſt mature reflection the ſubſcriber has been able to beſtow upon this ſubject, ariſing from the experience of ſeveral years obſervation thereof, he humbly conceives all attempts to preſerve the peace with the indian tribes will be found inadequate, ſhort of an arrangement ſomewhat like the following; to wit,

1ſt, That a line of military poſts, at ſuch diſtances as ſhall be directed, be eſtabliſhed upon the frontiers within the indian boundary, and out of the ordinary juriſdiction of any ſtate, provided conſent can be obtained for the purpoſe from the indian tribes; that theſe poſts be garriſoned with regular troops underthe direction of the preſident of the United States.

2dly, That if any murder or theft be committed upon any of the white inhabitants by an Indian known to belong to any indian nation or tribe, ſuch nation or tribe ſhall be bound to deliver him or them up to the neareſt military poſt in order to be tried and puniſhed by a court martial; or in failure thereof the United States will take ſatisfaction upon the neareſt indian town belonging to ſuch nation or tribe.

3dly, "That all perſons who ſhall be aſſembled or embodied in arms on any lands belonging to Indians out of the ordinary juriſdiction of any ſtate, or of the territory ſouth of the Ohio, for the purpoſe of warring againſt the Indians, or of committing depredations upon any indian town or perſons or property, ſhall thereby become liable and ſubject to the rules and articles of war, which are or ſhall be eſtabliſhed for the government of the troops of the United States." This was a ſection of a bill which the ſenate paſſed the laſt ſeſſion, intitled, "An act for the more effectual protection of the ſouth-weſtern frontiers;" but it was diſagreed to by the houſe.

If to this arrangement the expence ſhould be objected, it is to be remembered that the preſident of the United States, in purſuance of law, has authorized both the governor of Georgia and the governor of the ſouth-weſtern territory to eſtabliſh a defenſive protection, which amounts to a large ſum annually.

Poſts therefore requiring garriſons amounting to 1500 non-commiſſioned and privates, for the whole ſouth-weſtern frontiers from the St. Mary's to the Ohio, would probably be adequate to this object.

If the poſts belonging to the United States, and now occupied by the Britiſh, north of the Ohio, be ſoon delivered up, they, with the poſt at the Miami villages, and poſts of communication down the Wabaſh on the ſouth, and the Miami river to lake Erie on the north, together with a poſt at Preſqu'iſle, would be a pretty adequate protection to the frontier north of the Ohio, and a curb to any indian tribes, diſcontented without juſt cauſe, which it is preſumed will never be afforded by the government of the United States.

If to theſe vigorous meaſures ſhould be combined the arrangement of trade recommended to congreſs, and the eſtabliſhment of agents to reſide in the principal indian towns with adequate compenſations, it would ſeem that the government would then have made the faireſt experiments of a ſyſtem of juſtice and humanity, which it is preſumed could not poſſibly fail of being bleſſed with its proper effects, an honourable tranquillity of the frontiers.

All which is reſpectfully ſubmitted to the preſident of the United States.

H. KNOX, ſecretary of war.

Department of war,
Dec. 29th, 1794.

No. XII.

Treaty concluded between the United States of America and his Catholic Majeſty.

HIS Catholic Majeſty and the United States of America, deſirous to conſolidate on a permanent baſis, the friendſhip and good correſpondence which happily prevails between the

the two parties, have determined to eſtabliſh by a convention, ſeveral points, the ſettlement whereof will be productive of general advantage and reciprocal utility to both nations.

With this intention his catholic majeſty has appointed the moſt excellent lord don Manuel de Goday, and Alvarez de Faria, prince de Paz, duke de la Alcudia, grandee of Spain, of the firſt claſs, &c; and the preſident of the United States, with the advice and conſent of their ſenate, has appointed Thomas Pinckney, a citizen of the United States, and their envoy extraordinary to his catholic majeſty. And the ſaid plenipotentiaries have agreed upon and concluded the following articles.

Art. I. There ſhall be a firm and inviolable peace and ſincere friendſhip between his catholic majeſty, his ſucceſſors and ſubjects, and the United States, and their citizens, without exception of perſons or places.

II. To prevent all diſpute on the ſubject of the boundaries which ſeparate the territories of the two high contracting parties, it is hereby declared and agreed as follows; to wit: The ſouthern boundary of the United States, which divides their territory from the ſpaniſh colonies of Eaſt and Weſt Florida, ſhall be deſignated by a line, beginning on the river Miſſiſſippi, at the northernmoſt part of the 31ſt degree of latitude north of the equator, which from thence ſhall be drawn due eaſt, to the middle of the river Apalachicola or Carahſuche, thence along the middle thereof to its junction with the Flint; then ſtraight to the head of St. Mary's river, and thence down the middle thereof to the atlantic ocean. And it is agreed, that if there ſhould be any troops, garriſons, or ſettlements of either party on the territory of the other, according to the above-mentioned boundaries, they ſhall be withdrawn from the ſaid territory within the term of ſix months after the ratification of this treaty, or ſooner, if it be poſſible; and that they ſhall be permitted to take with them all the goods and effects which they poſſeſs.

III. In order to carry the preceding article into effect, one commiſſioner and one ſurveyor ſhall be appointed by each of the contracting parties, who ſhall meet at Natches on the left ſide of the river Miſſiſſippi, before the expiration of ſix months from the ratification of this convention; and they ſhall proceed to run and make this boundary, according to the ſtipulations of the ſaid article. They ſhall

make plans, and keep journals of their proceedings, which ſhall be conſidered as part of this convention, and ſhall have the ſame force as if this were inſerted therein. And if on any account it ſhould be found neceſſary that the ſaid commiſſioners and ſurveyors ſhould be accompanied by guards, they ſhall be furniſhed in equal proportion by the commanding officer of his majeſty's troops in the two Floridas, and the commanding officer of the troops of the United States in the ſouth-weſtern territory, who ſhall act by common conſent, and amicably, as well with reſpect to this point, as to the furniſhing of proviſions and inſtruments, and making every other arrangement which may be neceſſary or uſeful for the execution of this article.

IV. It is likewiſe agreed, that the weſtern boundary of the United States, which ſeparates them from the ſpaniſh colony of Louiſiana, is in the middle of the channel or bed of the river Miſſiſſippi, from the northern boundary of the ſaid ſtates to the completion of the 31ſt degree of latitude north of the equator. And his catholic majeſty has likewiſe agreed, that the navigation of the ſaid river from its ſource to the ocean ſhall be free only to his ſubjects, and the citizens of the United States, unleſs he ſhould extend this privilege to the ſubjects of other powers by a ſpecial convention.

V. The two high contracting parties ſhall, by all means in their power, maintain peace and harmony amongſt the ſeveral indian nations who inhabit the country adjacent to the lines and rivers which, by the preceding article, form the boundaries of the two Floridas; and the better to attain this effect, both parties oblige themſelves expreſſly to reſtrain by force, all hoſtilities on the part of the indian nations living within their boundary; ſo that Spain will not ſuffer their Indians inhabiting their territory, nor will the United States permit their laſt-mentioned Indians to commence hoſtilities againſt his catholic majeſty, or his Indians, in any manner whatſoever.

And whereas ſeveral treaties of friendſhip exiſt between the two contracting parties and the ſaid nations of Indians, it is hereby agreed, that in future no treaty of alliance, or other whatſoever (except treaties of peace), ſhall be made by either party, with the Indians living within the boundary of the other; but both parties will endeavour to make the advantages of the indian trade common and mutually beneficial to their reſpective ſubjects and citizens, obſerving in all

all things the moſt complete reciprocity, ſo that both parties may obtain the advantages ariſing from a good underſtanding with the ſaid nations, without being ſubject to the expence which they have hitherto occaſioned.

VI. Each party ſhall endeavour, by all means in their power, to protect and defend all veſſels and other effects belonging to the citizens or ſubjects of the other, which ſhall be within the extent of their juriſdiction by ſea or by land, and ſhall uſe all their efforts to recover, and cauſe to be recovered, to their right owners, their veſſels and effects which may have been taken from them within the extent of their ſaid juriſdiction, whether they are at war or not with the ſubjects who have taken poſſeſſion of the ſaid effects.

VII. And it is agreed, that the ſubjects or citizens of each of the contracting parties, their veſſels or effects, ſhall not be liable to any embargo or detention on the part of the other, for any military expedition, or other public or private purpoſe whatſoever. And in all caſes of ſeizure, detention, or arreſt, for debts contracted, or offences committed by any citizen or ſubject of the one party within the juriſdiction of the other, the ſame ſhall be made and proſecuted by order and authority of law only, and according to the regular courſe of proceedings uſual in ſuch caſes. The citizens and ſubjects of both parties ſhall be allowed ſuch advocates, ſolicitors, notaries, agents, and factors, as they judge proper in all their affairs, and in all their trials at law, in which they may be concerned, before the tribunal of the other party; and ſuch agents ſhall have free acceſs to be preſent at the proceedings in ſuch cauſes, and at the taking of examinations and evidence which may be exhibited in the ſaid trials.

VIII. In caſe the ſubjects and inhabitants of either party, with their ſhipping, whether public and of war, or private and of merchants, be forced, through ſtreſs of weather, purſuit of pirates or enemies, or any other urgent neceſſity for taking ſhelter or harbour, to retreat and enter into any of the rivers, bays, roads, or ports belonging to the other party, they ſhall be received and treated with all humanity, and enjoy all favour, protection, and help; and they ſhall be permitted to provide themſelves, at reaſonable rates, with victuals, and all things needful for the ſuſtenance of their perſons, or reparation of their ſhips, and proſecution of their voyage; and they ſhall noways be hindered from returning out of the ſaid ports or roads, but may remove

and depart when and whither they pleaſe, without any let or hindrance.

IX. All ſhips and merchandiſe, of what nature ſoever, which ſhall be reſcued out of the hands of any pirates or robbers on the high ſeas, ſhall be brought into ſome port of either ſtate, and ſhall be delivered to the cuſtody of the officers of that port, in order to be taken care of, and reſtored to the true proprietor, as ſoon as due and ſufficient proof ſhall be made concerning the property thereof.

X. When any veſſel of either party ſhall be wrecked, foundered, or otherwiſe damaged, on the coaſt, or within the dominions of the other, their reſpective ſubjects and citizens ſhall receive, as well for themſelves as for their veſſels and effects, the ſame aſſiſtance which would be due to the inhabitants of the country where the damage happens, and ſhall pay the ſame charges and duties only as the ſaid inhabitants would be ſubject to pay in a like caſe: and if the operation of repairs would require that the whole, or any part of the cargo be unladen, they ſhall pay no duties, charges, or fees, on the part which ſhall relade and carry away.

XI. The citizens and ſubjects of each party ſhall have power to diſpoſe of their perſonal goods within the juriſdiction of the other by teſtaments, donation, or otherwiſe; and their repreſentatives, being ſubjects or citizens of the other party, ſhall ſucceed to their ſaid perſonal goods, whether by teſtament or *ab inteſtato*, and they may take poſſeſſion thereof, either by themſelves or others acting for them, and diſpoſe of the ſame at their will, paying ſale duties only, as the inhabitants of the country where the ſame goods are or ſhall be ſubject to pay in like caſes. And in caſe of the abſence of the repreſentative, ſuch care ſhall be taken of the ſaid goods as of a native in like caſe, until the lawful owner may take meaſures for receiving them. And if queſtions ſhould ariſe among ſeveral claimants, to which of them the goods belong, the ſame ſhall be decided by the laws and judges of the land wherein the ſaid goods are. And where on the death of any perſon holding real eſtate within the territories of the one party, each real eſtate would, by the law of the land, deſcend on a citizen or ſubject of the other, were he not diſqualified by being an alien, ſuch ſubject ſhall be allowed a reaſonable time to ſell the ſame, and to withdraw the proceeds without moleſtation,

ation, and exempt from all right of detraction on the part of the government of the reſpective ſtates.

XII. The merchant-ſhips of either parties which ſhall be making into ports, or into a port belonging to the enemy of the other party, and concerning whoſe voyage, and the ſpecies of goods on board her, there ſhall be juſt grounds of ſuſpicion, ſhall be obliged to exhibit as well upon the high ſeas as in the ports and havens, not only her paſſport, but likewiſe certificates, expreſsly ſhewing that her goods are not of the number of thoſe which have been prohibited as contraband.

XIII. For the better promoting of commerce on both ſides, it is agreed, that if a war ſhall break out between the two ſaid nations, one year after the proclamation of war ſhall be allowed to the merchants in the cities and towns where they ſhall live, for collecting and tranſporting their goods and merchandiſes; and if any thing be taken from them, or any injury done them, within that term, by either party, or the people or ſubjects of either, full ſatiſfaction ſhall be made by the government.

XIV. No ſubject of his catholic majeſty ſhall apply for, or take any commiſſion or letters of marque, for arming any ſhip or ſhips to act as privateers againſt the United States, or againſt the citizens, people, or inhabitants of the ſaid United States, or againſt the property of any of the inhabitants of any of them, from any prince or ſtate, with which the United States ſhall be at war. Nor ſhall any citizen, ſubject, or inhabitant of the ſaid United States, apply for, or take any commiſſion or letters of marque, for arming any ſhip or ſhips to act as privateers againſt the ſubjects of his catholic majeſty, or the property of any of them, from any prince or ſtate with which the ſaid king ſhall be at war. And if any perſon of either nation ſhall take ſuch commiſſion or letters of marque, he ſhall be puniſhed as a pirate.

XV. It ſhall be lawful for all and ſingular ſubjects of his catholic majeſty, and the citizens, people, and inhabitants of the United States, to ſail with their ſhips, with all manner of liberty and ſecurity, no diſtinction being made, who are the proprietors of the merchandiſes laden therein, from any port to the places of thoſe who now are, or hereafter ſhall be, at enmity with his catholic majeſty or the United States. It ſhall be likewiſe lawful for the ſubjects and inhabitants aforeſaid to ſail with the ſhips and merchandiſes

afore mentioned, and to trade with the ſame liberty and ſecurity from the places, ports, or havens of thoſe who are enemies of both, or either party, without any oppoſition or diſturbance whatſoever, not only from the places of the enemy afore mentioned to neutral places, but alſo from one place belonging to an enemy, whether they be under the juriſdiction of the ſame prince, or under ſeveral: and it is hereby ſtipulated, that free ſhips ſhall alſo give freedom to goods, and that every thing ſhall be deemed free and exempt which ſhall be found on board the ſhips belonging to the ſubjects of either of the contracting parties, although the whole lading, or any part thereof, ſhould appertain to the enemy of either, contraband goods being always excepted. It is alſo agreed, that the ſame liberty be granted to perſons who are on board a free ſhip; ſo that, although they may be enemies to either party, they ſhall not be made priſoners, or taken out of that free ſhip, unleſs they are ſoldiers, and in actual ſervice of the enemies.

XVI. This liberty of navigation and commerce ſhall extend to all kinds of merchandiſes, excepting only thoſe which are diſtinguiſhed by the name of contraband; and under this name of contraband, or prohibited goods, ſhall be comprehended arms, great guns, bombs, with their fuſees, and the other things belonging to them, cannon-balls, gunpowder, match, pikes, ſwords, lances, ſpears, halberts, mortars, petards, grenades, ſaltpetre, muſkets, muſket-balls, bucklers, helmets, breaſtplates, coats of mail, and the like kind of arms, proper for arming ſoldiers; muſket-reſts, belts, horſes with their furniture, and all other warlike inſtruments whatever. Theſe merchandiſes which follow, ſhall not be reckoned among contraband or prohibited goods; that is to ſay, all ſorts of cloths, and all other manufactures woven of any wool, flax, ſilk, cotton, or any other materials whatever, all kinds of wearing apparel, together with all ſpecies whereof they are uſed to be made; gold and ſilver, as well coined as uncoined, tin, iron, latten, braſs, copper, coals; as alſo wheat, barley, and oats, and any other kind of corn and pulſe; tobacco, and likewiſe all manner of ſpices, ſalted and ſmoaked fleſh, ſalted fiſh, cheeſe and butter, beer, oils, wines, ſugar, and all ſorts of ſalt; and in general, all proviſions which ſerve for the ſuſtenance of life; furthermore, all kinds of cotton, hemp, flax, tar, pitch, ropes, ſails, ſail-cloths, anchors, or any part of anchors, alſo ſhip-maſts, planks, and wood of all

all kinds, and all things proper either for building or repairing ſhips, and all other goods whatever which have not been worked into the form of any inſtrument prepared for war by land or by ſea, ſhall not be reputed contraband, much leſs ſuch as have been already wrought and made up for any other uſe; all which ſhall be wholly reckoned amongſt free goods; as likewiſe all other merchandiſes and things which are not comprehended, and particularly mentioned in the foregoing enumeration of contraband goods; ſo that they may be tranſported and carried in the freeſt manner by the ſubjects of both parties, even to places belonging to an enemy, ſuch towns or places being only excepted as are at that time beſieged, blocked up, or inveſted; and except the places in which any ſhip of war or ſquadron ſhall, in conſequence of ſtorms or other accidents at ſea, be under the neceſſity of taking the cargo of any trading veſſel or veſſels, in which caſe they may ſtop the ſaid veſſel or veſſels, and furniſh themſelves with neceſſaries, giving a receipt, in order that the power to whom the ſaid ſhip of war belongs, may pay for the article ſo taken, according to the price thereof, at the port to which they may appear to have been deſtined by the ſhip's papers; and the two contracting parties engage, that the veſſels ſhall not be detained longer than may be abſolutely neceſſary for their ſaid ſhips to ſupply themſelves with neceſſaries; that they will immediately pay the value of the receipts, and indemnify the proprietor for all loſſes which he may have ſuſtained in conſequence of ſuch tranſaction.

XVII. To the end that all manner of diſſenſions and quarrels may be avoided and prevented on one ſide and on the other, it is agreed, that in caſe either of the parties hereto ſhould be engaged in a war, the ſhips and veſſels belonging to ſubjects or people of the other party, muſt be furniſhed with ſea letters of paſſports, expreſſing the ſame, property and bulk of the ſhip, as alſo the place and habitation of the maſter or commander of the ſaid ſhips, that it may appear thereby that the ſhips really and truly belong to ſubjects of one of the parties; which paſſport ſhall be made out and granted according to the form annexed to this treaty. They ſhall likewiſe be recalled every year, that is, if the ſhip happens to return home within the ſpace of a year.

It is likewiſe agreed, that ſuch ſhips being laden, are to be provided not only with paſſports, as above mentioned, but

but alſo with certificates, containing the ſeveral particulars of the cargo, the place whence the ſhip ſailed, ſo that it may be known whether any forbidden or contraband goods be on board the ſame; which certificates ſhall be made out by the officers of the place whence the ſhip ſailed in the accuſtomed form; and if any one ſhall think it fit or adviſeable to expreſs in the ſaid certificates the perſon to whom the goods on board belong, he may do ſo; without which requiſites they may be ſent to one of the ports of the other contracting party, and adjudged by the competent tribunal, according to what is above ſet forth, that all the circumſtances of this omiſſion having been well examined, they ſhall be adjudged to be legal prizes, unleſs they ſhall give legal ſatisfaction of their property by teſtimony equally equivalent.

XVIII. If the ſhips of the ſaid ſubjects, people, or inhabitants of either of the parties ſhall be met with, either ſailing along the coaſts, or on the high ſeas, by any ſhips of war of the other, or by any privateer, the ſaid ſhip of war, or privateer, for avoiding any diſorder, ſhall remain out of cannon-ſhot, and may ſend their boats on board the merchant-ſhip which they ſhall ſo meet with, and may enter her, to the number of two or three men only, to whom the maſter or commander of ſuch ſhip or veſſel ſhall exhibit his paſſports concerning the property of the ſhip, made out according to the form inſerted in this preſent treaty; and the ſhip, when ſhe ſhall have ſhewn ſuch paſſport, ſhall be free and at liberty to purſue her voyage, ſo as it ſhall not be lawful to moleſt or give her chaſe in any manner, or force her to quit her intended courſe.

XIX. Conſuls ſhall be reciprocally eſtabliſhed, with the privileges and power which thoſe of the moſt favoured nations enjoy in the ports where their conſuls reſide, or are permitted to be.

XX. It is alſo agreed, that the inhabitants of the territories of each party ſhall reſpectively have free acceſs to the courts of juſtice of the other; and they ſhall be permitted to proſecute ſuits for the recovery of their property, the payment of their debts, and for obtaining ſatisfaction for the damages which they may have ſuſtained, whether the perſons whom they may ſue be ſubjects or citizens of the country in which they may be found, or any other perſons whatever who may have taken refuge therein; and the proceedings and ſentences of the courts ſhall be the ſame as if the contending

contending parties had been ſubjects or citizens of the ſaid country.

XXI. In order to terminate all differences on account of the loſſes ſuſtained by the citizens of the United States, in conſequence of their veſſels and cargoes having been taken by the ſubjects of his catholic majeſty during the late war between Spain and France, it is agreed that all ſuch caſes be referred to the final deciſion of commiſſioners to be appointed in the following manner: His catholic majeſty ſhall appoint one commiſſioner, and the preſident of the United States, by and with the advice and conſent of the ſenate, ſhall appoint another; and the ſaid two commiſſioners ſhall agree on the choice of a third, or if they cannot ſo agree, they ſhall each propoſe one perſon; and of the two names ſo propoſed, one ſhall be drawn by lot in the preſence of the two original commiſſioners; and the perſon whoſe name ſhall be drawn ſhall be the third commiſſioner; and the three commiſſioners ſo appointed ſhall be ſworn impartially to examine and decide the claims in queſtion, according to the merit of the ſeveral caſes, and to juſtice, equity, and the laws of nations. The ſaid commiſſioners ſhall meet and ſit at Philadelphia; and in caſe of the death, ſickneſs, or neceſſary abſence of any ſuch commiſſioner, his place ſhall be ſupplied in the ſame manner as he was firſt appointed, and the new commiſſioner ſhall take the ſame oaths, and do the ſame duties. They ſhall receive all complaints and applications authoriſed by this article during 18 months from the day on which they ſhall aſſemble. They ſhall have power to examine all ſuch perſons as come before them on oath or affirmation touching the complaints in queſtion, and alſo to receive in evidence all written teſtimony authenticated in ſuch a manner as they ſhall think proper to require or admit. The award of the ſaid commiſſioners, or any two of them, ſhall be final and concluſive, both as to juſtice of the claim, and the amount of the ſum to be paid to the claimants; and his catholic majeſty undertakes to cauſe the ſame to be paid in ſpecie, without deduction, at ſuch time and places, and under ſuch conditions, as ſhall be awarded by the ſame commiſſioners.

XXII. The two high contracting parties, hoping that the good correſpondence and friendſhip which happily reigns between them, will be further increaſed by this treaty, and that it will contribute to augment their proſperity and opulence, will in future give to their mutual commerce all the extenſion

extenſion and favour which the advantages of both countries may require.

And in conſequence of the ſtipulations contained in the fourth article, his catholic majeſty will permit the citizens of the United States, for the ſpace of three years from this time, to depoſit their merchandiſes and effects in the port of New Orleans, and to export them from thence without paying any other duty than a fair price for the hire of the ſtores; and his majeſty promiſes, either to continue this permiſſion, if he finds during that time that it is not prejudicial to the intereſt of Spain, or if he ſhould not agree to continue, he will aſſign to them on another part of the banks of the Miſſiſſippi an equivalent eſtabliſhment.

XXIII. The preſent treaty ſhall not be in force until ratified by the contracting parties, and the ratifications ſhall be exchanged in ſix months from that time, or ſooner, if poſſible.

In witneſs whereof, we, the under-written plenipotentiaries of his catholic majeſty and of the United States of America, have ſigned this preſent treaty of friendſhip, limits, and navigation, and have thereunto affixed our ſeals reſpectively.

Done at San Lorenzo et Real, this ſeven and twentieth day of October 1795. THOMAS PINCKNEY, (L. S.)
PRINCE DE LA PAZ, (L. S.)

No. XIII.

Plan of aſſociation of the North American land company *.

THE ſubſcribers hereto having, at a great expence of money and time, with much induſtry acquired a large and valuable property, conſiſting of lands in the ſtates of Pennſylvania, Virginia, North-Carolina, South-Carolina, Georgia, and Kentucky, which have been choſen or ſelected (in preference to other tracts) in conſideration of the good quality of the ſoil, advantageous poſition, certainty of title, and other circumſtances, that induced them, as purchaſers, to give ſuch preference, they now offer a plan expreſſed in the articles of agreement hereto annexed, by which all perſons

* Eſtabliſhed in February 1795.

who

who have money may, if they pleaſe, participate in the advantages reſulting from the purchaſe, ſale, and improvement of theſe valuable eſtates.

The lands upon which this plan is grounded amount to ſix million of acres agreeably to the ſchedule hereof hereto annexed, which are valued, one with another, at the average price of half a dollar per acre, or three million of dollars being the capital ſtock; this, divided upon 30,000 ſhares, gives 100 dollars per ſhare, at which the proprietors agree to ſell in the firſt inſtance.

The titles to theſe eſtates are veſted in truſtees as joint tenants, in truſt to convey the ſame to purchaſers conformably to the articles of agreement hereto annexed: the monies ariſing from the ſales thereof are for the uſe and account of the holders or poſſeſſors of the ſhares in the ſtock of the north american land company.

Articles of agreement indented, made this 20th day of February 1795, by and between the honourable Robert Morris, eſq. of the city of Philadelphia, John Nicholſon, eſq. of the ſaid city of Philadelphia, and James Greenleaf, eſq. conſul from the United States at Amſterdam, but now in New-York, of the one part, and thoſe who ſhall become purchaſers, owners, or holders of ſhares, in the north american land company, of the other part.

Firſt. This aſſociation ſhall be ſtyled "The North American land company."

Second. Every owner of one or more ſhares ſhall become a member thereof, and a party to theſe articles in virtue of ſuch ownerſhip, as fully, to all intents and purpoſes whatever, as if ſuch owner had actually ſigned and ſealed theſe preſents, and ceaſe to be ſo when he parts with his ſhare or ſhares.

Third. The capital ſtock in this company conſiſts in ſix millions of acres of land, ſituate in the ſtates of Pennſylvania, Virginia, Kentucky, North-Carolina, South-Carolina, and Georgia; the titles to which are veſted in Thomas Willing, eſq. now preſident of the bank of the United States, John Nixon, eſq. now preſident of the bank of North America, and John Barclay, eſq. now preſident of the bank of Pennſylvania, in truſt, to convey the ſame agreeably to theſe articles.

Fourth. Where two or more perſons ſhall claim the ſame land under different contracts with the board of managers, or where any perſon or perſons ſhall claim a tract or tracts

tracts of land under contract or contracts with the board of managers, and the said board shall dispute such claim, in such cases a suit or suits may be commenced against the said board, in the county of Philadelphia, in the supreme court of Pennsylvania, or in the federal circuit court of Pennsylvania, by the person or persons claiming, and one or more feigned issues joined, in order to determine the right of the parties, and trials had thereon, in the city of Philadelphia; and the said board shall request the trustees to convey the lands so claimed, to the person or persons in whose favour such determination shall be had: and if the said board shall not agree to the commencement of such suit, and to form such feigned issue or issues, or shall not request the trustees to convey to the person or persons requesting such suit to be commenced, or in whose favour such determination shall pass, such person shall be deemed and taken to be in full and perfect possession of the disputed premises; and the trustees being served with a notice in writing, that the said board refused to agree to the commencement of such suit, or to form such issue or issues, or refused or neglected to request the said trustees to convey to such person or persons in whose favour such determination passed, shall be deemed to hold the legal estate therein, in trust for such person or persons, and shall in three months from the service of such notice convey the same accordingly, unless the said board shall, within the said three months, agree to the commencement of such suit or request, the trustees to convey to the person or persons in whose favour such determination shall pass: and where any person has any demand upon or cause of complaint against the company (other than a claim of title to lands), that cannot be amicably adjusted by the board, a suit shall be commenced by such person against the board, in the supreme court of Pennsylvania, or in the federal circuit court of Pennsylvania, and one or more feigned issues joined, in order to try the right of the party and ascertain the quantum of damages, and a trial had thereon in the city of Philadelphia; and if, after a certificate of the verdict and judgment in such trial shall be served upon the board and upon the secretary, the sum recovered and the costs of such suit shall not be paid to the party, he may then maintain his action against the board for money had and received to his use; and the board shall be personally liable to the payment of such sum, unless they can shew that they had not at the time such certificate was served upon them, or at any time afterwards,

wards, monies of the company in their hands ſufficient to pay ſuch ſum and ſuch coſts.

Fifth. The ſaid capital ſtock in lands ſhall be repreſented by 30,000 ſhares or actions of 200 acres each, ſo that every perſon holding a ſhare or ſhares will be entitled to one thirty thouſandth part of the ſaid capital ſtock of lands, or monies and profits reſulting therefrom upon each ſhare.

Sixth. The affairs and buſineſs of this company ſhall be conducted by a board of managers, to be elected at their office in the city of Philadelphia on the 31ſt day of December in every year, unleſs when that day happens on a Sunday, and then on the next day, by the holders of ſhares or actions, each ſhare entitling the holder to a vote in the ſaid elections, to be given perſonally or by proxy duly authoriſed. The following form muſt be executed by a ſhare-holder to entitle his proxy to a vote, and acknowledged by the party, or proved by the oath of one of the witneſſes before a notary public or ſome magiſtrate authoriſed by the law of the country where the perſon executing ſuch proxy ſhall be, to take ſuch acknowledgment or proof, and the ſame certified under ſome authentic public ſeal: "Know all men by theſe preſents that I of do hereby appoint to be my ſubſtitute for and in my name and behalf to vote at election of a preſident, member or members of the board of managers, or ſecretary of the north american land company as fully as I might or could was I perſonally preſent: In witneſs whereof I have hereunto ſet my hand and ſeal this day of 17 " (Seal.)

Seventh. The board of managers ſhall conſiſt of a preſident and four members, to be choſen from among the ſhare-holders; of whom the preſident and two members, or three members, in caſe the preſident ſhall be abſent, ſhall be a competent board to tranſact buſineſs: a majority to prevail where more than three of the board vote, but where only three vote, they are to be unanimous. They ſhall have a ſtated meeting on one day (to be fixed on by themſelves) in every week, and ſhall meet as much oftener as the buſineſs of the company may require.

Eighth. The ſaid board for the preſent year, 1795, muſt be named within articles, as there are not at preſent any ſhare-holders to elect; and accordingly Robert Morris, Joſeph Ball, Thomas Fitzſimons, John Vaughan, and John Nicholſon,

Nicholſon, are hereby nominated and appointed the board of managers (and ſhall chuſe from amongſt themſelves a preſident), until the thirty-firſt day of December next, when the firſt election is to be held. The ſaid board, and all future boards, ſhall have authority to employ a ſecretary, clerk or clerks, office-keeper or runner, and occaſionally counſel learned in the law, and ſcriveners; and alſo one or more agent or agents, ſurveyor or ſurveyors, to be ſtationed at the moſt proper and convenient places for making ſurveys and ſales of the land belonging to the company; and who ſhall be allowed ſuch ſalaries or compenſations for their reſpective ſervices, as may be agreed to by the preſident and board of managers, on behalf of the company.

Ninth. The board of managers ſhall have authority to ſell or contract, either by themſelves or by their agents, for the ſale of any lands belonging to the company, preferring ſuch purchaſers as ſhall engage to become ſettlers, or to place ſettlers on the lands they buy. The board are to obtain the higheſt prices they can; and may give ſuch credit as they ſhall judge to conſiſt with the real intereſt of the company: the board of managers ſhall alſo have power, and they are hereby authoriſed, to lay out and open roads, to lay out a town or towns, and ſell the lots therein, and to improve upon ſuch tracts of land belonging to the company, as they ſhall think proper; one or two farms, of from 500 to 1000 acres, and thereon to erect a dwelling-houſe, barn, and other needful outhouſes, a ſaw-mill and griſt-mill, at the expence, and for account of the company; all of which may be occupied (upon terms to be agreed on by the board of managers) by the agents or ſurveyors they may employ to ſell and ſettle the ſaid tracts; the ſaid farms and improvements to be finally ſold for the benefit of the company.

Tenth. The board of managers ſhall, whenever they make ſale of any lands belonging to this company, depoſit the money received for the ſame, whether in whole or in part, in one of the three banks already mentioned (that is to ſay, the bank of the United States, the bank of North America, or the bank of Pennſylvania, opening an account for the north american land company with the bank in which the depoſit is made; and the monies ſo depoſited, ſhall be ſubject ſolely to the drafts of the preſident of the board of managers, atteſted by the ſecretary, and expreſſed to be ſigned in preſence of the board, the draft mentioning the

the purpoſe for which it is drawn, and that it is for the uſe and ſervice of the company.

Eleventh. All covenants, articles of agreement, or contracts, made by the board of managers, or by their agents, for the ſale of lands, ſhall be to and in the name of the individuals compoſing the board; and ſhall be to them, and the ſurvivor of them, and the executors and adminiſtrators of ſuch ſurvivor, to this intent expreſſly, that ſuits ſhall be brought in their names for the uſe of the ſaid company, and that if ſuch perſons ſhall ceaſe to become members of the board, then ſuits may be brought and maintained in the name of them, or the ſurvivor of them, or the executors or adminiſtrators of the ſurvivor of them, for the uſe of the ſaid company; and ſuch covenants, articles of agreement, and contracts, ſhall be depoſited with the ſecretary in their office for ſafe keeping, and for the purpoſe of collecting the payments which may be ſtipulated therein as they become due: all monies received thereon, or from any other ſource, on account of the company, ſhall be depoſited in the ſame manner, and upon the ſame conditions, as mentioned in the preceding article.

Twelfth. The truſtees in whom the titles to the lands of the company are veſted, ſhall, in caſe of the death of any one of their number, immediately after ſuch event, convey by a deed, to be prepared and preſented by the board of managers, a joint tenancy with themſelves, to ſuch perſon as the board of managers ſhall chooſe for a ſucceſſor to ſuch deceaſed truſtee.

Thirteenth. The truſtees for the time being ſhall, upon receiving a requeſt in writing, ſigned by the preſident and board of managers, atteſted by the ſecretary, execute a deed or deeds of conveyance in fee ſimple, to the purchaſer or purchaſers for any tract or tracts of land which may have been ſold by the board or their agents, it being firſt certified by the ſaid preſident, and atteſted by the ſecretary, in the manner as before provided, to the ſaid truſtees, that the conſideration-money hath been paid or ſecured to be paid; if paid, that it hath been depoſited agreeably to the tenth article; if ſecured, that ſuch ſecurities have been depoſited agreeably to the eleventh article.

Fourteenth. The ſecretary ſhall, for the preſent year, be appointed by the preſident and board of managers; but in future, ſhall be elected by the ſhare-holders, at the ſame time and place of election of the preſident and managers;

and ſhall keep records in a book, to be opened by him for that purpoſe, of all deeds of conveyance executed by the truſtees, and of all articles of agreement, covenants, mortgages, &c. that concern the company; which book ſhall be produced at every meeting of the board; and the original papers ſhall be produced whenever called for by the board.

Fifteenth. The board of managers, or their agents, may covenant to make title to purchaſers when the payments are completed; or title may be granted at the time of ſale and mortgage; or the lands be taken to ſecure the payments agreed on.

Sixteenth. The ſecretary ſhall attend every meeting of the board of managers; he ſhall keep regular minutes of their proceedings; he ſhall ſummon ſuch meetings, when directed by the preſident, or upon application of any two or more members of the board, or upon application of 20 ſhare-holders, by ſending a notice, in writing, to the preſident, and to each member, naming the time and place of ſuch meeting.

Seventeenth. Vacancies which may happen in the board of managers by death, reſignation, or removal to a diſtance of ten miles from the city of Philadelphia, of any member or members, may and ſhall be ſupplied by an election of the board out of other ſhare-holders, reſiding in the city of Philadelphia, for the remainder of the year, until the next general election by the ſhare-holders; and in caſe of death, reſignation, or abſence, of the preſident or ſecretary, the ſaid board of managers ſhall chooſe a preſident, and appoint a ſecretary *pro tempore*, or for the remainder of the year, as the caſe may require.

Eighteenth. The ſecretary ſhall provide a ſet of books of account for the concerns of the company, wherein ſhall be regularly entered, a proper account of all ſales made, of all monies received and paid, of all notes, bonds, mortgages, and ſpecialties, of every ſort and kind, and of all expenditures: and theſe accounts ſhall be ſettled and adjuſted, ſo as that an abſtract thereof, together with the ſaid books, be laid before the ſhare-holders at every annual meeting, to be held for the purpoſe of electing the board of managers; and at every ſuch meeting, the board of managers ſhall give a full and fair account of their proceedings, and of the actual ſtate of the company's affairs; and in order to give time for the ſecretary to prepare the accounts and ſtatements, the transfer of ſhares ſhall be ſuſpended from the twen-

twentieth to the thirty-firſt days of December, incluſively, in every year.

Nineteenth. The board of managers ſhall provide an office in the city of Philadelphia, wherein to hold their meetings; and the ſecretary ſhall give conſtant attendance therein, day by day, at ſuch hours as may be fixed on by the board of managers, to perform the duties of his ſtation, and for the purpoſe of laying before any ſhare-holder that may deſire it, the book of minutes, book of records, books of account, and to give ſuch other information reſpecting the eſtate and affairs of the company, as will convey a true idea of its actual ſituation.

Twentieth. The certificates for ſhares or actions ſhall be transferable at the pleaſure of the holder; but the tranſfers muſt be made by the holder in perſon, or by his attorney, or legal repreſentative, at the office of the board of managers, in preſence of the ſecretary; who ſhall keep a record of all transfers, in a book to be provided and kept for that purpoſe; which transfers ſhall be ſigned by the perſon transferring, who ſhall alſo deliver up the old certificate or certificates, to be cancelled and filed, and new ones ſhall be iſſued to the ſame amount to the transferee. Perſons wanting to transfer ſhares, as attornies, muſt produce a power in the following form: "Know all men by theſe preſents, that do make, conſtitute, and appoint to be true and lawful attorney for and in name to ſell, aſſign, and transfer ſtock or ſhares ſtanding in name in the books of the north american land company, with power alſo as attorney or attornies, under for the purpoſe to make and ſubſtitute, and to do all lawful acts requiſite for effecting the premiſes; hereby ratifying and confirming all that ſaid attorney or ſubſtitute or ſubſtitutes ſhall do therein by virtue hereof. In witneſs whereof, have hereunto ſet hand and ſeal, the day of in the year of our Lord one thouſand hundred and" And the ſame ſhall be acknowledged, proved, and certified, in ſame manner and form as is before provided with reſpect to the execution of proxies.

Twenty-firſt. The preſident, and board of managers, ſhall cauſe a ſtatement of the company's ſales and receipts to be made out, and printed annually, or if they ſee proper, half-yearly; one copy of which ſhall, at the time, be forwarded

to every ſhare-holder that may leave his addreſs at the office for that purpoſe, at his expence, and as he ſhall direct.

Twenty-ſecond. The board of managers ſhall, in the courſe of the laſt ten days of the month of December in every year during the exiſtence of this company, cauſe the accounts of the company to be made up; and after paying office-rent, ſalaries, and contingent charges, and after reſerving ſuch as they may think neceſſary for a contingent fund, not exceeding 4000 dollars, they ſhall declare a dividend of the remaining balance of the caſh in hand, by dividing the ſame into thirty thouſand parts, and allowing one of thoſe parts to each ſhare: the dividend ſo made ſhall be advertiſed in the public newſpapers, and the ſhare-holders be notified that they may perſonally, or by their attorney, or legal repreſentative, apply at the company's office, and receive payment: and if at any time the receipt of monies, on account of the company, ſhould be ſo great previous to the end of the year, as to admit of more than one dividend, the preſident and board of managers may, in their diſcretion, declare one or more dividends at ſuch time or times as they ſhall deem proper, the ſaid dividends to be advertiſed and paid in the ſame manner as is above provided.

Twenty-third. It is agreed, by the ſaid Robert Morris, John Nicholſon, and James Greenleaf, parties of the firſt part, that the dividend or dividends ſhall not be leſs than ſix per cent. per annum, or ſix dollars on each ſhare in every year; and that if the caſh ariſing from the ſales does not amount to that ſum, they the ſaid parties of the firſt part do hereby promiſe, and bind themſelves, their heirs, executors, and adminiſtrators, to advance and lend to the board of managers, ſuch ſum as may be neceſſary, in addition to what they have in hand of the company's money, to enable them to pay ſix dollars on each ſhare, the board of managers granting their obligation to the ſaid parties of the firſt part, to repay the ſaid advances out of the firſt monies they may receive thereafter, on account of the company; except ſuch as the ſaid board are obliged, by article the fourth, to pay to perſons recovering againſt the board; and alſo excepting the monies reſerved for a contingent fund. And in order to ſecure the performance on the part of the ſaid parties of the firſt part, they do hereby agree to depoſit in the hands of the truſtees, each 3000 ſhares

ſhares or actions, making in all 9000 ſhares, to be held by them for the uſe of Robert Morris, John Nicholſon, and James Greenleaf reſpectively; ſubject, however, to the payment of ſuch ſum or ſums in any or every year during the continuance of this company, as may be neceſſary to enable the board of managers to pay a dividend of ſix per cent: and they are hereby authorized to ſell and transfer ſo many ſhares as may be needful for that purpoſe, in caſe the ſaid Robert Morris, John Nicholſon, and James Greenleaf, or ſome of them, their, or ſome of their heirs, executors, or adminiſtrators, fail to provide by other means the ſums neceſſary; the ſums of money ariſing from ſuch ſales of depoſited ſhares, to be in the firſt inſtance applied to the payment of the dividend; and afterwards the ſame ſums to be replaced from the company's funds, which ſhall be reinveſted in ſhares, for account of the ſaid Robert Morris, John Nicholſon, and James Greenleaf; and the ſhares ſo purchaſed, ſhall again be depoſited as before, and for the ſame uſes and purpoſes, it being underſtood that the ſaid parties of the firſt part are to draw the annual dividends on their reſpective parts of the depoſited ſhares.

Twenty-fourth. The preſident and the managers muſt neceſſarily devote much time and labour to the buſineſs of this company; the profits will be great and certain, therefore the company can well afford to pay thoſe who ſerve them. It is therefore agreed, that the preſident and managers ſhall be allowed a commiſſion of two and a half per cent. on the amount of the ſales they make; receivable by them only out of the payments actually received, or as the caſh comes into the company's poſſeſſion; which commiſſion ſhall be divided into five parts, one for the preſident, and one for each member of the board.

Twenty-fifth. The preſident, and each member of the board of managers, and the ſecretary, ſhall ſeverally give ſecurity to the truſtees, in the ſum of 20,000 dollars, for the faithful diſcharge of their reſpective truſts. The board of managers will alſo take ſecurity from the agents and ſurveyors they may appoint, for the faithful diſcharge of their duty and truſt.

Twenty-ſixth. Certificates for 30,000 ſhares or actions will be immediately made out, ſigned, and delivered to the parties of the firſt part, after the execution of theſe articles, in the following form: "This is to certify, that

is entitled to share in the entire property of the north american land company; the dividends whereof ſhall not be leſs than ſix dollars on each ſhare annually; conformably to articles of agreement duly executed, dated at Philadelphia, the twentieth day of February, one thouſand ſeven hundred and ninety-five, transferable only at the company's office in that city, by the owner in perſon, or by his executor, adminiſtrator, attorney, or legal repreſentative. Signed in the preſence, and by order of the board of managers at Philadelphia, this day of 17 preſident. Atteſt. ſecretary."

Twenty-ſeventh. This company ſhall exiſt for 15 years (unleſs the ſales of their lands, and the collection of the monies, ſhall be ſooner effected), and as much longer as may be neceſſary to cloſe and ſettle their concerns, and make a final dividend. At the end of 15 years from the date of theſe articles of agreement, it ſhall be the duty of the then board of managers to call, by advertiſements in the newſpapers, upon the ſhare-holders, to appear in perſon, or by proxy, at a meeting to be held at the company's office, ſix months after the date of ſuch advertiſement; and there to determine upon the beſt mode of diſpoſing of any part of the company's eſtate that may then remain unſold or uncollected, ſo as to make a juſt and final diviſion thereof; and a majority of votes given by the ſhare-holders and proxies that meet, ſhall be concluſive. The ſaid board ſhall carry the ſame into effect, and a final dividend thereof, as ſoon thereafter as may be practicable.

Twenty-eighth. It is further agreed, that if upon experience it ſhall be found neceſſary to alter, amend, add to, or diminiſh, theſe articles of agreement, the ſame may be done upon the following terms and conditions, and on no other: the perſon or perſons wiſhing for an alteration, ſhall propoſe the ſame at an annual meeting of the ſhare-holders, by laying the propoſed changes before them in writing: and if ſuch changes or alterations, or any part thereof, meet the approbation of a majority of the ſhare-holders and proxies then met, the propoſitions ſo laid before them ſhall be printed, with notice that deciſion is to be made thereon at the next annual meeting; and copies thereof be tranſmitted to every ſhare-holder, who ſhall leave his addreſs at the office for that purpoſe, at his expence, and as he ſhall direct. When two-thirds of the whole number of ſhare-holders and proxies then met, concurring or agreeing to the ſaid

ſaid changes or alterations, or any part thereof (provided that the ſaid two-thirds of the ſhare-holders and proxies repreſent not leſs than two-thirds of the whole number of ſhares), the ſame ſhall become a part of theſe articles, and be incorporated in this plan, and be binding upon all concerned, as if the ſame had been now inſerted and accepted.

Schedule of the lands wheron the above plan is founded, viz.

	Acres.	Acres.
PENNSYLVANIA.		
Northampton county	72,000	
Northumberland	217,046	
Luzerne	4,500	
Mifflin	34,328	
Huntingdon	29,172	
Weſtmoreland	40,000	
North and weſt of Allegany and Ohio rivers	250,000	
		647,046
VIRGINIA.		
Monongahela county	19,700	
Waſhington	25,000	
Harriſon	44,155½	
Ohio	30,000	
Randolph	18,825	
Montgomery	484,025¾	
Greenbriar	156,355	
Ruſſell	20,000	
Kanhaway	134,560	
		932,621¼
NORTH-CAROLINA.		
Beaufort and Hyde counties	200,000	
Rowan county, on Yadkin river	17,299	
Robinſon, Moore, Cumberland, Richmond, and Anſon counties	500,000	
		717,299
SOUTH-CAROLINA.		
Orangeburgh diſtrict	577,875	
Ninety-ſix	17,034	
Waſhington	340,680	
Pinkney	1,883	
Camden	15,130	
Cheraw	4,636	
		957,238
GEORGIA.		
Waſhington county	1,453,516	
Franklin	320,370	

Effingham - - - -	432,910	
Camden - - - - -	108,000	
		2,314,796
KENTUCKY.		
Fayette county - - -	150,943	
Jefferſon - - - -	29,200	
Lincoln - - - -	4,000	
Maſon - - - -	246,900	
		431,043
Total		6,000,043¼

Sealed and delivered (the words "hundred" in two places, in the twenty-third article, being firſt obſerved to be ſtruck out, and the words "thouſand" inſerted in their ſtead), in the preſence of
N. B. The name of Thomas Fitzſimons, eſq. one of the board of managers, is obſerved to be written on an eraſure.
THOMAS PIKE LATHY,
GARRETT COTTRINGER.

Robert Morris. *(Seal.)*
John Nicholſon. *(Seal.)*
James Greenleaf. *(Seal.)*

The twentieth day of February, anno domini 1795, before me Matthew Clarkſon, eſq. mayor of the city of Philadelphia, in the ſtate of Pennſylvania, came the above-named Robert Morris, John Nicholſon, and James Greenleaf, and acknowledged the above written articles of agreement to be their and each of their act and deed; and deſired the ſame to be received as ſuch, and that it may be recorded. In witneſs whereof, I have hereunto ſet my hand and ſeal.

MATTHEW CLARKSON,
mayor. *(The ſeal of the city of Philadelphia.)*

Pennſylvania, ſſ.

Thomas Mifflin, governor of the commonwealth of Pennſylvania.

To all to whom theſe preſents ſhall come greeting:

(Great ſeal of the ſtate of Pennſylvania.)

THOS. MIFFLIN.

Know ye, that Matthew Clarkſon, eſq. whoſe name is ſubſcribed to the foregoing inſtrument of writing, was, at the time of ſubſcribing the ſame, and now is, mayor of the city of Philadelphia, in the ſtate of Pennſylvania, duly appointed and commiſſioned, and full faith and credit is and ought to be given him accordingly.

Given

Given under my hand, and the great ſeal of the ſtate, at Philadelphia, the twenty-firſt day of February, in the year of our Lord one thouſand ſeven hundred and ninety-five, and of the commonwealth the nineteenth.

By the governor,
JAMES TRIMBLE, deputy-ſecretary.

No. XIV.

The ſecretary of ſtate, to whom was referred by the preſident of the United States, the reſolution of congreſs, requeſting the preſident "to cauſe an eſtimate to be laid before congreſs at their next ſeſſion, of the quantity and ſituation of the lands not claimed by the Indians, nor granted to, nor claimed by any citizens of the United States, within the territory ceded to the United States by the ſtate of North-Carolina, and within the territory of the United States north-weſt of the river Ohio," makes thereon the following report. [Read in the houſe of repreſentatives, Nov. 20, 1791.]

THE territory ceded by the ſtate of North-Carolina to the United States, by deed bearing date the 25th day of February 1790, is bounded as follows, to wit: beginning in the boundary between Virginia and North-Carolina, that is to ſay, in the parallel of latitude 36½ degrees north from the equator, on the extreme height of the Stone mountain, where the ſaid boundary or parallel interſects it, and running thence along the ſaid extreme height to the place where Wataugo river breaks through it; thence a direct courſe to the top of the Yellow mountain, where Bright's road croſſes the ſame; thence along the ridge of the ſaid mountain between the waters of Doe river and the waters of Rock creek, to the place where the road croſſes the Iron mountain; from thence along the extreme height of ſaid mountain to where Nolachucky river runs through the ſame; thence to the top of the Bald mountain; thence along the extreme height of the ſaid mountain to the Painted rock, on Frenchbroad river; thence along the higheſt ridge of the ſaid mountain, to the place where it is called the Great iron or Smoky mountain; thence along the

the extreme height of the ſaid mountain to the place where it is called Unaka mountain, between the indian towns of Cowee and Old Chota; thence along the main ridge of the ſaid mountain, to the ſouthern boundary of the ſaid ſtate of North-Carolina, that is to ſay, to the parallel of latitude 35° north from the equator; thence weſtwardly along the ſaid boundary or parallel, to the middle of the river Miſſiſſippi; thence up the middle of the ſaid river to where it is interſected by the firſt-mentioned parallel of 36½ degrees; thence along the ſaid parallel to the beginning: which tract of country is a degree and a half of latitude from north to ſouth, and about 360 miles, in general, from eaſt to weſt, as nearly as may be eſtimated from ſuch maps as exiſt of that country.

The Indians having claims within the ſaid tract of country, are the Cherokees and Chickaſaws, whoſe boundaries are ſettled by the treaties of Hopewell, concluded with the Cherokees on the 28th day of November 1785; and with the Chickaſaws, on the 10th day of January 1786, and by the treaty of Holſton, concluded with the Cherokees, July 2d, 1791. Theſe treaties acknowledge to the ſaid Indians all the lands weſtward and ſouthward of the following lines, to wit: beginning in the boundary between South and North-Carolina, where the South-Carolina indian boundary ſtrikes the ſame; thence north to a point from which a line is to be extended to the river Clinch, that ſhall paſs the Holſton, at the ridge which divides the waters running into Little river from thoſe running into the Tenaſee; thence up the river Clinch to Campbell's line, and along the ſame to the top of the Cumberland mountain; thence in a direct courſe towards the Cumberland river, where the Kentucky road croſſes it, as far as the Virginia line, or parallel aforeſaid, of 36½ degrees; thence weſtwardly or eaſtwardly, as the cauſe ſhall be, along the ſaid line or parallel to the point thereof which is due north-eaſt from another point, to be taken on the dividing ridge of Cumberland and Duck rivers, 40 miles from Naſhville; thence ſouth-weſt to the point laſt mentioned, on the ſaid dividing ridge, and along the ſaid dividing ridge north-weſtwardly, to where it is interſected by the ſaid Virginia line, or parallel of 36½ degrees: ſo that there remained to the United States the right of pre-emption of the lands weſtward and ſouthward of the ſaid lines, and the abſolute right to thoſe northward thereof, that is to ſay, to one

parcel

parcel to the eaſtward, ſomewhat triangular, comprehending the counties of Sullivan and Waſhington, and parts of thoſe of Greene and Hawkins, running about 150 miles from eaſt to weſt, on the Virginia boundary, as its baſe, and between 80 and 90 miles from north to ſouth, where broadeſt; and containing, as may be conjectured, without pretending to accuracy, between ſeven and eight thouſand ſquare miles, or about five millions of acres: and to one other parcel to the weſtward, ſomewhat triangular alſo, comprehending parts of the counties of Sumner, Davidſon, and Tenaſee; the baſe whereof extends about 150 miles alſo, from eaſt to weſt, on the ſame Virginia line; and its height, from north to ſouth, about 55 miles; and ſo may comprehend about four thouſand ſquare miles, or upwards of two and a half millions of acres of land.

Within theſe triangles, however, are the following claims of citizens, reſerved by the deed of ceſſion, and conſequently forming exceptions to the rights of the United States:

I. Appropriations by the ſtate of North-Carolina, for their continental and ſtate officers and ſoldiers.

II. Grants and titles to grants veſted in individuals by the laws of the ſtate.

III. Entries made in Armſtrong's office, under an act of that ſtate, of 1783, for the redemption of ſpecie and other certificates.

The claims covered by the firſt reſervation, are—

1ſt, The bounties in land given by the ſaid ſtate of North-Carolina, to their continental line, in addition to thoſe given by congreſs; theſe were to be located within a diſtrict bounded northwardly by the Virginia line, and ſouthwardly by a line parallel thereto, and 55 miles diſtant; weſtwardly by the Tenaſee, and eaſtwardly by the meridian of the interſection of the Virginia line and Cumberland river. Grants have accordingly iſſued for 1,239,498 acres, and warrants for the further quantity of 1,549,726 acres, making together 2,789,224 acres.

It is to be noted, that the ſouth-weſtern and ſouth-eaſtern angles of this diſtrict, conſtituting perhaps a fourth or a fifth of the whole, are ſouth of the lines eſtabliſhed by the treaties of Hopewell and Holſton, and conſequently in a country wherein the indian title is acknowledged and guaranteed by the United States. No information is received of the exact proportion of the locations made within theſe angles.

Bounties

Bounties in land to Evan's battalion, raiſed for ſtate purpoſes: theſe were to be taken weſt of the Cumberland mountain;—the locations are not yet made.

The ſecond reſervation covers the following claims:

1ſt, Lands for the ſurveyor-general's fees for laying out the military bounties, to be located in the military diſtrict. The grants already iſſued on this account amount to 30,203 acres.

2d, Grants to Iſaac Shelby, Anthony Bledſoe, and Abſalom Tatum, commiſſioners for laying out the military bounties; and to guards, chain-carriers, markers, and hunters, who attended them, already iſſued to the amount of 65,932 acres, located in the military diſtrict.

3d, Entries in Waſhington county, amounting to 746,362½ acres; for 214,549¾; which grants have already iſſued. Of the remaining 531,812¾ acres, a conſiderable proportion were declared void by the laws of the ſtate, and were particularly excluded from the cover of the reſervation in the deed of ceſſion, by this clauſe in it, to wit; "Provided that nothing herein contained ſhall extend, or be conſtrued to extend, to the making good any entry or entries, or any grant or grants, heretofore declared void, by any act or acts of the general aſſembly of this ſtate." Still it is to be conſidered, that many of theſe perſons have ſettled and improved the lands, are willing, as it is ſaid, to comply with ſuch conditions as ſhall be required of other purchaſers, form a ſtrong barrier on the new frontier, acquired by the treaty of Holſton, and are therefore objects meriting the conſideration of the legiſlature.

4th, Entries in Sullivan county, amounting to 240,624 acres; for 173,332 acres of which, grants have already iſſued; of the remaining entries, many are certified void, and others underſtood to be lapſed or otherwiſe voidable under the laws of the ſtate.

5th, Certain pre-emption rights granted to the firſt ſettlers of Davidſon county, on Cumberland river, amounting to 390,760 acres.

6th, A grant of 200,000 acres to Richard Henderſon, and others, on Powel's and Clinch's rivers, extending up Powel's river in a breadth of not leſs than four miles, and down Clinch's from their junction in a breadth not leſs than 12 miles. A great part of this is within the indian territory.

Among the grants of the ſtate now under recapitulation,

as

as forming exceptions out of the abſolute rights of the United States, are not to be reckoned here, two grants of 2000 acres each to Alexander Martin and David Wilſon, adjacent to the lands allotted to the officers and ſoldiers; nor a grant of 25,000 acres on Duck river to the late major-general Greene; becauſe they are wholly within the indian territory, as acknowledged by the treaties of Hopewell and Holſton.

The extent of the third reſervation in favour of entries made in Armſtrong's office is not yet entirely known, nor can be till the 20th of December 1792, the laſt day given for perfecting them: the ſum of certificates however, which had been paid for theſe warrants into the treaſury of of the ſtate, before the 20th day of May 1790, reaches in all probability near to their whole amount; this was £373,649 6s. 5d. currency of that ſtate, and at the price of £10 the hundred acres, eſtabliſhed by law, ſhews that warrants had iſſued for 3,736,493 acres; for 1,762,660 of theſe grants have paſſed, which appear to have been located partly in the counties of Greene and Hawkins, and partly in the country from thence to the Miſſiſſippi, as divided into eaſtern, middle, and weſtern diſtricts. Almoſt the whole of theſe locations are within the indian territory. Beſides the warrants paid for as before mentioned, it is known that there are ſome others outſtanding and not paid for: but perhaps theſe need not be taken into account, as payment of them has been diſputed, on the ground, that the lands being within the indian territory, cannot now be delivered to the holders of the warrants.

On a review of all the reſervations, after making ſuch conjectural allowance as our information authorizes, for the proportion of them which may be within the indian boundaries, it appears probable that they cover all the ceded lands ſuſceptible of culture, and cleared of the indian title, that is to ſay, all the habitable parts of the two triangles before mentioned, excepting only the lands ſouth of the French-broad and Big Pigeon rivers. Theſe were part of the tract appropriated by the laws of the ſtate to the uſe of the Indians, whoſe title being purchaſed at the late treaty of Holſton, they are now free to be diſpoſed of by the United States, and are probably the only lands open to their diſpoſal, within this ſouth-weſtern territory, which can excite the attention of purchaſers. They are ſuppoſed to amount to about

300,000

300,000 acres, and we are told that 300 families have already ſet down upon them without right or licence.

The territory of the United States north-weſt of the Ohio, is bounded on the ſouth by that river, on the eaſt by Pennſylvania, on the north and weſt by the lines which divide the United States from the dominions of Great Britain and Spain.

The part of this territory occupied by Indians, is north and weſt of the following lines, eſtabliſhed with the Wiandots, Delawares, Chippawas, and Ottawas, by the treaty of fort M'Intoſh, and, with the Shawaneſe, by that of the Great Miami, to wit: beginning at the mouth of the Cayahoga, and running up the river to the portage between that and the Tuſcuroras branch of the Muſkingum, then down the ſaid branch to the forks, at the croſſing place above fort Lawrence, then weſtwardly, towards the portage of the Big Miami to the main branch of that river, then down the Miami to the fork of that river next below the old fort, which was taken by the French in 1752; thence due weſt to the river de la Panſe, and down that river to the Wabaſh. So far the lines are preciſely defined, and the whole country ſouthward of theſe lines and eaſtward of the Wabaſh cleared of the claims of thoſe Indians, as it is alſo of thoſe of the Poutiwatimas and Sacs, by the treaty of Muſkingum. How far on the other ſide of the Wabaſh the ſouthern boundary of the Indians has been defined, we know not. It is only underſtood in general, that their title to the lower country, between that river and the Illinois, has been formally extinguiſhed by the French, while in their poſſeſſion. As to that country then, and what lies ſtill beyond the Illinois, it would ſeem expedient that nothing be done, till a fair aſcertainment of boundary can take place by mutual conſent between us and the Indians intereſted.

The country within the Wabaſh, the indian line before deſcribed, the Pennſylvania line, and the Ohio, contains, on a looſe eſtimate, about 55,000 ſquare miles, or 35 millions of acres.

During the britiſh government, great numbers of perſons had formed themſelves into companies under different names, ſuch as the Ohio, the Wabaſh, the Illinois, the Miſſiſſippi, or Vandalia companies, and had covered with their applications a great part of this territory. Some of them had obtained orders on certain conditions, which having never been

been fulfilled, their titles were never completed by grants. Others were only in a ſtate of negotiation, when the britiſh authority was diſcontinued. Some of theſe claims being already under a ſpecial reference by order of congreſs, and all of them probably falling under the operation of the ſame principles, they will not be noticed in the preſent report.

The claims of citizens to be here ſtated will be,

I. Thoſe reſerved by the ſtates in their deeds of ceſſion.

II. Thoſe which have ariſen under the government of the United States themſelves.

Under the firſt head preſents itſelf the tract of country from the completion of the 41ſt degree, to 42° 2′ of north latitude, and extending from the Pennſylvania line before mentioned 120 miles weſtward, not mentioned in the deed of Connecticut, while all the country weſtward thereof was mentioned to be ceded; about 2,500,000 acres of this may perhaps be without the indian lines before mentioned.

2. A reſervation in the deed of Virginia of the poſſeſſions and titles of the french and canadian inhabitants and other ſettlers of the Kaſkaſkias, St. Vincent's, and the neighbouring villages, who had profeſſed themſelves citizens of Virginia, which rights have been ſettled by an act of the laſt ſeſſion of congreſs, intitled, "An act for granting lands to the inhabitants and ſettlers at Vincennes and the Illinois country in the territory north-weſt of the Ohio, and for confirming them in their poſſeſſions." Theſe lands are in the neighbourhood of the ſeveral villages.

3. A reſervation in the ſame deed of a quantity not exceeding 150,000 acres of land, for general George Rogers Clarke, and the officers and ſoldiers of his regiment, who were at the reduction of Kaſkaſkias and St. Vincent's, to be laid off in ſuch place on the north-weſt ſide of the Ohio, as a majority of the officers ſhould chooſe. They choſe they ſhould be laid off on the river adjacent to the rapids, which accordingly has been done.

4. A reſervation, in the ſame deed, of lands between the Scioto and little Miami, to make up to the Virginia troops on continental eſtabliſhment, the quantity which the good lands, in their ſouthern allotments, might fall ſhort of the bounties given them by the laws of that ſtate. By a ſtatement of the 16th of September 1788, it appears that 724,053⅓ acres had been ſurveyed for them on the ſouth-eaſtern ſide of the Ohio; that 1,395,385⅓ acres had been ſurveyed on the north-weſtern ſide; that warrants for 649,649 acres more,

to be laid off on the ſame ſide of the river, were in the hands of the ſurveyor, and it was ſuppoſed there might ſtill be ſome few warrants not yet preſented; ſo that this reſervation may be ſtated at 2,045,034⅓ acres, or perhaps ſome ſmall matter more.

II. The claims of individual citizens derived from the United States themſelves are the following:

1. Thoſe of the continental army, founded on the reſolutions of congreſs of September 16, 1776, Auguſt 12, and September 30, 1780, and fixed by the ordinance of May 20, 1785. The reſolution of October 22, 1787, and the ſupplementary ordinance of July 9, 1788, in the ſeven ranges of townſhips, beginning at a point on the Ohio, due north from the weſtern termination of a line then lately run, as the ſouthern boundary of Pennſylvania: or in a ſecond tract of 1,000,000 of acres, bounded eaſt by the 7th range of the ſaid townſhips, ſouth by the lands of Cutler and Sargent; north, by an extenſion of the northern boundary of the ſaid townſhips; and going towards the weſt ſo far as to include the above quantity: or laſtly, in a third tract of country, beginning at the mouth of the Ohio, and running up the Miſſiſſippi to the river au Vauſe, thence up the ſame till it meets a weſt line from the mouth of the little Wabaſh; thence along that line to the great Wabaſh: thence down the ſame and the Ohio to the beginning. The ſum total of the ſaid military claims is 1,851,800 acres.

2. Thoſe of the individuals who made purchaſes of land at New-York, within the ſaid ſeven ranges of townſhips, according to the reſolutions of congreſs of April 21, 1787, and the ſupplementary ordinance of July 9, 1788, which claims amount to 150,896 acres.

3. The purchaſe of 1,500,000 acres of land by Cutler and Sargent, on behalf of certain individuals, aſſociated under the name of the Ohio company. This begins where the Ohio is interſected by the weſtern boundary of the 7th range of townſhips, and runs due north on that boundary 1306 chains and 25 links; thence due weſt to the weſtern boundary of the 17th range of townſhips: thence due ſouth to the Ohio, and up that river to the beginning; the whole area containing 1,781,760 acres of land, whereof 281,760 acres, conſiſting of various lots and townſhips, are reſerved to the United States.

4. The purchaſe by the ſame Cutler and Sargent on behalf alſo of themſelves and other. This begins at the north-eaſtern

eaſtern angle of the tract of their purchaſe before deſcribed, and runs due north to the northern boundary of the tenth townſhip from the Ohio; thence due weſt, to the Scioto; thence down the ſame, and up the Ohio to the ſouth-weſtern angle of the ſaid purchaſe before deſcribed, and along the weſtern and northern boundaries thereof to the beginning; the whole area containing 4,901,480 acres of land, out of which, however, five lots, to wit, Nos. 8, 11, 16, 26, and 29 of every townſhip, of ſix miles ſquare, are retained by the United States, and out of the whole are retained the three townſhips of Gnadenhutten, Schœnbrun, and Salem; and certain lands around them, as will be hereafter mentioned.

5. The purchaſe of John Cleve Symmes, bounded on the weſt by the great Miami; on the ſouth by the Ohio; on the eaſt by a line which is to begin on the bank of the Ohio, 20 miles from the mouth of the great Miami, as meaſured along the ſeveral courſes of Ohio; and to run parallel with the general courſe of the ſaid great Miami; and on the north by an eaſt and weſt line, ſo run as to include a million of acres in the whole area, whereof five lots, numbered as before mentioned, are reſerved out of every townſhip by the United States.

It is ſuggeſted that this purchaſer, under colour of a firſt and larger propoſition to the board of treaſury, which was never cloſed (but pending that propoſition), ſold ſundry parcels of land, between his eaſtern boundary before mentioned, and the little Miami; and that the purchaſers have ſettled thereon. If theſe ſuggeſtions prove true, the ſettlers will, perhaps, be thought to merit the favour of the legiſlature, as purchaſers for valuable conſideration, and without notice of the defect of title.

The contracts for lands, which were at one time under conſideration with Meſſrs. Flint and Parker, and with colonel Morgan, were never ſo far proſecuted as to bring either party under any obligation. All proceedings thereon were diſcontinued at a very early ſtage, and it is ſuppoſed that no further views exiſt with any party. Theſe, therefore, are not to be enumerated among exiſting claims.

6. Three townſhips were reſerved by the ordinance of May 20, 1785, adjacent to lake Erie, for refugees from Canada and Nova-Scotia, and for other purpoſes, according to reſolutions of congreſs, made or to be made on that ſubject. Theſe would of courſe contain 69,120 acres.

7. The ſame ordinance of May 20, 1785, appropriated

the three towns of Gnadenhutten, Schœnbrun, and Salem, on the Muſkingum, for the chriſtian Indians formerly ſettled there, or the remains of that ſociety, with the grounds round about them; and the quantity of the ſaid circumjacent grounds, for each of the ſaid towns, was determined by the reſolution of congreſs of September 3, 1788, to be ſo much as, with the plat of its reſpective town, ſhould make up 4000 acres; ſo that the three towns and their circumjacent lands were to amount to 12,000 acres. This reſervation was accordingly made out of the larger purchaſe of Cutler and Sargent, which comprehended them. The Indians, however, for whom the reſervation was made, have choſen to emigrate beyond the limits of the United States, ſo that the lands reſerved for them ſtill remain to the United States.

On the whole, it appears that the United States may rightfully diſpoſe of all the lands between the Wabaſh, the Ohio, Pennſylvania, the 41ſt parallel of latitude, and the indian lines deſcribed in the treaties of the great Miami and fort M'Intoſh, with exceptions only of the rights ſaved by the deed of ceſſion of Virginia, and of all rights legally derived from the government of the United States: and ſuppoſing the parts ſouth of the indian lines to contain, as before conjectured, about 35,000,000 of acres, and that the claims of citizens before enumerated may amount to between 13 and 14,000,000, there remain at the diſpoſal of the United States upwards of 21,000,000 of acres, in this north-weſtern quarter.

And though the want of actual ſurveys of ſome parts, and of a general delineation of the whole on paper, ſo as to exhibit to the eye the locations, forms, and relative poſitions of the rights before deſcribed, may prevent our forming a well-defined idea of them at this diſtance, yet, on the ſpot, theſe difficulties exiſt but in a ſmall degree: the individuals there employed in the details of buying, ſelling, and locating, poſſeſs local informations of the parts which concern them, ſo as to be able to keep clear of each other's rights; or, if in ſome inſtances a conflict of claims ſhould ariſe, from any want of certainty in their definition, a local judge will doubtleſs be provided to decide them without delay, at leaſt proviſionally. Time, inſtead of clearing up theſe incertainties, will cloud them the more, by the death or removal of witneſſes, the diſappearance of lines and marks, change of parties, and other caſualties.

T. JEFFERSON, ſecretary of ſtate.

November 8, 1791.

No. XV.

Extract of a letter from a gentleman at the Muſkingum, to the printer of the Maſſachuſetts Spy, written on the ſpot where the firſt city of that territory is to be built.

Mr. THOMAS, Adelphi, May 16, 1788.

I AM much pleaſed with the purchaſe we have made, and am fully determined to fix my reſidence here. That part of the purchaſe I have been over, far exceeds my expectations; from our eaſtern boundary to the Muſkingum (the diſtance of about five miles), the intervals, or what the people of this country call bottoms, are from one half to three quarters of a mile wide; theſe, in richneſs, and apparent fertility of ſoil, exceed any thing I ever ſaw eaſt of the Allegany mountains. Next to theſe are what is called ſecond bottoms, which are elevated plains, and gentle riſings of the richeſt uplands, and as free from ſtone as the low or firſt bottom, except in ſome few inſtances, where theſe elevated plains conſiſt of a ſhallow, light, and ſometimes ſandy ſoil, under which appears an open looſe earth: back of theſe commence the hills, which in general are conſiderably uneven, and ſeparated by deep, hollow grounds, where flow innumerable rivulets, which have their ſource from ſprings which riſe among the hills, the moſt of which are free from ſtone, and conſiſt of a rich and deep ſoil, ſuited to the culture of wheat, grazing, &c. In this diſtance fall into the Ohio two very conſiderable creeks, called little Muſkingum and Duck creek; in the ſpring ſeaſon theſe are navigable for boats more than 20 miles, and afford large tracts of the beſt bottoms and uplands for farming.

We have ſurveyed the lots of one mile ſquare on both ſides the Muſkingum, for 15 miles up. A deſcription of the lands in this diſtance would be only a repetition of that already given of that on the Ohio. The timber growing on the land above deſcribed are of the kind mentioned by Mr. Hutchins and others; but I muſt confeſs, the trees are larger and more numerous than I expected to find.

We have found plenty of limeſtone, as well as fine quarries of building ſtone, at a ſmall diſtance up the Muſkingum, ſufficient for building the city, or any other pur-

poſe for which they may be wanted. At preſent we go 20 miles up the river for pit-coal, but there is no doubt plenty will be found nearer: we have found ſeveral ſalt licks within our ſurveys, and are aſſured there is a ſalt ſpring about 40 miles up the Muſkingum, from which a ſufficient quantity of ſalt for the ſupply of the country may be made. —Some gentlemen at fort Harmar doubt this information, but ſay a ſufficient quantity may be made at a ſpring on the branch of the Scioto.

We have had no time yet to go in ſearch of iron ore; but one of our people has brought in a ſmall ſtone, taken from one of the neighbouring hills, which I found on trial to contain a rich iron ore. We find the ſeaſon here much more forward than even at Pittſburgh; by the 7th of April there was as good feed for cattle on the banks of the Muſkingum, as you will generally find by the middle of May in the beſt encloſures in the county of Worceſter.

To give ſome idea of beginning a ſettlement in this country, compared with Vermont, or any new country to the northward, I ſtate the following fact:—about a dozen families removed to this place a year ago laſt March, and ſettled oppoſite fort Harmar, on the Virginia ſide of the Ohio; their lands were the ſame as ours, and entirely new; they raiſed 1000 buſhels of corn laſt ſeaſon; and although the laſt winter was very ſevere, they wintered, without any hay (making uſe of their huſks and ſtalks, with ſome corn), betwen 60 and 70 horſes and neat cattle, fatted a ſufficient quantity of pork for their own conſumption, beſides wintering over a large number of ſwine.

From the plot of ground laid out for building the city of Adelphi, we have a moſt delightful proſpect; from this ground you will have a full view of the waters in the Ohio eight or nine miles up that river, and five below; and of the Muſkingum from its mouth five or ſix miles up. The front line of houſe-lots is 95 yards from the Muſkingum, and parallel thereto; all the ſpace between them and the river is to remain an open ſtreet or common; the courſe of this ſtreet is north 40° weſt, and extends in length one mile. All the ſtreets are either parallel or at right angles with that; but from ſome hollow ground and rivulets the city will not be parallelogram, although that figure has been aimed at as much as the ſituation would admit; the north-eaſt end thereof is bordered by a beautiful brook, which I am informed runs all the year; the ſouthmoſt end, and part of

of the rear, is bounded by another creek larger than the former, which will afford a good canal for boats to paſs up when the waters of the Muſkingum are high. The houſe-lots, in their neareſt approach to the Ohio, are diſtant therefrom 25 perch, and ſeparated from it by the laſt mentioned creek, and low interval lands of the firſt quality; a part of the houſe-lots towards the rear are ſeparated from the reſt by a deep hollow ground, through which the laſt mentioned creek paſſes: theſe lots are ſituated in ground gently aſcending towards the north-eaſt, which further on terminates in very conſiderable hills, in which riſe eight ſprings, the ſources of the creek laſt mentioned; theſe, with a comparative ſmall expence, may be collected into one great reſervoir, and conducted to any part of the city.

The city plot includes the ruins of ſome ancient town or works, of which the world has heard much of late. I have not had time to take an accurate ſurvey of them all, therefore muſt omit a particular deſcription thereof; but I muſt confeſs I was greatly ſurpriſed in finding thoſe works ſo perfect as to put it beyond all doubt that they are the remains of a work erected at an amazing expence, perhaps ſome thouſand years ſince, by a people who had very conſiderable knowledge in fortifications. In laying out our city, we have preſerved ſome of the works from becoming private property, by including them within lots or ſquares appropriated to public uſes, viz. an advanced work, containing a mound of earth in the figure of a cone, the baſe of which is 376 feet in circumference, and is 30 feet perpendicular, ſurrounded by a parapet 580 feet in circumference and 15 feet thick, having a ditch 15 feet wide, and at preſent about three feet deep, and on the ſide next the town, or principal works, an open ſpace without parapet or ditch, where it is preſumed was the gate or place of entrance. We have alſo, in the ſame manner, ſecured for public uſe two elevated mounds of earth, ſituate within the walls of the great oblong ſquare, or principal fortification; one of them is nearly of a ſquare figure, the ſides meaſuring 153, 45 feet by 135, 7 feet, is raiſed about five feet above the common ſurface, and on the top a horizontal plain of the above dimenſions, having on three ſides thereof gentle aſcents projecting out, of about 20 feet wide, in the form of glacis, for the convenience of walking up; and on the fourth ſide is an indented aſcent of the ſame width. The

other elevated ſquare is an oblong of 200 feet by 124, of about the ſame height, and as level on the top as the other, and regular projecting aſcents on each ſide thereof; theſe appear to have been the foundations of ſome ſpacious public buildings; but however that may be, they are very convenient, and now reſerved for that purpoſe; the reſt of the works can remain, when the city is built, on paper only.

As to the natives, the enſuing treaty I truſt will be conducted on principles of honour and juſtice, and end to the ſatisfaction of that, as I conceive, much injured people. When we arrived at this place, we fortunately found captain Pipes, the chief of the Delaware tribe, with about 70 men, women, and children, of that and the Wyandot tribes, at fort Harmar, who had come down to trade; we were introduced to them by the commanding officer. Captain Pipes ſome days after, with about 20 others, came over and dined with me; we gave them to underſtand our buſineſs, and that we hoped to live in friendſhip, and ſhould be glad to ſee them, or any of their friends, at all times. Captain Pipes told us that they ſhould be happy to live by us, but did not expect any people would come on to ſettle before the treaty; we told him we had brought no families, nor would any come on until after the treaty, when we expected every thing would be ſettled to their ſatisfaction; in the mean time it was neceſſary we ſhould plant ſome corn. Captain Pipes appeared fully ſatisfied, and parted, with avowing his friendſhip ſhould continue as long as the ſun and moon endured. Since making up this new acquaintance, we have more or leſs of our indian friends to viſit us almoſt every day, who appear in perfect good humour, and full as happy as we in the new acquaintance; but nothing is ſaid about our ſettlement, except one of their chiefs, who is now at the fort, and appears to be a very ſenſible, ſober old gentleman, on his firſt viſit to us, told me, that "he thanked God that the way was cleared, ſo that they could come down with ſafety to trade; that captain Pipes told him, he and all the Indians were uſed exceedingly well by us; that he was very glad to ſee us here, but there were ſome things he ſhould not ſpeak of until they met in the great council, meaning the treaty."

FINIS.

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